

SUBJECTS AND SOVEREIGNS: THE HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO RULED BRITISH  
INDIA, 1774-1925.

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SUBJECTS AND SOVEREIGNS: THE HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO RULED BRITISH  
INDIA, 1774-1925<sup>1</sup>

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While men held the titles of governor and viceroy in British India, it was women who were responsible for cultivating and preserving the public image of these offices. This dissertation explores the evolution of domestic ideology in British imperial politics, popular culture, and historiography over the course of the long nineteenth century. Though scholars have outlined the ways in which domesticity was appropriated by the colonial and imperial government to maintain British sovereignty in India, no one has yet explored the ways in which Victorian domesticity became part of the identity of ruling elites, and how it was employed to help promote the empire to audiences in Britain. Focusing on the private correspondence of the governors' wives, as well as popular biographies of these ruling elites which developed over the late Victorian period, this dissertation argues women helped to establish a viceregal celebrity centered on domesticity, and reinforced the patriarchal and racial hierarchies upon which the empire relied for its preservation. When this system came under attack during the 1857 rebellions, the vicereines, led by the example of Queen Victoria, helped usher in the new Raj by promoting domestic values, such as charity and wifely devotion, in their capacity as imperial figureheads.

These wives also played a crucial role in imperial commemorations, as both subjects and authors, and helped to establish a new biographical genre in the late nineteenth century: the imperial domestic biography. These biographers turned to a particularly controversial governor of the early British Indian empire, Warren Hastings, and attempted to restore his reputation by recasting both he and his wife as an exemplary Victorian family. This revival effort represented the beginning of the end of viceregal domesticity, as the twentieth century brought the waning of the Indian empire and challenges to Victorian gender norms. This genre resurfaced in the 1980s, during a moment of Raj nostalgia, when biographies of the vicereines reappeared. It is time to reexamine the intersection of official and unofficial sources, politics and gender, history and biography—to acknowledge the roots of Victorian domesticity in British imperial historiography.

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<sup>1</sup> This title references the seminal work on British India's governors, Philip Mason's *The Men who Ruled India* (1953; repr., NY: W.W. Norton, 1985).

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Christina received her Bachelor of Arts, *cum laude*, in history and political science from American University in Washington, D.C. in 2008. She received her Master of Arts in English history from Cornell University in 2012. She defended her Doctoral dissertation at Cornell in 2016. She lives in Massachusetts with her husband and daughters.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family. You are my motivation and inspiration. This would not have been possible without you.

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## Introduction

In 1787, Warren Hastings was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors committed over the course of his eleven years as governor-general of Bengal. His wife Marian also faced censure and condemnation in the British papers over the course of the impeachment trial. She was accused of tarnishing the image of the empire, the monarchy and, more severely, endangering the sovereignty of the colonial government in India. These sharp critiques laid bare the latent fears circulating in Britain at the time about the involvement of women in domestic and imperial politics.

As women travelled to India in increasing numbers over the nineteenth century, they became convenient targets upon which to pin the blame whenever the colonial government's popularity waned. Memsahibs were frequently accused of aggravating tensions between Britons and Indians and enforcing racial divisions in their role as hostesses and household managers.<sup>1</sup> Concerns about women in empire were eased by the conscious promotion of domesticity in imperial ideology and popular culture, led by the governors' wives. Images, in newspapers and biographies, of women reinforcing Victorian gender roles and applying these values to imperial service, helped to placate fears about the possible deterioration of British values through imperialism. Though domesticity proved a crucial trope by which Britons understood and critiqued their empire as early as the eighteenth century, its application as a ruling ideology, or a propaganda tool, particularly by the lady governors themselves, would not consolidate until the mid-nineteenth century. While historians have addressed the debates about women and empire which flourished over the long nineteenth-century, my project seeks to develop how women who

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<sup>1</sup> Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: the figure of woman in the colonial text* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), chap. 4; Margaret Strobel refers to the scapegoating of memsahibs as the "myth of the destructive female," in *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), Preface and chap. 1.

participated at the highest levels of the empire, as well as their biographers, addressed these concerns.

This dissertation is divided into two parts: pre-mutiny and post-mutiny, with the consolidation of viceregal domesticity taking place in the course of the recovery from the mutiny and subsequent transition to Raj rule.<sup>2</sup> It follows five governing couples chronologically from the initial consolidation of the governor-general position in Bengal in 1773-4 to the posthumous, nostalgic publication of the last Victorian viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1925. Focusing on five governing couples over a lengthy chronology allows me to develop a sense of long-term evolutions in ideologies of gender and domesticity in relation to wider changes in imperial and domestic politics and culture.

The first part chronicles the experiences of Warren Hastings and George Eden, who ruled from 1774 to 1785 and 1836 to 1842, respectively. These governors were two of the few in the pre-mutiny era who brought a female partner (or partners, in Eden's case) with them to act as lady governor. They ruled during a period of significant change in the colonial government, while it was still under East India Company control. Governors at this time had very little oversight and were largely free to establish their own precedents. The challenges these early governors and their wives or sisters faced trying to determine the scope of their authority and deal with growing concerns in Britain about Company rule laid the groundwork for the consolidation of the official position of viceroy and vicereine at the beginning of the Raj in 1858, when the Crown replaced the East India Company as head of the colonial government. In this moment of transition, the governor was given a new title, viceroy, signaling that he was the

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<sup>2</sup> The so-called "mutiny" of 1857 was in fact a series of several rebellions across India against British rule. To highlight the fact that this moment proves to be a crucial turning point in my argument, I am referring to it here as a mutiny, though clarifying that it was not in fact one event, and the participants were not confined to members of the army, as the name also implies. In future, I generally refer to these events as rebellions.

British monarch's representative in India. His wife now also had an official title, vicereine, which she lacked in the Company era, suggesting the position of female representative to the Crown was officially recognized under the new Raj. Under Crown rule, viceroys and vicereines had strict guidelines to follow in terms of their responsibilities and decorum, and were constantly under public scrutiny in Britain.

Over the course of the rebellions, the Queen and her vicereine, Lady Canning, struggled to control the official message in the transition to Raj rule due to vast quantity of correspondence and newsprint moving between Britain and India. Along with the telegraph, which connected Britain and India in the 1850s, the development of early international news agencies in the 1870s allowed for frequent updates on the state of the colonial government, as well as feedback from official and public opinion in Britain.<sup>3</sup> These changes, together with the presence of so-called "globetrotters," (tourists from Britain) and missionaries, often put the viceroy and vicereine in a defensive position, more so than ever before. Therefore, vicereines began to take on a public relations role, a responsibility which their predecessors simply did not have.

As I discuss in Chapter 3, the Queen and Lady Canning worked to restore order and secure the loyalty of Indian subjects at the start of the Raj. They felt the best way to achieve a peaceful transition was to ensure their message of mercy won over British calls to avenge the deaths of Anglo-Indians through violent retribution. While British women in general were held responsible for elevating the morality of the empire, vicereines led the charge, using the celebrity their position afforded them in both India and Britain to promote the virtues of British domesticity, including family, charity, Britishness and, for the vicereine, wifely devotion. By the

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<sup>3</sup> Alex Nalbach, "'The Software of Empire': Telegraphic News Agencies and Imperial Publicity, 1865-1914," in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed. Julie Codell (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing, 2003), 68-94; David Finkelstein and Doug Peers, eds., *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), chap. 1.

late nineteenth century, biographers, and sometimes the governors themselves, recognized the political opportunities domesticity afforded, and increasingly appropriated images of family life in government house. By linking spousal devotion to imperial service, biographers worked to drum up support for the empire, and even to restore a governor's reputation in the wake of scandal.

Imperial remembrances and propaganda sometimes took the form of public monuments, while at other times they took the form of biography, a genre which became a fixture of Victorian literature and history. The second half of the dissertation recounts the consolidation of domesticity in imperial popular culture and history. These historians, including several women, celebrated Victorian ideals of family and empire, and placed domesticity and women at the center of their narrative. Although the histories of the men who ruled India are the ones typically regarded as early examples of imperial historiography, I argue these imperial domestic biographies must be recognized as an equally significant part of the canon, because they signal not only the political roots of the field of imperial history (flourishing, as they did, in moments of nostalgia for the Raj), but also the historical connection between domesticity and imperial history, a connection which has been revitalized in our field over the last several decades.<sup>4</sup>

### **British rule in India before the Raj**

When English traders first established their factories in India in the seventeenth century, they were only one of several influential players on the subcontinent. In addition to the East

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<sup>4</sup> Projects that connect family and personal history to imperial history include: Margot C Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780-1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 2006): 203-231, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3876605> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: a Woman in World History* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 2007) and Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: an eighteenth-century history* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

India Company, there were other European companies and traders, the Mughal emperor in Delhi, and many regional and local rulers. The British began to expand their reach on the subcontinent and by 1757, following the defeat of Siraj-ud-daula in the Battle of Plassey, they started collecting revenues directly in several districts and received payments from the Nawab, which were sometimes taken as personal gifts to individual company men.<sup>5</sup> At this point, the Company was collecting such significant sums that they no longer required bullion shipments from Britain to maintain their operations in Indian revenues.<sup>6</sup> These vast changes in the Company's political and economic authority in India led to violent backlash from the Nawab, Mir Kasim, who joined forces with the Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal emperor against the Company. At the conclusion of the conflict in 1765, the British signed a treaty in which they agreed to pay the emperor a tribute after being granted the right to collect revenues in three provinces: Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Company had officially become a major power in Indian politics and administration.

To counteract the expansion in the powers of the Company in India, Parliament passed the 1773 Regulating Act, which brought greater government oversight to East India Company affairs. Although the bill elevated the Bengal governor to the position of governor-general presiding over the Madras and Bombay settlements in addition to Bengal (highlighting the expanding reach of the Company-state), it also introduced a general council, comprised of four members with the ability to counter the governor's votes. Further, in 1784, Parliament instituted a Board of Control, a superintending council of British ministers appointed by the Crown. The

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<sup>5</sup> Robert Clive, the man responsible for the Plassey victory, amassed a significant fortune during this period—sending over £150,000 home. See H. V. Bowen, “Clive, Robert, first Baron Clive of Plassey (1725–1774),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), under “Bengal, 1765–1767,” <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5697> (accessed July 26, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Metcalf and Barbara Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed. (2001; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 52.

Board, through the Board's President, dictated policy for the colonial government shifting the governor-general's accountability from the Company Directors to the Board. Thus began the slow process of the continued expansion of British power in India coupled with a steady transfer of power away from the Company to the English Parliament and Crown.

The end of the eighteenth century brought expanded coverage of Indian affairs in British papers, especially during the impeachment trial of British India's first governor-general, Warren Hastings, which lasted from 1787-1795. Shortly following Hastings's impeachment, another concern about the empire in India arose, namely the encroachments of the French on British territories in India. Governor Wellesley presided over one of the most aggressive periods of British expansion in India during the Napoleonic Wars, though not without facing criticism from British politicians for his authoritative approach.<sup>7</sup> As the East India Company was governing more territory in India than ever before, there was concern in Britain about the rising debt the colonial government had incurred.<sup>8</sup> The East India Company's charter renewal acts, debated during these expansions, further encouraged public scrutiny of the colonial government's dealings and bottom line. The 1813 and 1833 charter acts both substantially limited the Company's trading monopolies in Asian markets, and the 1813 act asserted the British Crown's right to oversee the Company's management of the colony.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, 67-72.

<sup>8</sup> Christopher Bayly noted Governor Wellesley's military campaigns "treble[d] the Company's debt." See C.A. Bayly, "Wellesley, Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760-1842)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Jan. 2011), under "War against the Marathas and other conquests," <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29008> (accessed July 24, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> DJ Moss, "Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders-in-Council and East India Company Charter, 1812-1813," *Canadian Journal of History* 11, no. 2 (Aug. 1976): 173-188, <http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a2h&AN=5320768&site=ehost-live> (accessed 5 May 2015); Miles Taylor, "Empire and Parliamentary Reform: the 1832 Reform Act Revisited," in *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain, 1780-1850*, Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 42, 47.

As the British public began to take a greater interest in political debates about India, a market for literature about the subcontinent, fiction and otherwise, expanded in the late eighteenth-century.<sup>10</sup> Beyond newspapers and novels, Rosemary Raza argues there was an increased demand for histories of India, which peaked again in the late 1850s, as Britons searched for answers regarding the causes of the rebellions and staked claims for the supposed permanence of the Raj.<sup>11</sup> Biographies, devoted to India's colonial governors, also became a popular form of imperial writing, and often focused on the giants of the eighteenth century, Clive and Hastings.<sup>12</sup> The fact that early historians of the empire began the biographical trend with two of British India's most controversial rulers amidst heavy Parliamentary and public debate on the state of the empire suggests these biographies were deeply political. Though ostensibly about individual lives, they were ultimately manifestoes on the inherent virtues or vices of the empire in India. These early imperial biographies did not yet feature domestic ideology; it would take a queen and her own self-publication to influence the development of the genre of imperial domestic biography.

### **Victorian and viceregal domesticity**

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<sup>10</sup> Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed, European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1995), esp. chap. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Rosemary Raza claims that the increased demand for information on India in Britain in the 1830s-40s was due to the Afghan Wars and Charter renewals. See: *In their own words, British women writers and India, 1740-1857* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5-8. Harriet Martineau suggests in the preface to her history of India, published in the year of the rebellions, that the conflict awakened Britons to the need to learn more about their colony: *British Rule in India* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1857), v-vi, 1-2. On the notion of permanence, and popular interest in India following the rebellions, see Francis Hutchins, "The Response to the Mutiny of 1857 and the Abolition of the East India Company," in *The Illusion of Permanence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 79-100.

<sup>12</sup> John Malcom, *Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, 3 Vols. (London, UK: John Murray, 1836); Rev. Robert Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Richard Bentley, 1841); T.B. Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," in *Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings*, ed. Samuel Tucker (1841; repr., New York, NY: Longman, Green, and Co. 1910) and Robert Gleig, *The Life of Robert. First Lord Clive* (London, UK: John Murray, 1848).

In the eighteenth century, men and women were distinguished by their sex, and though in theory, women were supposed to raise the children while men were charged with earning the household income, this often did not play out in practice.<sup>13</sup> Many elite women engaged in politics at this time, the most famous example being the Duchess of Devonshire.<sup>14</sup> Beginning in the latter part of the century, gender ideologies which emphasized differences between men and women solidified, and rigid societal norms of behavior and identity were ascribed to each.<sup>15</sup> The development of early nineteenth-century English gender ideology reflected major social changes, including the growing participation of the middle class in the world of commerce, the widespread popularity of Evangelicalism, and fears about the growing radicalism in France, all of which left the middle class clinging to a rigid value system which distinguished clearly between masculinity and femininity.<sup>16</sup> While men continued providing for their family, women were primarily responsible for life in the home—maintaining a virtuous haven from the vices of the market and political realm, and nurturing the future generation as mothers of the nation.

“Domesticity” was more firmly consolidated as an ideology by the middle of the nineteenth century, and held the promise of respectability and upward mobility to individuals who conformed to these standards of behavior.<sup>17</sup> Women were socialized to be maternal, well-behaved, and dependent upon their husbands and fathers. Men were encouraged to be more

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<sup>13</sup> “Introduction” and “Chapter Four: Women, work and the industrial revolution: female involvement in the English printing trades, c. 1700-1840,” in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (NY: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), chap. 6; Anna Clark, *Scandal: the Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Dror Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 16.

<sup>16</sup> Catherine Hall and Lenore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, rev. ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: the ideological work of gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 10-11, 52; Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, chap. 6 and Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: gender and the making of the British working class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), chap. 4.



aggressive, and yet chivalrous. In defining characteristics of masculinity and femininity, domesticity represented a distinct shift in gender politics between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>18</sup>

Queen Victoria promoted domestic ideology both within her household and publicly, as a means of legitimating her authority as a woman. These values, including family, philanthropy, and imperial patriotism, were threatened when the rebellions broke out across India in 1857, shaking British confidence in both the racial and gender hierarchies upon which the empire depended. A central argument of this dissertation is that this particular crisis led the Queen, the viceroy, and the vicereine to reinforce the primacy of domesticity in Raj ideology and popular culture. Just as separate spheres ideology solidified in response to the political revolution in France in the late eighteenth century, when patriarchy and racial hierarchy were challenged in British India during the 1857 rebellions, these pillars upon which imperialism and English Victorian society depended were restored by the conscious promotion of domestic values by those in power.<sup>19</sup>

In 1858 the Queen delivered her Royal Proclamation to her Indian subjects, marking the beginning of the Raj. The Proclamation ensured the transition in power away from the Company to the Crown and Parliament was steeped in Christian mercy for rebels, and religious toleration for all.<sup>20</sup> Memorials built shortly after the rebellions commemorated the service of the young

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<sup>18</sup> “By the 1790s...gender categories were now widely expected to mirror the presumed rigidity and stability of sexual ones.” Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, xxi.

<sup>19</sup> Susan Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London, UK: Routledge, 1999), 144-6.

<sup>20</sup> “We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favored, none molested or disquieted by reason of their Religious Faith or Observances...” “Proclamation of the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1st, 1858),” in *East India Proclamations* (London, UK: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1908): 2, <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers/Queen'sProclamation.pdf> (accessed October 10, 2016). See also, Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 48.

vicereine Lady Canning, who had died of fever just before the end of her husband's administration, as well as the sacrifices of the women and children who died in the course of the violence. Both the proclamation and the memorials helped to solidify the domestic themes that circulated in the narratives around the rebellions. Stories of the families who gave everything to the empire were the central theme of the so-called "Mutiny Tours," which included a stop at Lady Canning's tomb. These tours were intended to introduce Britons to their empire as leisure travel increased over the late nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> These monuments to British imperialism marked a new era in which domesticity played a central role in colonial politics and culture, and a crucial means by which supporters of the empire tried to promote it to audiences in Britain.

The monarchical connection between the viceroyalty and the British crown, which began in 1858, became a highly ceremonial and flamboyant affair in light of the very public position which the British Indian leadership now occupied. In 1877, in order to reinforce this intimate regal relationship between the territories and in an attempt to cultivate monarchical patriotism in India and support for the empire in Britain, Viceroy Lytton held a durbar to announce the Queen's adoption of her new title, Empress of India. The 1903 Durbar, presided over by Lord Curzon, further emphasized the connection between the viceroy and the English Crown, as it celebrated the ascension of King Edward VII, who also became the first member of the royal family to visit India in 1876. Together with portraits of the monarch, which were presented to India's princes and elites, as well as patriotic fanfare such as "God Save the Queen," which played when the viceregal couple made their entrance at official ceremonies, these rituals helped

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<sup>21</sup> Manu Goswami, "'Englishness on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia,'" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9, no.1 (Mar. 1996): 62-66, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1996.tb00178.x/abstract;jsessionid=3BA6FA7BA5A8F08ECB591776AFAF1648.f01t01> (accessed June 4, 2014).

to reinforce the idea of a global imperial family, and were intended to help cultivate loyalty for the British Crown among Indian subjects.<sup>22</sup>

The consolidation of imperial domesticity in the viceroyalty coincided with the expansion of the Victorian popular historical genre, biography. British Indian elites who chose to publish their memoirs, including Lady Dufferin and Lord Curzon, did so in this genre, indicating the strong connection made in Britain between personal and national or imperial history. Much history writing in the Victorian period took a didactic approach, and the depictions of these governors and their wives modelling the ideal behavior of Victorian families offer an example of this. Yet these specifically imperial texts bore the additional burden of drumming up support for the empire among British (in some cases, American) readers. The restoration of earlier, controversial governors in these biographies, particularly Warren Hastings, indicates the power domesticity had to bolster political reputations and fashion imperial patriotism. Though the revival of Hastings's reputation has been described by P.J. Marshall and Karuna Mantena in the context of a wider late-imperial conservative movement, the role female historians played, as well as the familial component of the biographies themselves, has yet to be addressed.<sup>23</sup>

## Historiography

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<sup>22</sup> David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 121-140; David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), chap. 8 and Bernard Cohn, "Representing authority in Victorian India," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 181-3.

<sup>23</sup> PJ Marshall, "The Making of an Imperial Icon," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no. 3 (1999): 1-16, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03086539908583071> (accessed 12 September 2014); James Fitzjames Stephen, *The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: Macmillan and Co., 1885), discussed in Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 45-6. On the rise of Tory imperialism, from the 1870s into the turn of the twentieth century, see Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 59-65.

The first modern historical studies of elite imperial wives appeared in the 1980s. Prior to that, these women were mainly featured in novels and short stories, the most popular of which were written by Rudyard Kipling. His “Mrs. Hauksbee” character represented the licentious, catty, manipulative memsahib, as these women came to be known among British audiences.<sup>24</sup> This first wave of historians focused on Anglo-Indian elite women aimed to reclaim the reputation of these women, who were often blamed for the degeneration of the empire.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the primary historiography of memsahibs is heavily nostalgic about British imperialism and the plight of the wives forced to accompany their husbands, with writers celebrating the sacrifices these women made for the empire without exploring the impact they had on imperial politics and culture. Marian Fowler and Margaret Macmillan helped bring to light the experiences of British India’s imperial wives, yet both criticize older stereotypes of memsahibs without interrogating the relationship between gender and political ideologies. As these projects appeared before gender studies had taken root in imperial and colonial history, they do not explore the self-fashioning of these women, nor do they concede the now-established argument that ideologies are constantly shifting. They also, therefore, ignore the crucial connection between individual and societal redefinition.

More recently, Mary Procida further explored the impact imperial wives, mainly those whose husbands were in the civil service and army, had on colonial rule in India. Distinguishing

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<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Hauksbee features in several of Kipling’s works, including “The Rescue of Pluffles,” “Three and—An Extra,” and “Consequences,” in Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888; repr., NY: The Nottingham Society, 1909), 13-19, 81-89, 137-145.

<sup>25</sup> Pat Barr, *The Mem Sahibs: the Women of Victorian India* (London, UK: Secker and Warburg, 1976); Marian Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1987) and Margaret Macmillan, *Women of the Raj: the Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1988). These projects were the product of the imperial nostalgia which comprised the Thatcher era. See David Gilmour, “The Ends of Empire,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1997): 38-39. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/40259445> (accessed May 5, 2015); Strobel, *European Women*, ix-x.

her approach from that of previous historians of memsahibs, who simply applied British gender norms to Anglo-Indians, Procida instead establishes a distinct gender milieu in colonial India. She claims the memsahibs were more politically active than their British sisters in part out of necessity, due to the small population of Anglo-Indians, but also because opportunities for work and socializing were simply different from the situation in Britain.<sup>26</sup> She argues that there was even less separation between public and private life in India than in Britain, since much imperial business was often conducted within the Anglo-Indian home.

In an effort to delineate a distinct Anglo-Indian social and cultural sphere apart from Britain, Procida highlights the differences between the two. She focuses on the daily lives of memsahibs, and claims that Victorian domesticity was present in British India in rhetoric only. She outlines the ways in which Victorian values were significantly modified by Anglo-Indian women, suggesting that memsahibs, hardened by their experience living in India, were more masculine than their sisters in Britain—they had to exhibit strength and perseverance in the face of rebellion, for example, while British women were encouraged by social dictates to be timid, demure, and passive. Procida's contextualizing of Anglo-Indian gender ideology unfortunately leads to a cognitive separation between Britain and India which exaggerates differences of masculinity and femininity at home and abroad.

Though I disagree at times with her argument (her treatment of Anglo-Indian philanthropy seems reductive), I hope to build upon Procida's work by further exploring the ways in which women engaged in imperial politics alongside their husbands, and by elaborating on the impact these wives had on evolving definitions of gender and imperial ideology over the

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<sup>26</sup> Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, politics and imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), 6, 21, 47-50, chap. 2.

nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> My project differs in two key ways. First, I focus on the elites, the vicereines, not the broader population of memsahibs. The primary reason for this is because there have not been any studies of this particular group of women since the problematic Raj revival biographies of the 1980s, and also because of the influence they had as celebrities in the British imperial empire.

The second way in which my dissertation deviates from Procida's is in my emphasis on imperial ideology and popular culture over the everyday business and experience of living and ruling in India for Anglo-Indians. Procida argues that the lifestyle these expatriates fashioned for themselves in India differed dramatically from that which women in Britain were experiencing at the time. My project instead widens the historical lens by exploring the movement of ideas and people between Britain and India, and the impact this had on developing ideologies of rule. Unlike the civil servants of Procida's study, the rulers of British India did not settle permanently in the colony. Not only did they have to remain mindful of public opinion in Britain as representatives of the Crown overseas, they also needed to ensure they had opportunities for employment when they returned home by keeping up with political gossip and maintaining ties with the establishment. My project offers another evaluation of Anglo-Indian domesticity, from the point of view of Government House. The focus on the rulers of British India is crucial because these men and women helped influence imperial culture and politics in both India and Britain.

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<sup>27</sup> Procida argued Anglo-Indian philanthropy was largely rhetorical, and really only focused on fundraising rather than "a more participatory approach." She suggested the lack of connection between Anglo-Indian women and their Indian "sisters" meant these wives "did not envision their main function in the empire to be primarily philanthropic." Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 167-8. I believe there were more responsibilities to fundraising than Procida allowed, including planning and hosting charity events as well as writing home to enlist subscribers. Further, it is clear from my research that vicereines in particular considered their visits to local schools and hospitals to be essential in calling attention to these causes.

My research suggests the importance of accounting for the “performative” nature of imperial rule, meaning that reputation and representation are just as significant points of historical study as are the daily lives of these elites.<sup>28</sup> From the perspective of ideology and popular culture, performances of imperial rule emanated from the viceroy and vicereine, and were fashioned with both British and Indian subjects in mind. Ideologies of domesticity and imperial rule developed in writing, in letters, memoirs and newspapers, as well as in interactions between individuals. These ideologies were often reinforced by public memorials of empire, including statues of governing elites and tours of significant historical sites, emphasizing the participatory nature of imperial propaganda.

Over the last several decades, studies of domesticity have flourished in both British and colonial Indian historiographies. The foundational text explaining the origins of Victorian domestic ideology is Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff’s *Family Fortunes*, published in 1987. While *Family Fortunes* helped scholars to recognize that gender connects to all facets of the political, economic and social realms, historians have more recently encouraged broader definitions of the public, and have questioned the stark division between the two spheres of public and private.<sup>29</sup> Academics now by and large accept that gender and domesticity are deeply

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<sup>28</sup> The self-fashioning of celebrity for these couples closely mirrors Judith Butler’s notion of the “performativity” of identity, which is “an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse.” Beyond the individual then, this performance is in conversation with, and partially responsible for, developing and producing ideologies of British imperialism, gender, and political authority. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1990; repr., New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), ProQuest ebrary, 185-6.

<sup>29</sup> Some examples include: Amanda Vickery, “Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history,” *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383-414, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/2639654> (accessed 20 Apr. 2016); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentlemen’s Daughter* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003) and Elaine Chalus, *Elite women in English political life, c. 1754-1790* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005).

political categories which developed and were contested over the course of the long nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

British monarchs appealed to domesticity to refashion their public image beginning at the turn of the nineteenth century with King George III.<sup>31</sup> As the world turned upside down in the wake of revolution in America and the beginning of revolution in France, Linda Colley claims that Britain avoided a revolution of its own by restricting the power of the Crown in favor of Parliamentary rule, while simultaneously boosting the popularity of the monarchy by making it more public, more familiar and yet more splendid because of its personality. Leading into the nineteenth century, this monarchical “magic” linked patriotism to monarchical celebration, at the same time that patriotism also became linked to imperialism, as the nation began to heal from the loss of the North American colonies.<sup>32</sup> This monarchical domestic ideology increasingly featured in the ruling ideology of India’s colonial government by mid-century, led by the example of the new Queen, and future Empress, Victoria.

Queen Victoria inherited a throne that was loosely tied to empire and family, yet her position as a female monarch brought its own set of challenges that affected her regal self-fashioning.<sup>33</sup> Young and single, the new Queen faced significant criticism and doubts about her abilities upon her ascension. Margaret Homans argues that Victoria’s decision to marry was a step in the direction of adopting a familial image for herself, effectively softening the threat to

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<sup>30</sup> For more on the contestation of these categories, see Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, esp. 2-4; Kent, *Gender and Power*, esp. pts. 2 and 3.

<sup>31</sup> As Linda Colley writes: “royalty must go hand in hand with an appearance of domestic bliss.” Colley, *Britons*, 235.

<sup>32</sup> P. J. Marshall, “Empire and authority in the late eighteenth century,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15, no. 2 (Jan. 1987), 115 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03086538708582732> (accessed Jan. 1, 2012); Colley, *Britons*, 145.

<sup>33</sup> Linda Colley sees the popularity of monarchical domesticity beginning with George III: *Britons*, 232-4.



patriarchy that a female ruler constituted.<sup>34</sup> As the Queen took an increasing interest in India, she began also to promote these domestic values overseas through her representatives, the viceroy and vicereine.

At the Queen's direction, vicereines of the Raj established charities in India for educating women and collected money for famine relief. This marked the beginning of a broader trend that Nupur Chaudhuri and Barbara Ramusack outline, in which large numbers of women in Britain began to participate in imperial activism and consumption over the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Further, when feminists started to mobilize for enfranchisement at the end of Victoria's reign, they often defended their right to engage in domestic politics based on their position as arbiters of imperial morality by virtue as mothers of the colonizing race.<sup>36</sup> The essays in Chaudhuri's and Ramusack's edited collection demonstrate the multifaceted nature of imperial gender relations and the far-reaching impact women had as "agents of cultural exchange" despite their unofficial, and often dependent, status within the imperial administration.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately however, these women reinforced gender and racial stereotypes by situating themselves as the caretakers of their down-trodden "sisters" in India.<sup>38</sup> Although these essays explore the political implications of participating in the empire as a woman, and suggest the impact this had on

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<sup>34</sup> Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 2-5.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British women activists in India, 1865-1945," in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992), 119-136; Nupur Chaudhuri, "Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain," Chaudhuri and Strobel, 231-246.

<sup>36</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 15.

<sup>37</sup> Chaudhuri, "Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice," 232.

<sup>38</sup> Burton, *Burdens of History*, 10-11. For more on how British (and American) women reappropriated this narrative around the turn of the twentieth century, acting as the "saviors" of their Indian sisters to serve their own feminist ends, see Antoinette Burton, "The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and the Indian Woman, 1865-1915," in Chaudhuri and Strobel, 119-136, 137-157 and Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London, UK: Leicester University Press, 2000), chap. 6.

gender relations in Britain, they do not consider the extent to which women participated in fashioning imperial ideologies in the first place.

The colonial government relied on domesticity to maintain its sovereignty in India, defining norms for gender, sexuality and the family, and the home. Imperial rule in British India was built upon a foundation of patriarchy—British imperialism was classified as inherently masculine, and ruling narratives often portrayed Indian men as effeminate as a means of denying them the right to rule.<sup>39</sup> The British also expanded their sovereignty in India by promoting another quality of Victorian masculinity, chivalry. The need to defend the virtue of British women in India, which was supposedly threatened by the violence of colonization, served as justification for British military aggression and other restrictive political and social measures.<sup>40</sup>

However, these gender classifications were not left uncontested, especially when one steps away from the point of view of the British. Analyzing a series of moments from multiple angles and points of view, such as the Ilbert Bill scandal of 1883-4 and the passing of the Age of Consent Bill in India 1891, Mrinalini Sinha emphasizes the piecemeal and provisional nature of imperialism.<sup>41</sup> These moments illustrate the restructuring of gender ideology through political exchanges between groups in Britain and India. Sinha indicates parallels between how Indian and British men configured their sense of masculinity (and patriarchy) in reference to one another and against changes in gender politics within their country.

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<sup>39</sup> Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), 15-6; Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 92-112.

<sup>40</sup> This was one of the primary tropes of British imperial literature around the 1857 rebellion. See Sharpe, *Allegories*, 76-7 and Nancy Paxton, *Writing under the Raj: Gender, Race, and Rape in the British Colonial Imagination, 1830-1947* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), chap. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 1-2.

The development of colonial gender ideology happened in conversation between Britain and India, and both men and women participated in the discussion. Contestation over gender ideology had consequences for imperial politics, as perceived threats to British imperial sovereignty were often construed as gender deviations. Over the course of the 1857 rebellions, India's female rulers, particularly the Rani of Jhansi, were maligned in the British press as masculine aberrations or overly sexual females, and were placed in juxtaposition to the virtuous British Queen, who upheld domestic ideology in her femininity, maternity, and charitable mercy in dealing with rebels.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, British lady governors and vicereines who failed to uphold the values of domesticity were perceived as foreign, somewhat masculine, and a potential threat to the empire, as was the case with Marian Hastings. On the other hand, those who performed the role of dutiful wife and imperial servant were celebrated for embodying the virtues of Victorian femininity. Returning to studies of imperial wives, with an eye to the imperial politics of gender ideology and the benefits, as Sinha has demonstrated, of contextualizing imperial power within broader political and cultural shifts in Britain and India, I offer a history of the appropriation of domesticity in imperial narratives over the long nineteenth century.

Relationships between men and women were also policed by the colonial state, in order to maintain the racial hierarchies upon which imperialism depended. Philippa Levine's work on the state's attempt to control venereal diseases across the late nineteenth-century British empire, and Ann Stoler's work on the policing of sexual practices and identities in relation to the growing biological racism of the European empires, both explicitly repurpose Foucault's studies

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<sup>42</sup> As these scholars suggest, much of the comparisons made between Victoria and other female rulers betray British discomfort at having a woman on the throne. See Maria Jerinic, "How we lost the empire: retelling the stories of the Rani of Jhansi and Queen Victoria," in Homans and Munich, 123-140 and Arianne Chernock, "Queen Victoria and the 'Bloody Mary of Madagascar,'" *Victorian Studies* 55, no. 3 (spring 2013): 425-449, <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu.proxy.library.cornell.edu> (accessed May 3, 2016).

through an imperial lens.<sup>43</sup> They contend that gender and sexuality were categories through which the British, and other European powers, constituted their imperial authority. The sites upon which these terms were debated varied and included the conjugal family unit, marriage and reproduction, as discussed in Durba Ghosh's study of interracial families in the eighteenth-century East India Company, as well as the family home, as Anne McClintock shows in her study of household goods in the Victorian period of the empire.<sup>44</sup>

As centers of business and entertaining, and as visible representations of domesticity, the Anglo-Indian household was also a heavily regulated imperial institution. Elizabeth Collingham argues that Anglo-Indian wives were responsible for managing Indian servants in the bungalows, thereby reinforcing a sense of distance between the rulers and the subjects and solidifying British status as the colonizing race.<sup>45</sup> White women in India were also called upon to bring virtue from the hearth of the English countryside to the heart of the empire overseas. Yet, despite this appropriation of Victorian domestic ideology in India, there was a divide in public perception between Britons who remained at home and those who served the empire abroad. Anglo-Indians were treated like foreigners in the British press, and were often ridiculed in popular novels about India, forever marked by their time spent overseas.

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<sup>43</sup> Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>44</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995); Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: the Making of Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006) and Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>45</sup> E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: the Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 82-6; see also Procida, *Married to the Empire*, chap. 2.

Families often moved back and forth between Britain and India, especially in the late nineteenth century, for the sake of the children's education.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, there was still a strong cultural disconnect between the territories, and Anglo-Indians often felt out of place when they did return to England. For supporters of the empire, there was a constant need to promote its virtues among a skeptical or, at times, ambivalent audience in Britain. The performance of imperial domesticity, led by the viceroys and vicereines, often served as propaganda geared toward those who remained unconvinced that diverting resources and people away from Britain to maintain the overseas empire was in fact a good idea. Domesticity was used to remind these individuals both that vicereines were upholding British values overseas (by distinguishing themselves from the dishonorable Anglo-Indian memsahibs), and that these values spoke to the higher purposes of imperialism as deemed by its supporters: civilizational guardianship.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, alongside the surge in imperial warfare, propagandists promoted the empire in schools and in the press by developing what John Mackenzie calls a "cult of heroes," and often used biographies of so-called "great men" in the classroom.<sup>47</sup> Biography was crucial to the promotion of imperialism in Britain. Biographical character studies were used didactically to celebrate particular imperial virtues such as sacrifice and duty and, as I argue, domesticity.<sup>48</sup> This genre developed over the Victorian period and began to feature British women of the empire in the latter third of the century. It is clear from the

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<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004), chap. 3.

<sup>47</sup> John Mackenzie, "Introduction," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John Mackenzie (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1986), 3; John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1984), 213.

<sup>48</sup> Angelia Poon, *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: colonialism and the politics of performance* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 77-8. On the didacticism of Victorian biography, see Christopher Tolley, *Domestic Biography: the legacy of Evangelicalism in four nineteenth-century families* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1997), 6 and Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century "Hidden Lives"* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 24-5.

correspondence of the governing couples in this dissertation that the literary and monumental commemorations of their imperial service were intended to promote the empire to British and Indian audiences. They should therefore be studied as a form of propaganda, not viewed as anecdotal and secondary to “official” publications.

Biographical commemorations were closely linked with ceremonies and memorials, which were staples of Raj rule. The ceremonial aspect of colonial government helped solidify ties between the viceroyalty and the British monarch. David Cannadine argues that the position was imbued with the same symbolic importance as the monarchy had established for itself in Britain.<sup>49</sup> In fact, extravagant ceremonies and traditions reinforcing social hierarchies were even more crucial in the colonies, according to Cannadine, in order to try and incorporate foreign elites as subjects invested in the empire. This was accomplished by presenting these elites with awards and honors, as British elites were given, to ensure their loyalty and create the illusion of a wider imperial family.<sup>50</sup> This paternalism, exemplified by Lord Curzon’s 1903 Durbar, reinforced the centrality of Victorian domesticity in the Raj’s symbolic approach to colonial rule.

## **Chapter outline**

I begin the dissertation with Warren and Marian Hastings, whose administration raised significant questions about the scope of power held by the governor and his wife. At this early stage of Company rule, and particularly in the newly-created position of governor-general of India, there was very little by way of established precedent to dictate the terms of his office. Since Margaret Clive, Robert Clive’s wife, was only in India for a few years, and prior to her husband’s appointment as Governor of Bengal, Marian was also in a position to establish her

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<sup>49</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 105.

<sup>50</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, chap.7.

own expectations for her role as first lady of the settlement. Their somewhat authoritarian approach to rule raised significant concerns among audiences in Britain, and the impeachment trial Hastings faced upon his return to England catapulted both he and Marian to fame, plastering their caricatures across the papers. The problems addressed during the trial, including Hastings's brutality towards Indian royal women, the Begums of Oudh, his bribe-taking and general abuse of power, have been dealt with extensively by Peter Marshall and others.<sup>51</sup> However, some questions raised by the participation of Marian Hastings in the course of the trial, regarding the bearing domestic roles had on political reputations, have remained unanswered, and were foundational to the establishment of the popular and political role of the lady governor. The significance of the governor's family life to his career, and the influence his wife had on colonial politics and culture, became key matters of interest in popular understandings of the Victorian vicerealty. Even after the trial, Marian helped set precedents for future governors' wives by working tirelessly to salvage her husband's reputation following his death. Her attempts to build memorials in his honor in both England and India represent the earliest forms of familial commemoration, which became the defining feature of imperial propaganda over the nineteenth century.

The next chapter of the dissertation focuses on Emily Eden, a proactive lady governor who grew up in a politically engaged family. Emily and her sister Fanny were the only sisters to stand as lady governors, since their brother George was unmarried, and their administration lasted from 1836-1842. Being avid writers and artists, Emily's and Fanny's contributions to the empire were largely literary—they left a massive collection of letters sent home to their family,

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<sup>51</sup> PJ Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1965); Geoffrey Carnall and Colin Nicholson, eds. *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings: papers from a bicentenary commemoration* (Edinburgh, UK: University of Edinburgh Press, 1989).

which Emily published towards the end of her life, in the 1860s. Emily Eden travelled to India with her brother just as Britons were taking a growing interest in India. Although there was already an established tradition of travelogues, which tapped into a market for adventure stories of life overseas, Emily carved out a distinct genre of imperial writing that centered on life in Government House.<sup>52</sup>

Emily's book was the first attempt by a lady governor to publish an account of her travels in India that focused on the experience of governing. The success of Eden's journals can be measured by the fact that three editions of "Up the Country" were published, and her niece went on to publish more of the letters in 1872. Reviews of the book in London papers right up through the first two decades of the twentieth century also show there was renewed interest in stories of life among the early Anglo-Indian elite at this later stage. While her book described in extensive detail the places and people she encountered in India, she also devoted a significant portion to outlining the trials and tribulations of governing in India, focusing on her own contributions to building traditions and ceremonies at this early stage in the empire. She acted as an advisor to her brother and occasionally claimed responsibility for managing public engagements. Emily's journals indicate the beginnings of a formal role for the lady governor within government house and in official meetings with Indian elites. They also suggest that conversations between the Eden sisters and Indian rulers about ceremonial codes of conduct helped to establish standards for the British lady governors, and ultimately elevated the position of lady governor within imperial politics and culture.

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<sup>52</sup> For more on female travel writers, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (London, UK: Routledge, 1992); Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 1994) and Indira Ghose, *Women travelers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).



Following Eden, Lady Canning, a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, accompanied her husband to India in 1855. Her close relationship with the Queen proved especially significant in light of the conflict which broke out in India shortly after the Cannings arrived. Victoria kept close tabs on the 1857 rebellions, relying on Charlotte's letters as one of the only reliable sources of information available, while Charlotte took the opportunity to defend the governor's policies to Her Majesty, since his policies were heavily scrutinized in the British papers. The two women discussed crisis management and worked together with the governor-general to oversee the transition to Crown rule and the viceroyalty in 1858.

Around the same time, Queen Victoria published a private journal documenting the royal family's trips to the Scottish Highlands. Some have argued that this marked a conscious attempt by the Queen to reintroduce herself to the British public following the death of her husband Prince Albert in 1861, during which she underwent an extended period of mourning.<sup>53</sup> Publicizing memories of her travels with her husband endeared the Queen to her subjects; as a widow, she continued to maintain her political capital through familial representations of herself. Future vicereines and imperial biographers, following the Queen's example, reinforced a virtuous image of the viceroyalty by demonstrating the wifely devotion of lady governors to their husbands and to the empire, beginning with Charlotte Canning's death, whose tomb served as a stark reminder of the lengths some women went to support their husbands. The viceroyalty made itself respectable by strengthening its ties to the British monarchy and embodying the themes of Victorian domesticity.

When the Dufferins came to India in 1884, they were experienced in colonial government, having just completed six years governing in Canada. The empire looked very

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<sup>53</sup> Homans, *Royal Representations*, 131-156.

different from what it did thirty years before the Cannings were in power: perhaps the biggest changes were the vast improvements to communication technology and travel. Hariot took advantage of these modifications, and was one of the more proactive vicereines in terms of managing public relations for her family and for the empire. Hariot is known in the historiography for her charity work, which was extensive. The Lady Dufferin Fund, which financed the education of female doctors in India, continued long after the vicereine returned to the family estate in Northern Ireland. However her memoirs, which have largely been ignored by historians, brought greater visibility to the vicereine position than ever before, and proved to have a lasting impact on the development of imperial domestic biography.

In 1890, Lady Dufferin published a collection of letters she wrote home to her mother during her time in India, specifically regarding her responsibilities as vicereine. Following the success of this book, Lady Dufferin went on to publish letters from her time spent as a governor's wife in Canada in 1891, as well as a third memoir from her days as an ambassador's wife in Russia and Turkey, in 1916. Hariot, more than Emily Eden, was determined to promote the empire and her husband's career in a responsible and positive way, choosing imperial biography as her medium for this self-promotion and fully acknowledging to her publisher the power her celebrity had to sell her books. Lady Dufferin's journals were the full realization of imperial domestic biography, focusing as she did on her parental as well as her viceregal responsibilities. While much of her books described her travels, charity work, and her participation in official ceremonies, she spent a great deal of time discussing her efforts to set up a comfortable home for herself, her husband, and the children that accompanied them to India. She also devoted a significant portion to describing the experiences her children had living in the colonies. Her letters to her publisher indicate that Hariot saw a market in Britain (and North

America) for books which provided audiences with a glimpse into the life of a vicereine and her family.

If the Dufferins brought heightened visibility to the Indian viceroyalty, by 1899 the Curzons were basking in the assumed glory of their office. George Curzon took on the appointment as if it were an inheritance; his family home in Derbyshire, which was built in 1803 and served as inspiration for the government house in Calcutta, solidified this in his mind. Curzon believed in the power of paternalism and the performance of ceremonies for cultivating the loyalty of Indian subjects. Though Curzon became known as the quintessential British viceroy, he deviated from “traditional” British imperial norms in one crucial way: his wife was an American. Mary became immortalized as a dutiful servant to her husband and the empire when she died shortly after the conclusion of Curzon’s appointment. Her celebrity crossed the ocean into the American press, a sign that American support for the British empire was becoming increasingly important in the early twentieth century.

Following his time as viceroy, Curzon wrote a history of British India’s governing families and placed himself within this illustrious lineage, celebrating the empire at a time when many in Britain were voicing concerns about it.<sup>54</sup> His book can be seen as part of wide-spread imperial propaganda effort in Britain in the wake of World War One and nationalist agitations in the colonies.<sup>55</sup> Published in 1925, it was also part of a growing trend, following on the heels of Lady Dufferin’s imperial autobiographies, of biographers highlighting the role lady governors played in colonial government. While these biographies all privileged the marital relationship as

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<sup>54</sup> George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: Cassell & Co., 1925). On British disaffection with empire: Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: the left and the end of empire, 1918-1964* (New York, NY: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1993), chap. 1; Nicholas Owen, “Critics of Empire in Britain,” in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 4, ed. Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 108-211.

<sup>55</sup> Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, chap. 1.

crucial to the success of imperial governance, Curzon's was unique because it was written by a former viceroy. He dwelt on his hero, Warren Hastings, and his marriage to Marian, because he felt this relationship humanized the beleaguered governor: "In his love for her, even more than in his own courage and sense of rectitude, lay the main source of the strength that enabled him to sustain the burden of the last decade of his service in India."<sup>56</sup> He centered his history on the homes of colonial governors and the monuments commissioned by and for these men and their families. Further evidence of Curzon's familial approach can be found in his cataloguing of his first wife Mary's personal papers: he took pains to erase all evidence of his infidelity during their courtship and deliberately presented their love letters to the archives for public consumption despite Mary's wishes that they remain private.<sup>57</sup>

As the genre of familial imperial biography developed, it began to include a growing contingent of female writers in the late nineteenth century. Many of these writers published revisionist biographies of Warren Hastings, which were part of a popular movement among imperial supporters to recover the former governor's reputation. All of the negativity surrounding the trial and Marian and Warren's "scandalous" affair was reversed by these biographers, who chose instead to promote the virtues of their marriage and the support Mrs. Hastings provided her husband, arguing that her devotion helped him through the difficulties of his administration. Biographers such as Sir Charles Lawson and Sydney Grier (her actual name was Hilda Gregg) worked to salvage Warren Hastings's reputation through a narrative of domestic felicity.<sup>58</sup> Revisions of Marian's character from a selfish nabobina to a selfless spouse

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<sup>56</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:151-2.

<sup>57</sup> Curzon was quite aware his status as a former viceroy made his correspondence crucial to writing the history of Great Britain and the empire—for my purposes, it is instructive that Curzon considered his personal letters to his wife as part of that story.

<sup>58</sup> Sir Charles Allen Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895); Sydney Grier, *The Great Proconsul, loosely based on the memoirs of Hester Ward* (Edinburgh, UK: Blackwood and

happened alongside Warren Hastings's late nineteenth-century political revival.<sup>59</sup> The reversal of the Mr. and Mrs. Hastings's reputations on the very terms by which they were originally condemned in the eighteenth century demonstrates the significant impact that domestic celebrity, which vicereines cultivated over the nineteenth century, had on imperial politics and historiography. The corrupt days of company rule were refashioned through a familial lens by imperial biographers in order to bolster the popularity of late Victorian imperialism.

At the same time, another group of imperial biographers catered more to the masculine, militaristic aspects of British rule. There are hints in these works that governors' wives were popular figures, since they are at least alluded to occasionally, but these references are brief and always depict the wives in a supporting role.<sup>60</sup> Sir William Hunter's *Rulers of India* series (1890), an example of this genre, was later condensed into a school-friendly volume, dedicated to Lord Curzon. This text, as well as Philip Mason's, author of *The Men who Ruled India* (originally published in two volumes from 1953-4), were both written by men who had previously served in India.<sup>61</sup> Much as Curzon wrote his homage to the governorship with an eye to changing public perceptions about the empire, Philip Mason wrote at a time many in Britain were conflicted between wanting to forget everything they lost had existed in the first place and

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Sons, 1904) and Sydney C. Grier, ed., *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (Edinburgh, UK: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), <http://www.archive.org/details/lettersofwarrenh00hastrich> (accessed Mar. 31, 2016).

<sup>59</sup> H.E. Busteed revised his opinion of Marian in a later edition of *Echoes from Old Calcutta* in Chapter V of the Appendix, "Hastings and the Imhoffs," which Lord Curzon makes note of in his own book. See Busteed, *Echoes* (1882; repr., London, UK: W. Thacker & Co., 1908), 404 and Curzon, *British Government*, 2:151n1. It is possible that Lawson and Grier's books helped change Busteed's mind. On nabobs and nabobinas, see Tillman Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and "Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 4 (2006): 8-30,

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/203249239?accountid=10267> (accessed May 4, 2015).

<sup>60</sup> F.M. Holmes, *Four Heroes of India: Clive, Warren Hastings, Havelock, Lawrence* (London, UK: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1892); Henry Morris, *The Governors-General of India*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1907).

<sup>61</sup> George Devereux Oswell, *Sketches of Rulers of India* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1908); Philip Mason, *The Men who Ruled India* (1953; repr., NY: W.W. Norton, 1985).

preferring to remember Britain at the height of her imperial power.<sup>62</sup> As these two trends in imperial biography, the familial and the martial, indicate, modern imperial historiography inherited many of the divisions developed in these late-empire moments of nostalgia. I hope that my dissertation will add nuance to traditional narratives of imperial masculinity by highlighting the role the governor's family life played in popular representations of the viceroyalty.

### **Sources and methods**

The methodological division between high political and familial-cultural history, mirrored in these biographical divisions, begins in the archives, between the "official" political correspondence and the "unofficial" private letters. Personal letters comprise the majority of my source material. Although they are often overlooked by those writing political histories of the empire, they demonstrate that discussions about political issues were not restricted to "official" letters. While historians have shown that personal correspondence offers insight into how elite women wielded patronage as a means of asserting their political power, governors' wives did not focus on patronage alone.<sup>63</sup> When wives wrote to family and friends at home, they kept up to date on how their governorship was being received in England, and took an opportunity to promote (and at times defend) their husband's administrative policies.

Additionally, newspapers, periodicals and political cartoons are crucial sources for determining the cultural impact these wives had in Britain and India, therefore, my project makes use of these materials. Because I am focused on the configuration of domestic ideology in imperial thought and practice, I depend primarily on English-directed sources. As I contend that

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<sup>62</sup> David Gilmour, "The Ends of Empire," *The Wilson Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1997): 38, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/40259445> (accessed 5 May 2015); Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

<sup>63</sup> Chalus, *Elite Women*, chap. 4.

these elites performed for multiple audiences, including (mainly elite) Indian subjects, I look to Indian periodicals that were intended for English audiences, since it is likely that governing elites would have looked to these for insight into Indian “opinion,” no matter how contrived it was.<sup>64</sup>

The published biographies and memoirs of the governors make up the final segment of source material for the dissertation. I am particularly interested in exploring the intentions of those who organized the publication of these monographs (usually the wives of the governors), and have therefore spent much of my time looking at the letters between them, the publishers, and the authors, as well as the letters following publication, which discussed receptions of the book. For the time being, I have had to restrict comparisons between the original and published texts of the memoirs written by the lady governors; this is just one aspect of the project which I hope to further develop in the future.

Biography was closely linked to politics and nationalism from its inception—the *Dictionary of National Biography* was established in 1885, funded by the British Academy and organized by the University of Oxford. However, before the historical profession and national archives came together later in the nineteenth century, much of the compilation and earlier research happened locally, at the family and antiquarian level.<sup>65</sup> However, as the tendency in imperial history has, until recently, been to ignore family biographies, we have missed the opportunity to chart the role women have played in forming the archives we use today.<sup>66</sup> Marian Hastings’s niece provided Sydney Grier with background information about the family letters

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<sup>64</sup> For press censorship in British India, see CA Bayly, *Empire and Information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chap. 9; Julie F. Codell, “Introduction: the Nineteenth-Century News from India,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 2 (2004): 106-123, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/20084001> (accessed May 13, 2015).

<sup>65</sup> Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), esp. chap. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women, Writing, House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. chap. 1; Tolley, 98-99.

when she was working on her biography, and ultimately gifted (a majority of) the collection to the British Museum.<sup>67</sup> Marian and Lady Dufferin both facilitated the publication of their husbands' respective biographies. Charlotte Canning's sister, Louisa, helped to design the vicereine's tomb, which became a fixture of the Mutiny Tours for generations. This dissertation will both further develop the propagandistic aspects of biography, as well as shed light on the participation of women in fashioning imperial history from its inception.

It is important to clarify several terms which I use throughout the dissertation, the main being "lady governor." I use this title to refer to the wives of governors prior to the transition to Raj rule in 1858, at which point governors were granted the title of "viceroy" and their wives were finally given an established title, "vicereine." The only deviations from "vicereine" in my sources were occasional references to "vice-queen," which is the essence of the term itself. I have noted several other terms by which governors' wives were referred to in the footnotes, but I mainly use "lady governor" for clarity purposes. Another crucial term in this dissertation is "Anglo-Indian," which I use in its nineteenth-century context to refer to Britons living in India.

Focusing on imperial wives with an eye towards broader definitions of the "political," I contend that women were at the center of fashioning imperial propaganda and patriotism from the beginning. By commemorating their husbands in monuments and memoirs, lady governors and vicereines participated in imperial politics, privileging domesticity as an ideology of empire. The family life of governors was seen to be crucial to their overall character and reputation, and the support offered by a wife was essential for a productive and successful governorship.

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<sup>67</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 35-36.



By peeling away the layers of symbolism in the construction of biographies and memorials, my project acknowledges the role women played in fashioning representations of themselves and their husbands, and highlights the heavy dependence states and families have on defining the terms of gender. Uncovering these layers will help us better understand the politics of writing history. The history of the British empire was written by the individuals intimately connected with it. The fashioning of the characters of lady governors, by themselves as well as by outside observers, had strong political and cultural ramifications. During their lifetime, their behavior and reputation reflected on the British state and after they passed, their memory was used to cultivate an imperial patriotism for later generations.

## **Marian Hastings and the perils of lady governorship, 1773-1785**

Marian Hastings occupied a central position in late eighteenth-century debates about empire in Britain. She was opinionated, independent and ambitious. Warren Hastings celebrated these qualities in his wife, and only teasingly reminded her that there was more to life than riches and titles: “Your virtues merit honors greater than kings can bestow, yet these will not raise your station in life an inch, no not the breadth of hair, above that of Mrs. Hastings in your own country (I mean England, for that is your own).”<sup>1</sup> Though her husband found her charming and inspirational, their colleagues in India, and the public back home in Britain felt Mrs. Hastings was haughty and manipulative. Contestation over the character of the lady governor had much wider ramifications beyond petty gossip in the newspapers. These debates indicate the growing significance, political and cultural, of women in empire in the long nineteenth century. The accusations levelled against the governor-general over the course of his impeachment raised questions about the management and lack of accountability of British rule in India. The trial of Marian Hastings’s character in the court of public opinion helped establish expectations for the office of lady governor, identifying it as a crucial political and cultural position within the empire. The targeting of Marian by prosecutors and the press represents the early stages of what became an established trend in the nineteenth century of linking familial virtue to imperial virtue and stability, and Victorian vicereines did their best to inculcate and promote these values following the vicious attacks on the first lady governor. The qualities in Mrs. Hastings that critics attacked remained antithetical to the lady governor position, and Victorian vicereines distanced

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<sup>1</sup> He goes on to admit he suffers from a similar fault: “Remember these reflexions [sic] when you look at your Firman, and be sure not to forget them when you shew it. I know you will, for my Marian has her Foible and God forgive me, but I have known my own vanity accompany hers and have gazed on her with the full eyes of love and delight when she has allowed her pride, her graceful pride its full career. This is meant as a lesson against pride. Don’t mistake it for encouragement.” Warren Hastings to Marian Hastings, Nov. 20, 1784, *Official and Private Correspondence and Papers of Warren Hastings*, Add MS 29197, British Library, London, f100v (hereafter cited as *Hastings Papers*).

themselves from these traits by ascribing them to those whom they considered to be inferior: Anglo-Indian memsahibs and Indian women.

The crucial lesson future governors and their wives learned from the impeachment was that they could not ignore the opinion of Britons, official or otherwise. Mr. Hastings's failures stemmed in part from his beliefs that the governorship stood above popular politics and public opinion, and that the position belonged to men who had a specialized knowledge of and proven interest in India. Following Hastings, governors and their wives discovered that the lives of imperial elites could be used to the advantage of governing couples, if they took control of their image and fashioned a celebrity persona centered on a combination of self and imperial promotion. This sort of public relations management consolidated around the middle of the nineteenth century, during the 1857 rebellions in India, and was influenced in part by Queen Victoria's own interest in self-representation. The viceregal celebrity appropriated in imperial domestic biography, which developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, emphasized the familial side of colonial governorship. The application of Victorian domesticity to imperial "hero worship" histories led biographers to revise histories of Warren and Marian Hastings, recasting them as exemplary Victorians in a final gasp of imperial propaganda in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

The debates about Marian and Warren Hastings's approach to governing in India indicate this was a transitional moment in the history of gender in Britain. Historians contend that arguments about inherent differences between the sexes consolidated in Britain in the early

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<sup>2</sup> Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century "Hidden Lives"* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 2; John Springhall, "'Up Guards and at Them!' British Imperialism and Popular Art, 1880-1914," in John Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1986), 49.

nineteenth century, dictated by Evangelicalism.<sup>3</sup> There was an explosion of conduct books aimed at educating ladies on proper behavior and inspiring upward mobility to those who excelled in their prescribed role.<sup>4</sup> Some aspects of Victorian gender ideology, which encouraged women to demonstrate their “dependency” upon men and apply their natural “moral influence” to help others through charity work, became essential features of the vicereine’s public image in British India around the 1850s.<sup>5</sup> While men were encouraged to demonstrate their strength and courage (especially in imperial matters), both sexes were expected to privilege family life as a means of strengthening the national character and reinforcing Christian morals to balance the necessary evils of commerce and politics.<sup>6</sup>

This separate spheres ideology began to consolidate in the late eighteenth century, in the face of revolution in France.<sup>7</sup> As Susan Kent writes, “Political revolution constituted sexual revolution... Questions of war, empire, and politics, especially after mid-century, took up the themes of manliness and effeminacy with a vengeance.”<sup>8</sup> Edmund Burke’s own writings on the French Revolution reveal the extent to which patriarchy and political order were linked, a point which Burke reinforced in his attacks on Marian during Hastings’s trial.<sup>9</sup> This defense of traditional gender roles would be repeated during another period of violent upheaval, the 1857 Indian mutiny, led by Queen Victoria and the first vicereine, Charlotte Canning. The privileging of domesticity as a central tenet of imperial ideology and popular culture at the beginning of the Raj actually began during the Hastings impeachment trial seventy years prior.

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<sup>3</sup> Catherine Hall and Lenore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 110-148.

<sup>4</sup> Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 191.

<sup>5</sup> Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 114, 116.

<sup>6</sup> Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 113.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London, UK: Routledge, 1999), chap. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Kent, *Gender and Power*, 144-6.

<sup>9</sup> Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Frank M. Turner (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), ProQuest Ebrary, 65.

There were other women in the eighteenth century, besides Marian Hastings, who engaged in politics publicly and who defied these “separate spheres” strictures, some with more success than others.<sup>10</sup> The difference in Marian’s case was her position as a political figurehead in a British colony, which carried the twin burdens of reputation and rule. The legitimacy of the colonial government, and by extension the British monarchy, was at stake in the gender performance of the governor and his wife. Therefore, when conservative, late-Victorian biographers worked to revise histories of Warren Hastings, they focused on the elements of domesticity that Mr. and Mrs. Hastings were accused of corrupting and challenged the critics by claiming the governor and his wife had in fact had promoted these values from the start.

Victorian domestic virtues, such as devotion to ones’ family, charity, adherence to gender hierarchies, and service to the empire, became essential qualities for colonial elites. Mrs. Hastings, the villainous nabobina in the eighteenth century, was rebranded as an exemplary Victorian wife in the early twentieth century. This complete reversal in reputation, pivoting on the categories of domesticity outlined above, indicate the successful application of viceregal celebrity in imperial propaganda. Such a volte face signals the heavy political implications of “unofficial” memoirs and familial narratives, and the direct impact these writings have had on imperial historiography.

### **Hastings’s legacy**

The Hastings family had struggled throughout the decades prior to the birth of the future governor general: Warren’s mother died from labor complications a few days after he was born, and his father permanently relocated to Barbados with his new wife soon after. He left Warren

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<sup>10</sup> The Duchess of Devonshire made a name for herself as an active, public member of the Whig establishment while Hastings was in India. See Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London, UK: HarperCollins, 1998) and Anna Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), esp. chap. 3. Or, see the women in Amanda Vickery’s study: *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

and his older sister, Anne, to the care of their grandfather Penyston and their uncle Howard before Warren was even a year old. In the distant past, though, the Hastings family was quite renowned. Dating back to the twelfth century, Warren Hastings's Daylesford ancestors included the Earls of Pembroke and, in the days of the Tudors, the Earls of Huntingdon.<sup>11</sup> But after coming out on the wrong side of the civil war in the seventeenth century, the family was in such dire straits that they had to sell the estate.<sup>12</sup> At this stage, the only living left for Hastings's grandfather was clergyman of the Daylesford parish.

It is from this background that we get the story of Hastings's beginning that has been mythologized by generations of biographers and historians to account for his ambition, noble character, and either his generosity or stupidity (depending on the author). The romanticized story goes something like this: from a very early age, Warren Hastings was filled with nostalgia for the glory days of his family. He was fascinated by status, wealth and opportunity. He resented his father, and men like him, who did nothing to improve their family name. He was determined to reclaim his family's honor and financial standing not only for himself but for future generations. Above all, Hastings was said to have been determined to reclaim the Daylesford estate to Hastings ownership.<sup>13</sup> From here, we move on to India, the land of opportunity for Englishmen in the eighteenth-century. The emphasis on Hastings's devotion to his family became entrenched in sympathetic Victorian biographies of the governor in an effort to improve the image of the corrupt nabob which the impeachment trial reinforced.

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas B. Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," in *Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings*, Samuel Tucker, ed., (1841; repr., New York, NY: Longman, Green, and Co. 1910), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Robert Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable Warren Hastings*, 3 Vols. (London, UK: Richard Bentley, 1841), 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> F.M. Holmes, *Four Heroes of India: Clive, Warren Hastings, Havelock, Lawrence* (London, UK: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1892), 53.

Warren Hastings worked his way up through the ranks of the East India Company service as a bookkeeper at the Fort William settlement, a diplomat near Murshidabad and finally, as a member of the Governor's Council back in Calcutta. He had the respect of Robert Clive (Governor of Bengal from 1757 to 1760 and 1765 to 1767) to recommend him at the beginning of his governorship. Clive had amassed a small fortune, as servants of the Company often did in those days, by trading independently with Indian and European agents to supplement their weak official income and accepting "gifts" from Indian rulers. He was successful enough in this endeavor to be able to purchase several estates in Ireland and England and invest in the diamond trade.<sup>14</sup>

By the 1750s, the East India Company (a primarily mercantile agency beginning to consolidate its political power against the princely states) was pushing for more trading rights and misusing the ones they had to both enlarge their sphere of influence as well as enrich their coffers. The French were expanding too, so to defend themselves, the English added reinforcements around the Calcutta Fort. The Nawab, Siraj-ud-daula, threatened and frustrated by the behavior of the English merchants, attacked the Calcutta settlement and captured the remaining men and women, most of whom succumbed to the miserable conditions of their confinement. The incident, which became known as the Black Hole of Calcutta, became a crucial fixture in British imperial history, a moment in which colonial elites turned back to again and again to justify military actions against India and to reaffirm their position as rulers of the country.

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<sup>14</sup> H. V. Bowen, "Clive, Robert, first Baron Clive of Plassey (1725–1774)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5697> (accessed Mar. 28, 2016).

Robert Clive was a strong-willed general who took the opportunity after the Nawab's brutal show of force to retaliate, defeating Siraj-ud-daula in the 1757 Battle of Plassey and replacing him with someone more conciliatory to the Company's interest. Mir Jafir became the new Nawab, and Clive and his men received ample payment for their efforts. With Bengal secure, the British began to collect taxes in the region and used the money to support their trade, no longer requiring an allowance from shareholders at home.

Hastings had made a name for himself during his time as a diplomat and council member in the 1750s-60s, earning the respect of both Robert Clive and the Directors in England particularly for his careful negotiations with Siraj ud Dowlah during the siege of Fort William. Hastings became a permanent fixture in the Nawab's Court at Murshidabad, monitoring the Company's revenue collection.<sup>15</sup> Such was his position when he returned to England in 1764, where he became an advisor to the House of Commons during the inquiries into Company affairs in 1766. From this respectable position (and despite the fact that he returned to England virtually penniless, unlike many other high-ranking servants), he was appointed to the post of second in command at Fort St. George, and set sail for India in 1769.

The 1766 enquiry was just the beginning of a tug-of-war between the Company and Parliament that would go on for decades. By 1773, East India Company dividends had reached a new low, with the result that they were no longer required to make their annual £400,000 payment to the state, and ultimately received a loan £1,400,000 from the government.<sup>16</sup> Though highly respected among the Directors and seasoned company men, Hastings's governorship came amid a sea-change in imperial politics. The Prime Ministers of the time, Lord North (1770-

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<sup>15</sup> Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 51-3.

<sup>16</sup> PJ Marshall, "Empire and Opportunity in Britain, 1763-75: the Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1995): 121, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3679330> (accessed Oct. 13, 2016).



1782) and William Pitt (1783-1801; 1804-1806), were devastated by the cost of on-going war in Europe, America and Asia, and the growing frustration among their constituents at the tax increases. They struggled to reclaim the honor (and financial standing) of the state by turning to India with a renewed sense of purpose, determined not to let individuals return to England with fortunes unless they also enriched the coffers of the state.<sup>17</sup>

Hastings became Governor of Bengal in 1772 and in the following year, the 1773 Regulating Act brought greater government oversight to East India Company affairs. Although the bill elevated the Bengal governor to the position of governor-general presiding over the Madras and Bombay settlements in addition to Bengal (indicative of the expanding reach of the Company-state), it also introduced a general Council, comprised of four members with the ability to counter Hastings's votes, as well as a Supreme Court in Calcutta, including a Chief Justice and three other judges, all of whom were British.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the partisanship one would expect to play out, personalities were also an issue. Often, alliances were based on one's experience in India. Philip Francis, General Clavering, and Colonel Monson were newcomers sent to India as Parliamentary liaisons, and therefore were regarded by Hastings and others as outsiders and government lackeys while Richard Barwell, the only member from the old Council, remained a close ally to Hastings.<sup>19</sup>

Hastings chafed against this devolution of power away from the experts with strong ties to Indian elites (such as himself) to the British political elite. Not only did he feel he had India's

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<sup>17</sup> PJ Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America c. 1750-1783* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), 196-201, 207-214.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: the British in Bengal* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 144-5.

<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Linda Colley suggests newcomers like Philip Francis felt men like Hastings had been in India for so long that they had been corrupted: Linda Colley, "Gendering the Globe: the Political and Imperial Thought of Philip Francis," *Past and Present* 209, no. 1 (Nov. 2010): 134, <http://past.oxfordjournals.org/content/209/1/117.full.pdf+html> (accessed Feb. 2, 2015).

interests at heart more than anyone at home, having dedicated his life to the service, he felt the expanded oversight threatened the security of the colonial government. Using the example of the conflict in America, he explained the dangers of sharing too much information with the public, telling the newly-appointed Governor of India, Lord Hastings in 1812: “While the authority of the English Legislature over the America colonies remained unquestioned it was submitted to. When scrutinized... the boundaries of obedience and of command could never be clearly ascertained.”<sup>20</sup> For Hastings, power belonged in the hands of the few who had proven their ability, and this power came with the privilege of not having to account for your decisions to outsiders.<sup>21</sup> He further claimed that centralized authority was particularly appropriate for the Indian colonial government: “The despotic form of the Indostan Government contributes also to support his consequence...by custom, they are taught to regard but one Chief.”<sup>22</sup> Once again, even following his impeachment, Hastings revealed in this statement his preference for Indian politics over British politics. Governors struggled with the conflicting British and Indian imperatives of rule throughout the history of the colonial government, especially as the demands for accountability grew louder in the nineteenth century among British popular and political audiences.

### **Marriage and life in India**

Hastings had the good fortune to marry a woman who valued his principles of authority and privilege, and who dreamed of moving up in the world. Marian also came from humble beginnings; her father died a young soldier in the German army, leaving her mother to work as a

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<sup>20</sup> Warren Hastings to Earl of Moira, Dec. 2, 1812, “Queries relative to the Nature and Powers of the Office of Governor and President” of the Council of Bengal,” Hastings Papers, Add MS 29233, f17v.

<sup>21</sup> Travers, *Ideology and Empire*, 103.

<sup>22</sup> Hastings to Moira, “Queries,” ff16r-v; Travers, *Ideology and Empire*, 218.

laundress in order to put food on the table.<sup>23</sup> When Marian married Baron Imhoff, she gained a title but not much else; her husband often struggled to maintain work. As a last resort, the Imhoffs travelled to England to connect with a family friend, Mrs. Schwellenberg, who happened to be Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte (who also came from a German family).

Through Mrs. Schwellenberg's influence, the Baron gained an appointment in India as a cadet in the Company's Madras army. The Imhoffs had two sons, Charles and Julius, who spent much of their childhood in England attending school, away from their parents. Aboard the *Duke of Grafton*, Marian met her future husband and the governor-general of India, Warren Hastings. After spending the better part of three years in India, unable to make his fortune, Baron Imhoff returned to Germany without his wife and a short while later, filed for divorce. Sceptics say that Hastings bribed Imhoff to end his marriage; supporters say the payment was merely to help the struggling artist pay his bills. References to Warren's and Marian's courtship on both sides of the political aisle reflect the central role themes of domesticity played in politics at the time—a theme that would carry on in imperial biographies of the couple in the late Victorian era.

When Marian met the governor, she was a newcomer to the settlement with very few connections. Her thick German accent served as another barrier, and proved ready ammunition for critics who wished to brand her a foreigner poised to corrupt English virtue at home and abroad. Calcutta was a hotbed of gossip; an insulated, isolated community of expatriates, consisting mostly of men. The few women that were around closely guarded their social influence and therefore were not the easiest clique to break into.<sup>24</sup> The wife of the governor-

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<sup>23</sup> For Marian's family history, see Kathleen Lucy Elliott, *Beloved Marian: the social history of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Jarrolds Ltd., 1938).

<sup>24</sup> Indrani Sen, "Between power and 'purdah:' the white woman in British India, 1858-1900," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, no. 3 (Sept. 1997): 360, <http://ier.sagepub.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/content/34/3/355> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

general was the highest ranking European female in British India. Once word spread that Hastings was particularly friendly with Baroness Imhoff, the women of Calcutta were set to feel threatened by her, and perhaps jealous that Hastings was no longer to be considered an eligible bachelor.

It was an awkward first couple of years for Marian, during which she tried to maintain a level of respectability while her current husband was in Germany and her future husband, the leading public figure in the settlement, lived and worked nearby. Among the tight-knit circle of elites in Anglo-India, many snubbed their noses at the future governor's wife because they felt she was a snob. Philip Francis noted in his diary that Baroness Imhoff's relationship with Mary Impey, wife of the Chief Justice, was particularly rocky at the start. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of July in 1777, he wrote that a party was planned for that evening "at the Governor's to effect a reconciliation between Lady Impey and Madame Chapusetin; the former sends and excuse. A mortal disappointment!"<sup>25</sup> Two days later, he remarked that during a meeting with Lady Impey, she told him "that Madame Imhoff shall pay her the first visit—an idea which I don't fail to encourage."<sup>26</sup> As the second-highest ranking female, Mary's approval was crucial politically and socially for the prospective lady governor. In a world where etiquette was clearly dictated and managed by a small group of women and where family life held strong implications for work relationships, this did not bode well for Warren and Marian.

Eventually, the couple married on August the eighth in 1777. Being a governor's wife offered Marian power both within the social circles of Anglo-Indian wives and among Indian

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<sup>25</sup> "Chapusetin" was Marian's maiden name. "Francis Journal," July 24, 1777, in *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B. with correspondence and journals*, 2 Vols., ed. Joseph Parkes and Herman Merivale (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1867), 2:92. Later biographers would counter this argument: Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 76 and Sydney Grier, *The Great Proconsul: the memoirs of Mrs. Hester Ward, formerly in the family of the Hon. Warren Hastings, esq., late governor-general of India* (Edinburgh, UK: Blackwood and Sons, 1904), 92.

<sup>26</sup> Parkes and Merivale, *Memoirs of Philip Francis*, 2:92.

ruling elites. Both the governor and his wife had titles bestowed upon them by the Emperor Shah Alam.<sup>27</sup> Hastings felt that Marian was entitled to recognition and respect because of her position as first lady of the settlement, and Eliza Fay's impression of the lady governor on their first meeting in 1780 confirms Marian felt as her husband did: "Her rank in the settlement sets her above the necessity of studying anything but the whim of the moment. It is easy to perceive how fully sensible she is of her own consequence. She...expects to be treated with the most profound respect and deference."<sup>28</sup>

Marian's attitude clearly rubbed some of the members of the community the wrong way. In addition, many were concerned about the power Mrs. Hastings had over her husband. Travel writer and former Company servant Nathaniel Wraxall wrote in 1784 of Marian: "During more than ten years that Hastings subsequently occupied the supreme authority on the banks of the Ganges, she...was consulted by him on affairs of state ...and invariably maintained her ascendancy over his mind and as well as his affections."<sup>29</sup> The involvement of governors' wives in imperial affairs was later pointed to by Edmund Burke in the impeachment hearings as evidence of the corruption of the Hastings administration—particularly over the question of

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<sup>27</sup> Both Warren and Marian received Persian titles from the Emperor Shah Alam, a few of which were published in the *Morning Chronicle* in London in 1784. See Sydney Grier, ed., *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (Edinburgh, UK: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), 229-30. Marian's translated titles, said to have been engraved on a ruby, include: "Royal and Imperial Governess" and "Most exalted Bilkiss," the latter a reference to the Queen of Sheba. Tillman Nechtman also discusses these titles in "Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no.4 (2006): 8-30.

<sup>28</sup> *The Original Letters from India of Mrs. Eliza Fay*, ed. Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger (Calcutta, India: Thacker, Spink and Co, 1908), 134.

<sup>29</sup> Dated August 20, 1784, in *The Historical and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, 1772-1784*, 5 Vols., ed. Henry Wheatley (London, UK: Bickers and Son, 1884), 4:17. Wraxall published his first editions of the *Historical Memoirs* between 1815 and 1818. His first *Posthumous Memoirs* were published in 1836 which included, his publisher notes, very few changes. The 1884 edition combines both texts in one, to which Wheatley added hitherto unpublished manuscripts, as well as additional notes.

whether Marian accepted bribes from Indian rulers on behalf of the governor.<sup>30</sup> In the hands of the Victorians, Marian's influence became evidence of a wife's devotion to her husband, illustrative of a virtuous marriage and not a potential threat to the state and empire.

Mrs. Hastings spent much of her time in India hosting dinner parties and attending balls and masquerades. Although this particular responsibility did not change much from the late eighteenth century up through the end of the Raj, other aspects of Marian's lady governorship stand in contrast to the responsibilities and experiences of future vicereines. Crucially, there was little in the way of organized charity at the time, and therefore volunteer work was not an established part of the lady governor's routine, as it would become several decades later.

Marian's relationship to Indian rulers differed also from her successors in terms of the personal nature of these friendships. Marian and Warren Hastings were especially close to Munny Begum, whom Hastings had made guardian of the young heir to the throne in Bengal in order to extend Company control over the region. The Begum, who referred to Marian as "my beloved daughter, the light of mine eyes, who art dear to my soul, Mrs. Warren Hastings," frequently gifted Marian and Warren expensive items, a practice which was not uncommon in the earlier days of Company rule in India.<sup>31</sup> The exchange of gifts and pleasantries between Munny Begum and Marian and Warren continued after the governor and his wife returned to

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<sup>30</sup> "Sanctions" were placed by the Governor against a popular Anglo-Indian paper, Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, because the owner suggested certain members of the press were granted privileges for being on friendly terms with the governor's wife. Busted claims it was Hicky's slandering of Mrs. Hastings's name that brought the governor to bar the paper from being sent out through the Post Office. See H.E. Busted, *Echoes from Old Calcutta: being chiefly reminiscences of the days of Warren Hastings, Francis, and Impey* (1882; repr., London, UK: W. Thacker & Co., 1908), 189-191. Hicky accused the Hastingses and Impeys of corruption, citing the public contracts given to close friends and "Marian Allypore's" string-pulling: Busted, 201 and James Hicky, ed. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* 9, Mar. 24, 1781, in *Eighteenth-Century Journals*, <http://www.18thcenturyjournals.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library.cornell.edu/transcript.aspx?imageid=260976&navsearch=true&previous=0&searchmode=true> (accessed Apr. 16, 2016).

<sup>31</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 223; PJ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1976), 160-179.

England, and this bribe-based alliance (as critics saw it) was just one of the many examples referred to in the corruption charges against Hastings.<sup>32</sup> The continuation of their relationship fed into contemporary fears about nabobs returning to England and furnishing their homes with foreign luxuries and corrupting their neighbors with their avarice and vulgarity.<sup>33</sup>

Though the governor and his wife did not take an organized tour of the Company's holdings like the Edens did (there was a great deal of expansion in Company territory in between these governorships), Marian occasionally travelled independently of her husband, albeit with a substantial retinue.<sup>34</sup> During one of these separations, Hastings was taken prisoner by the Rajah of Benares, Cheyt Singh. Since 1765, the Nawab of Awadh (known as Oudh at the time) had been paying tribute to the British in exchange for assistance in defending against their neighbors to the North, the Afghan Rohillas. In 1775, the Treaty of Benares gave the British direct access to tributes from the territory in between Awadh and Bengal, for their role in the Rohilla War the prior year. With the growing threat of the Marathas in the West, Hastings decided to meet with the newly-installed Raja in 1781 to discuss the defense and cost of maintenance for this crucial *zamindari*. Hastings was feeling the pressure of the Company's dismal finances following

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<sup>32</sup> Munny Begum played a role in the charges read at the trial as well. In 1775, Nandakumar, a revenue collector and politician from Bengal, accused Hastings of taking bribes from several nawabs and claimed to have a letter from Munny Begum acknowledging this. Nandakumar was charged with forgery in a separate law suit and sentenced to death. Marian's close relationship with Munny Begum continued in England, as Mrs. Hastings wrote to husband's secretary to pass a message on to her: "If she should wish to send me any thing more; and should consult you on that subject, I will tell you what I wish to have. 2 or 4 ivory stands, for the corners of the room... I had 4 of them in my home in town, possibly you may recollect them." MH to George Thompson, Apr. 9, 1788, Correspondence and Papers of George Nesbitt Thompson, MS EUR D1083/48, British Library, London, ff1-2; WH to MH, Nov. 20, 1784, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29197, ff94-101.

<sup>33</sup> Tillman Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 166-170.

<sup>34</sup> Marian was frequently in the company of Mrs. Motte and Mr. and Mrs. Impey: Busteed, 148, 328. At this stage, the only semi-official "retreat" for the governor's family was Belvedere House in Alipore, after which Hastings modeled his rebuild of his family's estate at Daylesford when he returned to England. See George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: Cassell & Co., 1925), 1:141.

several expensive wars and, with a renewed sense of power after regaining the majority in the Council, he was deliberately provocative towards Singh during his visit.<sup>35</sup>

Although Mr. and Mrs. Hastings journeyed towards Benares together, Marian hung back at Monghyr in Bihar while Hastings went on to meet with Singh.<sup>36</sup> The meeting between the governor and the rajah quickly escalated into a full-blown confrontation: Hastings temporarily imprisoned and imposed a fine on Cheyt Singh when he saw the size of the retinue the rajah had accompanying him, arguing that Singh had lied to the British about the Benares's resources. Underestimating the popularity of the rajah, Hastings was taken by surprise when an uprising ensued, during which Singh escaped and Hastings and his men were captured. Over the few weeks that followed, Warren Hastings kept in steady contact with his wife, making sure she knew he was safe, updating her on the status of the conflict, and asking her to relay information to Edward Wheler and Sir Elijah Impey, with whom she was travelling. He reassured her, telling her to "Exert the fortitude which you possess, and do not suffer any thought of me to disturb your tranquility or affect your health... I can bear every affliction of which you are not the subject."<sup>37</sup>

Victorian biographers developed a story about Marian's defense of her husband and the empire while he was held captive, which painted the lady governor as an unwavering, devout wife and imperialist. They claimed that when Mrs. Hastings learned from Colonel Ahmuty that the Patna settlement (adjacent to Benares) was planning on retreating to Calcutta because they believed the Governor-General was dead, she rallied the community in support of Hastings.

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<sup>35</sup> Peter Marshall, *Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1965), 101-6.

<sup>36</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 120. It is unclear why they separated at this point; Sir Elijah's son suggests in his father's memoirs that the very fact Hastings brought his wife that far, and travelled with minimal protection, indicates he did not think it would be dangerous. Elijah Barwell Impey, *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey* (London, UK: Skimpin, Marshall, and Co., 1846), 233.

<sup>37</sup> "Exert the fortitude which you possess, and do not suffer any thought of me to disturb your tranquility or affect your health... I can bear every affliction of which you are not the subject." WH to MH, Sept. 11, 1781, Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39871, f19v.



Sydney Grier imagined Marian Hastings's response in this way: "I should blush for the race to which my husband belongs. Sure he can be no Briton that would contemplate abandoning Mr. Hastings at this tremendous moment, when the British empire in India depends upon his person."<sup>38</sup> In the eyes of a Victorian defender of Warren Hastings, Marian Hastings's boldness and fortitude were shown to bolster British masculinity, even as she teasingly hinted at male cowardice. Her candor and persuasiveness were made less threatening because they served her husband, his "race," and their empire.<sup>39</sup>

There are some contemporary references to Marian's influence at Patna; she was described as someone capable of affecting great change by Captain Sands, who reported to Hastings shortly after the incident with Singh concluded:

Mrs. Hastings is such a woman as I really believe no country ever before produced, or will again. She is...the Glory of her Sex. I am sure she is the admiration of ours, by all that know her, and by those in particular, who have seen her within these six weeks past. So much Resolution and Firmness of Mind were never surely united in one before.<sup>40</sup>

Grier admits in her biography that Sir Impey recorded what Marian did at Patna, but that these letters disappeared somewhere along the way.<sup>41</sup> However, Warren Hastings referenced the incident himself when he later attempted to procure a pension for Marian, writing to Colonel Toone: "When she was in the city of Patna, and I in a seat of greater danger, she proved the personal means of guarding one province of their Indian dominion from impending ruin by her own independent fortitude and presence of mind."<sup>42</sup> The way in which the Patna incident was remembered and appropriated by biographers in the late nineteenth century suggests a significant push by Hastings sympathizers to improve Marian's reputation and link Warren Hastings's

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<sup>38</sup> Grier, *Proconsul*, 305-6.

<sup>39</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 163.

<sup>40</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 148-9.

<sup>41</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 148.

<sup>42</sup> Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 3:521.

successes to his wife's support and service to the empire. The nineteenth-century account of the Patna incident clearly demonstrates Victorian attempts to recast Marian as a dedicated wife and imperial servant.

### **The woman behind the man: a couple impeached**

Towards the end of her husband's administration, the couple decided it would be best for Marian to return to England in advance of the governor. Her illness had progressed and, much like others before and after him, Warren resigned himself to their separation near the end of his administration. There were also significant grumblings in Parliament following the conflict in Awadh, and Hastings knew his time in India was running out. On 10 January 1784, Mrs. Hastings left for England, a land in which she had only lived previously for a year with her ex-husband. The European elite in Calcutta continued their rejection of the lady governor after her departure; Governor Hastings complained in his letters to Marian that he had little sympathy from the ladies of the settlement at their separation since the wives preferred to avoid discussing the absent lady governor.<sup>43</sup>

Although he still felt he had much to offer as governor, Hastings desperately missed his wife. He was also growing increasingly frustrated with Parliament each passing day, and Pitt's 1784 India Act was the last straw.<sup>44</sup> It created a Board of Control, appointed by the King, which was responsible for supervising the colonial government in India. Despite the fact that this legislation came at the end of Hastings's term, it represented a shift in policy which Hastings did not approve of, and with many clamoring for his recall, the governor prepared to return to

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<sup>43</sup> Warren wrote to his wife in December of 1784: "I am vexed that no Body will talk of you to me." Grier, *Letters*, 300; Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 151.

<sup>44</sup> Warren shared his views on the Act with Marian: "An act more injurious...to my character and authority, to the Company, to the proprietors especially who alone have a right to my services on the principle of gratitude, and to the national honor, could not have been devised though fifty Burkes, Foxes and Francis had clubbed to invent one." WH to MH, Dec. 29, 1784, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29197, f114v.

England.<sup>45</sup> His pride already severely wounded, Hastings was concerned that he had not secured a fortune large enough to accommodate a life befitting a retired colonial governor in England. After selling his estates in India and many of his horses, he still feared Marian would be disappointed at their reduced state of living in England. He wrote to his wife, asking her: “How, my Marian, will you receive a healthless [sic] and penniless [sic] husband?”<sup>46</sup> The cost of maintaining separate homes for himself and Marian in England and India was unsustainable; he spent his last months in office trying to control his finances as much as possible, but the damage was already done.<sup>47</sup>

A close investigation of each of the impeachment charges against Hastings is beyond the scope of this project, especially as this subject has been expertly investigated by scholars before me.<sup>48</sup> However, because the trial demonstrates the impact the private life of Marian and Warren Hastings had on Warren’s public career, it is necessary to briefly revisit this controversy. Some of the arguments made against Hastings, and the press coverage of the impeachment, highlight the integral role the wife of the governor played in eighteenth-century politics, a point which has hitherto been overlooked. Over the course of the trial, newspapers targeted Marian’s thirst for power and money by accusing her of accepting bribes and exercising undue influence over her husband. For Mr. Hastings, critics accused him of financial mismanagement, collecting bribes, and threatening the virtue of the British monarchy with his domestic sins. These accusations spoke to his failures both as a ruler of a colony and his inability to maintain order in his own home.

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<sup>45</sup> Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 2:478-80; 3:223-7.

<sup>46</sup> WH to MH, Jan. 26, 1784, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29197, f54r.

<sup>47</sup> Marshall estimates Marian’s early return to England cost Hastings roughly £20,000. See Peter Marshall, “The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings,” *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 37, no. 96 (Nov. 1964): 298, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1964.tb02054.x> (accessed Jan. 2014).

<sup>48</sup> The primary example is Peter Marshall’s *Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (1965).

As Anna Clark argues, eighteenth-century political scandals often provided a forum for an increasingly engaged public to debate imperial issues. They offer an opportunity for the historian to observe contestation about gender norms and sexuality, especially because these scandals caught the public's attention. For Clark, focusing on the Begums charge, the Hastings trial became a contest over the protection of Indian women from the sins of a smaller group of Englishmen—which mapped on to a general dichotomy between the masculinity of British imperialism and the femininity of India.<sup>49</sup> In this charge, Edmund Burke and Richard Sheridan, the prosecutors in the impeachment trial, conjured images of Hastings and his crew pilfering the innocent (and helpless) mother and grandmother of the Nawab Vizier of Awadh. These women, the Begums of Awadh, had their eunuchs taken from them while the palace was under siege. They were held captive and tortured until the women paid the sum Hastings felt the Nawab owed the Company, but which he refused to pay. Scholars who study the Hastings impeachment trial tend to see it as a crucial moment for the British government to reinvent its imperial policy in the wake of utter scandal and embarrassment.<sup>50</sup> Burke argued that the English public had a duty to avenge the rights of Indians who had been mistreated and taken advantage of by power-hungry nabobs like Hastings.<sup>51</sup> At the center of this struggle for reclaiming the “good” in empire was the paternalist discourse of defending feminine virtue, both Indian and English, a policy which coincided with expanding Crown rule.<sup>52</sup>

According to Burke, imperial sovereignty depended upon maintaining racial and patriarchal hierarchies, and Marian Hastings threatened to disrupt this order on both counts.

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<sup>49</sup> Clark, *Scandal*, chap. 4; Sara Suleri “Reading the Trial of Warren Hastings,” in *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>50</sup> Nicholas Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), esp. chap. 3.

<sup>51</sup> A corruption of the word “nawab.”

<sup>52</sup> Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the ‘manly Englishman’ and the ‘effeminate Bengali’ in the late nineteenth century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), chap. 4; Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 92-100, 107-110.

While many at the time were concerned about the potential dangers of European women engaging in empire, the debates about Marian demonstrate that the fear was not simply that British women could be corrupted by luxury and despotism: it was that the masculinity of British men could be at risk if women flaunted the rules of propriety and domesticity, whether in India or in Britain.<sup>53</sup> Fanny Burney, who was member of the Queen's household, noted her observations of Marian Hastings during the governor's trial, which make clear that Warren Hastings was not the only one standing accused in the court room:

I have always been very sorry...that Mrs. Hastings...should have an indiscretion so peculiarly unsuited for her situation, as to aim always at being the most conspicuous figure wherever she appears...It is for Mr. Hastings I am sorry when I see this inconsiderate vanity, in a woman who would so much better manifest her sensibility of his present hard disgrace, by a modest and quiet appearance and demeanour.<sup>54</sup>

Marian represented many of the qualities of corruption which plagued the East India Company. Her jewelry, her vanity and her "exotic" dress served as glaring apostates in the face of justice and virtue, threatening the racial divide upon which imperial sovereignty relied, and severely detracting from her husband's defense. To Burney, Marian's behavior demonstrated flagrant disloyalty to her husband, not only because she confirmed what their critics were saying about him, but also because it made Warren appear incapable of managing his wife.

Marian's supposed failures as a wife were referenced over and over again in the press, her profligacy was tied to her promiscuity, and both vices were poised to threaten the state and the empire. In one popular satire of the day, Mrs. Hastings was rumored yet again to be carrying on an affair, this time with her chaperone in England, Major Scott. *The Rolliad* was a collection of satirical poems published in the English newspapers during the 1780s by Whigs who were

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<sup>53</sup>Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), chap. 5.

<sup>54</sup> May 25, 1792, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, 3 Vols., ed. Charlotte Barrett (Philadelphia, PA: Carey and Hart, 1842), 2:343; Grier, *Letters*, 32-3.

critical of William Pitt's administration. This particular poem accused the government and the crown of sharing in the vices of Mr. and Mrs. Hastings:

Behold!—her joints are fewer than her rings!  
Illustrious dame! On either ear,  
The Munny Begums' spoils appear!  
... Take her, great George, and shake her by the hand,  
'Twill loose her jewels and enrich thy land.  
But oh! Reserve one ring for an old stager;  
The ring of future marriage for her *Major!*<sup>55</sup>

Warren Hastings faced his share of criticism in the *Rolliad*, though as will be shown, many of the jabs toward him actually focused on his relationship with his wife. The attacks on Marian's virtue ultimately took aim at Warren's masculinity, and their domestic sins were construed as direct threats to the virtue of the British state.

The poet next turned to the men with ties to India in Parliament. He mocked them by proposing they change their seating from the traditional benches to more lavish furnishings—perhaps the ivory bed Mrs. Hastings presented to the Queen, originally gifted by Munny Begum?<sup>56</sup> The poem tapped into fears that Britain had been corrupted by nabobs like Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, who bought influence and power through expensive gifts stolen from Indian royalty. The author not only attacked Marian's virtue, he warned his readers about how she wielded her sexuality to lobby at the highest ranks of British government: "It cannot be doubted but Mrs. Hastings would exert all her own private and all Major Scott's public influence with every branch of the Legislature, to obtain so illustrious a job for the man to whose affection, or to

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<sup>55</sup> Sir John Hawkins [pseud.], *Probationary odes for the laureateship: with a preliminary discourse*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (London, UK: James Ridgway, 1791): 50, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupNa me=cornell&tabID=T001&docId=CW116181005&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&doc Level=FASCIMILE> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

<sup>56</sup> The bed was in addition to a pair of ivory chairs. Amin Jaffer, "Tipu Sultan, Warren Hastings and Queen Charlotte: The Mythology and Typology of Anglo-Indian Ivory Furniture," *The Burlington Magazine* 141:1154 (May 1999):275-277, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/888364> (accessed Oct. 17, 2016); and Sir Charles Allen Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 149-50.

whose want of affection, she owes her present fortunes [i.e. Baron Imhoff].”<sup>57</sup> Reducing her political power to her sexuality, the negative press on Marian often portrayed her as threatening the masculinity of the gentlemen around her, including Scott, Imhoff, and Hastings himself.<sup>58</sup> The dangerousness of her political influence was reinforced by the references to her sexuality.<sup>59</sup>

With all this talk of Marian’s infidelity, speculations about her divorce were not far behind. When Marian was received by the King and Queen in Court shortly after her arrival in England, many gossiped about the impropriety of such a meeting. Members of the Queen’s household voiced their concerns about the potential damage that would be done to the Queen’s reputation for being linked to a high-profile divorcee in the papers.<sup>60</sup> Yet Fanny Burney, who judged Marian harshly during the impeachment trial, defended the former lady governor by claiming that major differences between German and English law regarding divorce meant that infidelity was unlikely to be the reason behind Imhoff’s desire to end the marriage.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, travel writer and former Company servant Nathaniel Wraxall felt there was “little

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<sup>57</sup> *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, UK: J. Ridgway, 1790): 88-9, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T001&docId=CW3310108000&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

<sup>58</sup> Hastings appears to have been informed of the gossip surrounding his wife while he remained in India. According to Kathleen Elliot, Mrs. Motte wrote to the governor regarding rumors about Marian and the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow: “I must tell you however, that when she is most inclined to be livelier than usual it is when she is in company with the Chancellor, and indeed some of your friends appear a little alarmed or jealous for you upon that subject: for my part, not being afraid of you, I confess I am never better pleased or think she appears to greater advantage on such occasions.” Elliot, *Beloved Marian*, 166; Grier, *Letters*, 398.

<sup>59</sup> Another politically-active woman who was accused of promiscuity at the time was the Duchess of Devonshire. See Colley, *Britons*, 242-8; Clark, *Scandal*, 70-78.

<sup>60</sup> Barrett, *Letters of Madame D’Arblay*, 3:59-60.

<sup>61</sup> “[Remarriage] could only take place [in England] upon misconduct, and [in Germany], I have been told, a divorce from misconduct prohibited a second marriage, which could only be permitted where the divorce was the mere effect of disagreement from dissimilar temper. Mrs. Hastings, therefore, though acquitted of ill-behaviour by the laws of her own country, seemed, by those of England, convicted...” August 10, 1786, Barrett, *Letters of Madame D’Arblay*, 3:60. This scene is also referenced in Lawson, 63 and Grier, *Proconsul*, 433-4. For copies of the annulment, see “Decree of Divorce between Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusetin and her husband, Carl Christoph von Imhoff,” June 1776, Supplementary Collection of Warren Hastings’s Papers, Add MS 39903, British Library, London, ff65-9 (hereafter cited as Supplementary Hastings Papers). In England, divorce was only available to elite men, who could obtain an Act of Parliament if adultery was proved. After the 1857 Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act, women could potentially obtain a divorce, as long as they proved adultery and cruelty. For more historical background on divorce in England, see Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce, 1660-1857* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993).

benefit” to Mrs. Hastings’s entrance into English society because “the nature of her marriage with Hastings, and all the circumstances which produced that union, afforded so much subject for animadversion or scandal, as considerably to impede her introduction into the highest company.”<sup>62</sup> *The Rolliad* made continual reference to the Hastings’ close relationship with the Hanoverians (the “George” in the poem is King George III), which were possible in large part because of his wife’s German connections, but the striking accusation made against Hastings, that he “b[ought] German phlegm at second-hand,” sullied this royal relationship through the sin of divorce.<sup>63</sup> Yet another commentator, Horace Walpole, took aim at the Court’s hypocrisy in admitting some “scandalous” women and disallowing other. He questioned Lady Hamilton’s being barred from Court when “such over-virtuous wives as the Duchess of Kingston and Mrs. Hastings—who could go with a husband in each hand—are admitted.”<sup>64</sup>

The questionable beginning of Marian’s and Warren’s marriage was construed as both a public and a private sin. If Hastings believed he could buy off powerful Indian elites like Munny Begum, or that fortune made in the East could salvage his family name, critics suggested he carried this egotism and venality into his personal life. Wraxall bluntly summed up a common belief at the time, writing that “Mr. Hastings had bought the right to a wife.”<sup>65</sup> It was a scenario that played out in all the papers of the day, but the gossip about the governor’s marriage was hardly just tabloid material. From the court of public opinion to the halls of Parliament in the impeachment hearings—reverberations of the couple’s public and private sins were felt across the nation for the better part of a decade.

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<sup>62</sup> Wraxall, *Memoirs*, 4:18.

<sup>63</sup> *Rolliad*, 92.

<sup>64</sup> Horace Walpole to The Miss Berrys, Aug. 23, 1791, Peter Cunningham, ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, Vol. 9 (London, UK: Richard Bentley, 1859), 340.

<sup>65</sup> Wraxall, *Memoirs*, 4:35.



The governor and lady governor were equally targeted by cartoon satirists at the time of the trial. The artwork tended to focus on Marian's corruption of England through the spoils of imperialism, but the drawings also spoke to the breaking down of domestic order and virtue. The images all date from 1788, near the beginning of the trial. Many of the cartoons drew the King and Queen into the fray, as was the case in the *Rolliad*, arguing that they, alongside Pitt, benefitted the most from the governor's transgressions in India. The first image (Fig. 1) places Marian in close proximity to the British sovereigns, in fact, directly below the Queen herself.



**Figure 1: James Gillray, “-Coaches,” (Piccadilly: Fores, 20 May 1788), National Portrait Gallery, London, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw61358/-Coaches> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).**

Warren and Marian Hastings sit in a coach “Licensed by Royal Authority,” which is making its way toward the “Temple of Honor.” The carriage is driven by Edward Thurlow, one of Hastings’s staunch advocates. The horses’ faces depict government advocates: Prime

Minister Pitt, Viscount Sydney, Henry Dundas and Pepper Arden. These men supported Hastings (and as the print alleges, benefitted financially) up until the moment of impeachment. The Queen is dressed as a market lady, sitting atop the coach, carrying a basket full of golden eggs and a goose, which is squawking at her husband, who sits in the boot dressed as a militiaman.<sup>66</sup> The caption below reads: “The very stones look up to see; Such very gorgeous Harlotry; Shaming an honest Nation.” The prostitution of Britain centers on the women in the picture—the appellation of the harlot is no mistake. It is the women in the cartoon who are dripping with diamonds and spoils of the East—it is they who are cloaked in the scarlet red reminiscent of rubies.

The print is the second in a series of two, the first of which is titled “Opposition-coaches,” and depicts the other side of the impeachment trial as driven by Burke and Fox. Headed towards ominous clouds, their coach is “Licensed by an Act of Parliament” and sports a crest with *Pro Bono Publico* emblazoned on its front.<sup>67</sup> In both cases, faction is driving the state to ruin, cloaked under the banner of honor and greater good. A frustrated public, concerned that the empire was more trouble financially than it was worth, latched on to these images of pillage and profligacy as Hastings’s impeachment wore on. Money was the root of the public’s concerns—not just the immorality of fortune-seeking in India, but also the growing cost of the ongoing trial in Britain. One newspaper claimed that Hastings and British taxpayers had spent upwards of £80,000 on the Parliamentary hearings, and that was just three years in.<sup>68</sup>

In the second print (Fig. 2), Mrs. Hastings occupies the center of attention, while her husband stands by her side, chair overturned from the shock of the ghostly apparition. Cheyt Singh moves towards them, bearing around his neck a rope, perhaps foreshadowing the fate of

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<sup>66</sup> Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of political and personal satires preserved in the department of prints and drawings in the British Museum, 1784-1792* (London: British Museum, 1938), 4:492.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *India Gazette*, Calcutta, Mar. 22, 1790.

Hastings's career as he answers to his crimes against Singh in the trial. Behind Warren and Marian lie the spoils of their administration, also draped all over the lady herself. Beneath Mrs. Hastings's folded arms lies a copy of Warren's *Memoirs Relative to the State of India*, drafted on his return voyage to England. In the book, Hastings defended his last months in office and explained his decision to remain in India for longer than he intended so that he could attempt to remedy Benares's poor financial state at the insistence, he claimed, of the Nawab Vizir.



Figure 2: "Cheyt-syngs, ghost," (Piccadilly: S.W. Fores, Mar. 9, 1788), British Museum, London, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1461531&partId=1&people=153947&peoA=153947-1-9&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1461531&partId=1&people=153947&peoA=153947-1-9&page=1) (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

At the center of the struggle, calmly ignoring her husband's sins, Marian is guilty by virtue of her complacency, and for taking advantage of his pillaging.

When wives took an active role in imperial politics, the line between public and private blurred, making it difficult to root out corruption. This brought some observers to question whether the costs of allowing wives to accompany their husbands to the colonies outweighed any

advantages. A British newspaper voiced concern that “Mrs. Hastings...had received the sum of ten thousand pounds, as a gratuity or compliment, which had been applied by Mr. Hastings to the India Company. The acceptance of money by a Governor’s Wife, was, by Act of Parliament, expressly forbidden.”<sup>69</sup> As the paper went on to say, there was precedent in the Roman empire for not allowing wives to accompany their husbands on colonial trips for this very reason.

This was the argument made by Edmund Burke over the course of deliberations on the charge that Hastings had accepted presents banned by the 1773 Regulating Act. The issue pertaining to Mrs. Hastings was whether a gift of £10,000 from the Nawab and his ministers was intended as a private gift for Marian, or whether it was meant for the governor, and therefore ultimately Company property.<sup>70</sup> The difference between public or private use for the money was the difference between revenue and bribe, between acquittal and conviction. Allowing wives to accompany their husbands to the colonies, in high-ranking positions, posed a clear threat to managing a virtuous and lawful empire according to Burke, for “if the wives of governors-general...can receive presents...there is an end to every power of restraint. Let a man be but married, and that moment the Acts of Parliament...expire.”<sup>71</sup> As Queen Victoria demonstrated to the vicereines a short while later, cultivating an image of oneself as a devoted wife went a long way toward softening the threat posed by a female in power. If women were to become

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<sup>69</sup> “The Romans aware of the abuse that would occur if the wives of Governors were permitted to receive bribes, did not suffer them to accompany their husbands to their Governments. This determination was not made when the Romans were most distinguished for virtue and patriotism, but at a period best calculated to correct immorality and corruption.” “The Impeachment-- fortieth day,” *World*, no. 734, May 8, 1789, in 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Burney Collection Newspapers, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/bncn/infomark.do?&enlarge=&source=gale&prodId=BBCN&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T012&docPage=article&docId=Z2001514446&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0&workId=&contentSet=LTO&callistoContentSet=UBER2&retrieveFormat=PDF> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

<sup>70</sup> Edmund Burke, “Conclusion of the speech of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke, Manager for the House of Commons, in opening the sixth article of the charge, relating to presents,” May 7, 1789, in *Speeches of the managers and counsel in the Trial of Warren Hastings*, Vol. 2, ed. E.A. Bond (London, UK: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 200-1.

<sup>71</sup> Burke, *Speeches of the Managers*, 200-1.

acceptable members of the imperial elite, they would need to abide by the rules of Parliament and domesticity.

### **Acquittal and the shock of retirement**

In 1795, after roughly seven years of hearings, Warren Hastings was acquitted of all charges. However, retirement proved to be a disappointment to the governor and his wife. Both wrote to their friends about how boring their lives had become, how they felt lost, without a purpose, and lacking in any meaningful influence in public life. Marian's and Warren's extravagant tastes did not change despite the fact that they had very little money left to spend—much of their fortune had gone to Hastings's defense. Their poor financial state did not remotely deflate their egos; their expectations of deference in India carried over into England. They were indeed shocked to find Warren Hastings's tenure as a colonial governor did nothing to elevate their status in the home country.

Though both husband and wife spent more than they had, the rumors about Mrs. Hastings's profligacy distract from her actual managerial role in the household economy. Her letters indicate that she oversaw the sale of their home in London, which was in her name, and attempted to control her husband's debts.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, this image of Marian as manager of their domestic economy also pointed to Warren's failures as a husband, and fed rumors that Marian hid money from her husband, which spread precipitously from Macaulay on.<sup>73</sup> Warren's close relatives and friends knew of his debts: Marian often confided to her son Charles just how

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<sup>72</sup> Marian asked their manager to hold the deposit from the sale of the house "for my use, or rather, for my beloved Hastings! As he may want cash...How much has Mr. H overdrawn at your bank? Pray let me know a little about it. My enquiry (you know) does not proceed from curiosity but from a wish to save my husband anxiety of mind." MH to Richard Johnson, Mar. 29, 1797, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29175, ff74-5; Marshall, "Private Fortune," 248n3.

<sup>73</sup> P.J. Marshall's research indicates Marian had a much larger fortune than they disclosed to the officials at the time she and her husband were applying to the Company for an annuity: "Private Fortune," 251-2. He claims Marian's accounts held £107,725, instead of the £40,000 Warren admitted to on public record in a deposition to the East India Company regarding his application for assistance in his legal fees. The rumor was spread by biographers: Grier, *Letters*, 439 fn1; Busteed, *Echoes*, 365; Wraxall, *Memoirs*, 4:18 and Macaulay referred to "the private hoards of Mrs. Hastings," "Warren Hastings," 142.

poor a state their finances were in. By 1808, the couple had dug themselves into such a hole that even Warren's brother-in-law could no longer assist him.<sup>74</sup>

Hastings's financial difficulties continued through, and were exacerbated by, the impeachment trial.<sup>75</sup> He petitioned Parliament, complaining about the extended length of the trial and concerned because the cost of the preparations was simply too great for his already depleted fortune.<sup>76</sup> Hastings often compared his plight to men he considered to be in similar situations who met with very different outcomes, including Elijah Impey, his former friend and ally.<sup>77</sup> Hastings also felt that his trial was deliberately publicized, perhaps with the intent to make a scapegoat of him, as Sara Suleri and Nicholas Dirks have argued.<sup>78</sup> He hated the trial too for the effect it had on his wife Marian, "wear[ing] down her spirits, and destroy[ing] her health."<sup>79</sup>

Though Hastings was acquitted in 1795, his career in public service was at an end.

Forsaken by politics, Hastings turned all of his attention to his home life, his marriage, and his

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<sup>74</sup> Marian wrote to her son Charles: "Mr. Penyston informed him by letter that he must not draw any more drafts on their home, he been indebted to them above £4000. What was to be done...I had none of my bankers to borrow we were too proud no! I mean too honest," MH to Charles Imhoff, Feb. 4, 1808, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29183, ff 164-5.

<sup>75</sup> The costs of the trial began to accumulate well before opening arguments commenced in the Commons in 1786, and Major Scott and Mrs. Hastings were responsible for drumming up support for the governor's cause prior to his return home. However John Woodward, one of Hastings's business managers in England, had concerns about Scott's use of the Hastings's money: "Major Scott is very active and zealous in your cause, but the sums he takes from us and draws upon you payable in India is to a large amount not less upon the whole than fifteen thousand pounds": John Woodman to WH, Aug. 14, 1784, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29165, ff. 229r-v. The Company did loan him £50,000 as well as grant him an annuity totaling £42,000. He also received £20,000 from the Nawab Wazir of Awadh to help with his defense. Marshall, "Private Fortune," 247n5.

<sup>76</sup> WH to Parliament, Mar. 1795, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29234, ff. 217-226, duplicate and Marshall, *Impeachment*, 82-3.

<sup>77</sup> Impey's impeachment hearing began in 1787 and the charges were dropped in 1788. Although Clive was forced to defend his actions in Parliamentary hearings which were called to investigate the state of Company affairs in the post-Plassey years (the early 1770s) during which Bengal suffered a devastating famine and Company stock tanked, Clive walked away with the Commons confirming his right to £234,000 for his Plassey victory: Bowen, "Clive," under "India, 1755-1760."

<sup>78</sup> Suleri, *Rhetoric*, 52, 56; Dirks, *Scandal*, 89-90. In comparing his impeachment to Lord Melville's impeachment, Hastings wrote: "I was loaded by all the managers in succession, through the whole course of their pleadings in the trial, with language of the foulest abuse, aggravated by coarse and vulgar epithets of which there had never been any examples in the jurisprudence of this or any other country." "Memorandum on the difference between the treatment accorded to Lord Melville on his acquittal (12 June 1805) and that received by Hastings," Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39903, ff32-35.

<sup>79</sup> Warren Hastings to David Anderson, July 6, 1791, Anderson Papers, Add MS 45418, British Library, London, f44v.



estate. He complained to his secretary and confidant David Anderson in 1785: “I am an idle man, and unprofitable. I do not like to be either, and I am afraid that I have less to expect of good than of evil from my being hold up to the public as an object of their notice.”<sup>80</sup> His disappointment at the lack of respect he met with in England, and the sharp difference between the influence he and his wife continued to have in India and their public shunning in England, indicate the extent of Hastings’s inattention to British politics while in office.<sup>81</sup> The sense of nostalgia Hastings felt about his time in India is present in many of his successors’ correspondence as well, suggesting these men were straddling two worlds until the end of their lives, perhaps never fully comfortable or satisfied in either one.<sup>82</sup>

Warren and Marian Hastings were dismayed at how mundane life became when they retired. It was not for lack of trying either; during the war with France, Hastings instituted a village militia, the Daylesford Musketeers, which had six members, and offered his services to George IV in the event of an invasion.<sup>83</sup> Mrs. Hastings swapped audiences with Indian elites for teaching the young ladies of Daylesford how to sew.<sup>84</sup> Following his return to England, Hastings’s status had changed dramatically. Whereas he and Marian were at the top of the Anglo-Indian elite, even without the impeachment they had re-entered a world that had not changed in the same ways they had. England was still a place that valued landed property over the trade-based fortune Hastings had made, particularly one that was earned in a country seen by contemporaries as sinful, foreign and potentially threatening.<sup>85</sup> His frustration at the process of

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<sup>80</sup> WH to DA, Sept. 19, 1785, Anderson Papers, Add MS 45418, f2.

<sup>81</sup> Over the course of the trial, Hastings received several testimonies from supporters in India, as well as congratulations offered upon his acquittal: “Extract of Bengal Public Consultations,” June 6, 1796, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29202, ff274-5.

<sup>82</sup> Hastings told Anderson not to “neglect” the friendships he has made in India, because he “will not meet with characters of more faith or worth in England...nor Scotland.” Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 217.

<sup>83</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 241, 251.

<sup>84</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 12.

<sup>85</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, 165-184.

purchasing his family estate conveys the stark incompatibility of retirement in England to his life as governor in India. It took three years of negotiation because the current owner of the estate, the grandson of John Knight, the man who purchased Daylesford from Warren Hastings's great-grandfather, refused to part with it. His powers had certainly dwindled, as he observed to Anderson: "You and I could have negotiated the transfer of a province on the other side of the globe with half the trouble, and this after all is but a paltry business of 500 acres."<sup>86</sup> Finally, after sinking more money than he had into it; he moved into the house he rebuilt and modelled after his home in India, in 1791. Hastings did not care how much it cost—he was determined to salvage his family's reputation and reclaim the estate in the hopes of one day passing it on to his adopted children.<sup>87</sup>

Marian, like her husband, discovered that her connections were worth more in India than in Britain. During the Chunar crisis, Bissummer Pundit (a diplomatic agent from Berar, part of the Maratha Confederacy) remained loyal to Hastings, so much so that Warren wrote to Marian telling her to remember the support shown him by Bissummer and his brother, Beneram. So in 1823, following Warren Hastings's death, when Bissummer Pundit's widow was facing financial ruin, she called upon Mrs. Hastings to defend her right to the land lease Mr. Hastings had granted her husband in 1780. She went so far as to signal her understanding that Marian now stood "in the place of my Benefactor the late Worthy Mr. Hastings," and assumed as such that she would be able to secure the lease in return for the loyalty Bissummer and Beneram had shown the British.<sup>88</sup> It was a testament to the political influence Marian had while in India that Bissummer's

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<sup>86</sup> WH to DA, Oct. 30, 1785, Anderson Papers, Add MS 45418, ff4-5.

<sup>87</sup> Marshall, "Personal Fortune," 295-6; Holmes, *Four Heroes*, 53 and Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 1:9.

<sup>88</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 147n and Bissummer Pundit's widow to MH, Nov. 23, 1823, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29191, ff253r-v.



widow reached out to her; Mrs. Hastings was able to contact Colonel Palmer to make sure the widow could maintain her lease.<sup>89</sup>

Despite her successes advocating on behalf of Bissumber Pundit's widow, Marian failed in her attempts to lobby for a peerage in England for she and her husband.<sup>90</sup> Though he was acquitted, politicians were still wary of any public displays of approval relating to the former governor. That did not stop Warren and Marian from trying to maintain the dignity they felt they deserved as faithful servants and high-ranking agents of empire. Following Warren's passing, Marian continued to pursue recognition for her husband's service through various forms of commemoration, including biographies and statues.

### **Lost but not forgotten**

Warren Hastings passed away on August 22, 1818. Marian lived for another nineteen years, during which time she struggled to maintain Daylesford estate with the meager savings the couple had. Marian was denied a pension despite appealing to the King's sister, Princess Sophia, in 1829. It was one of Hastings's final challenges before he died; he never stopped trying to secure an allowance for his wife. He wrote to Colonel Toone less than three weeks before his death, in which he argued that the support and comfort Marian provided helped him through the challenges of the office, and that this should be enough to justify her right to a Company annuity following his death. He recalled the Patna incident as an example of Marian performing beyond the duties of a governor's wife, defending the sovereignty of the British.<sup>91</sup> Here, the former governor signaled to the British political elite that he considered his wife to be an indispensable servant of empire both in a supportive role as his spouse as well as commanding and respected

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<sup>89</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 146-7.

<sup>90</sup> And it was Marian that insisted on the title: Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 3:429; Grier, *Letters*, 33; Keith Feiling, *Warren Hastings* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1954), 388.

<sup>91</sup> Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 3:521.

authority in her own right. As the Duke of Gloucester remarked, Marian's predicament was seen by her friends as "a disgrace to the Nation."<sup>92</sup>

Following Warren Hastings's death, his widow worked with her son, Charles Imhoff, to promote and preserve her husband's memory and reputation, and commemorate his service to the empire. Popular opinion of the governor was on a definite uptick at the end of his life; he received a standing ovation at his return to Parliament in 1813 when he gave evidence in a Company hearing, a source of great pride for Marian.<sup>93</sup> However, the impeachment had left a permanent stain on his career; Company managers and members of Parliament alike were hesitant to ally themselves in support of either Hastings or his widow.<sup>94</sup> Well after the trial, friends of Warren and Marian were still trying to publish the Indian testimonials used in support of the defense during the impeachment in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*.<sup>95</sup> It seems their biggest fear was not so much that the public would forget that Hastings was acquitted of all charges, but that they would forget him entirely.

Marian wrote to Hastings's secretary, David Anderson, asking whether he knew of anyone worthy enough to write a history of Hastings that would reclaim his reputation in the eyes of his countryman. She made clear she wanted not only his work in India to be documented,

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<sup>92</sup> Duke of Gloucester to MH, June 26, 1822, Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39873, f48v.

<sup>93</sup> PJ Marshall, "The Making of an Imperial Icon: the case of Warren Hastings," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no. 3 (Sept. 1999): 12, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03086539908583071> (accessed Sept. 12, 2014).

<sup>94</sup> Mar. 31, 1813, "Diary of Marian Hastings," Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39890, f31. Hastings was shut out of domestic politics upon his return to England, and although he hoped he and his wife would be granted a title, this never came to be. See Alfred Lyall, *Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Macmillan and Co, 1889), 228.

<sup>95</sup> It looks like Marian also saw in publications of the testimonials a much-needed opportunity to make money: "A sinking person lays hold on any thing! I namely have above 100 testimonial books now lying by me—they were all printed at blessed Mr Hastings's own expenses and are therefore not to be purchased. I made presents of them to all his friends in this country. Do you think that if I send the rest out to India they would sell among Europeans and Natives, who knew that great man?" Marian Hastings to Charles D'Oyly, Jan. 26, 1825, Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39873, ff69-71, duplicate.

but also the “*ingrata patria*” he faced upon his return to England.<sup>96</sup> Unfortunately, Marian did not live to see this overwhelming task accomplished. She was, however, instrumental in achieving at least two other forms of commemoration for her husband. After lobbying the Court of Directors to no avail, Marian independently secured a plaque and bust in Westminster Abbey in 1819 for plain Mr. Hastings, rightfully at home with statesmen and poets alike.<sup>97</sup> However, it was important to Mrs. Hastings that her husband be remembered both in England and in India. Charles Imhoff and Charles D’Oyly (godson to Hastings) collected subscriptions in India, at Marian’s behest, in order to erect a bronze statue of the former governor in Calcutta alongside the statues of other governors that were cropping up at this time, including those of Cornwallis and Wellesley.<sup>98</sup> Having received the support of the present governor, Lord Teignmouth, a statue of Warren Hastings, dressed in the style of a Roman senator, was placed in front of the old Government House in 1830.<sup>99</sup> If feelings towards Marian and Warren in England at the time were ambivalent at best, they were still very much celebrities among the British in India.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> MH to DA, Feb. 15, 1819, Anderson Papers, Add MS 45418, ff358-9. Hastings’s own attempts at writing a eulogy for himself focus on this heavy burden as well.

<sup>97</sup> Hastings recorded in his journal that he was “content to go down to the grave with the plain name of Warren Hastings” in the absence of a title. Quoted in Lawson, *Private Life*, 186-7. Many biographers, including Lawson, were outraged Hastings was not buried at Westminster as other servants of the empire, including Commander-In-Chief Sir James Outram and fellow governor Earl Canning, were.

<sup>98</sup> Sir Charles D’Oyly to MH, Nov. 29, 1823, Hastings Papers, Add MS 39873, ff54-5; A.C. Seymour, “Calcutta Town Hall, Mar. 22, 1814,” in *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the Years 1806-1815*, Vol. 4, ed. W.W. Setton-Karr (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent Government Printing, 1868), 136-137.

<sup>99</sup> Sir Charles D’Oyly to MH, Nov. 29, 1823, Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39873, ff54-5. Classical influences on the British empire in India were strongly reflected in buildings and monuments constructed during the nineteenth century. See Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain’s Raj* (London, UK: Faber and Faber, 1989): 8-16. Though England saw the Roman Empire as a sort of “yardstick” by which to gage the success of their own empire, Rome also represented all of the dangers of excess and corruption inherent in imperialism: PJ Marshall, “Empire and Authority in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15, no. 2 (1987): 107, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03086538708582732> (accessed Dec. 2012). By 1830, Warren Hastings could wear the Senatorial Toga proudly, since many of the British were confident benevolent despotism in India would not preclude liberty in England. Marshall, “Empire,” 115, 117-8.

<sup>100</sup> “I have reason to be pleased with what has been done by the gentlemen of the British Inhabitants of Calcutta. They have done justice to him by the high sense they have expressed of their respect to the memory of their former Governor General Warren Hastings! I hope that their names will be engraved on the statue which they have voted to be erected at Calcutta, as a memento to his virtues and goodness!” MH to Lord Teignmouth, Apr. 10, 1821, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29191, ff243-4.

The early nineteenth century brought a moment of introspection in England regarding the eighteenth-century empire in India. While the statues erected in Calcutta charted a clear lineage from Clive up through the 1830s, the inheritance of the empire in the early Victorian period was not accepted without contest. The issues raised in the Hastings impeachment trial, such as the threat of individual interests controlling national interest, and the corruption of British liberty through illiberal practices in overseas rule, resurfaced in the form of debate between biographers, who focused on the governors. At this stage, the wives of the governors were referred to in these biographies only tangentially. Women were increasingly represented in the imperial literature market, especially the travel writing genre, but it would take a queen on the throne in England for the position of lady governor to be recognized by historians of the empire as the influential office the ladies who occupied it understood it to be.

Peter Marshall has established that Reverend George Robert Gleig was just one among a series of scholars and politicians who eventually reversed the damage the impeachment trial had done to Hastings's reputation in the early nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, Governor Hastings was firmly established as a British "Imperial Icon," according to Marshall.<sup>101</sup> As an example of this reversal, Marshall himself argued the governor's poor financial state was due in part to his reckless generosity towards family and friends alike, turning the governor's rumored profligacy into philanthropic virtue.<sup>102</sup> What is missing here, however, is the growing presence of Hastings's wife over the course of the posthumous recovery of his image. While Marian's role in elevating Warren's reputation began with the commemoration projects in the 1820s, biographers increasingly turned to her to develop their "private" histories

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<sup>101</sup> Phrase taken from Marshall, "Icon," 1-16.

<sup>102</sup> Marshall estimates Hastings spent roughly £48,000 in this capacity between 1772 and 1786. See P.J. Marshall, "The Personal Fortune of Warren Hastings," *Economic History Review* 17, no. 2 (1964): 298, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/2593007> (accessed Apr. 28, 2016).

of the former governor from the 1890s on. As they did for her husband, biographers improved Marian's character in their narratives, emphasizing her wifely, familial, and imperial devotion, and recasting their marriage as a virtuous one, rather than indecent.

In 1841, Gleig published the official memoir of Warren Hastings, taking on the task following Robert Southey's and Elijah B. Impey's failed attempts. It took Gleig four years to sift through the extensive archive Hastings left behind, which included snippets of Hastings's own autobiography later printed in Charles Lawson's biography.<sup>103</sup> Gleig's three volume biography is a clear defense of Hastings the man and the governor: he argues that Hastings had noble intentions from early on (to reclaim his family estate), but was the target of jealous and self-interested men like Philip Francis, who challenged his every move and decision as governor.

Gleig's biography sparked a heated response from Thomas Macaulay, who accused the Reverend of moral negligence in his depiction of the former governor-general. In his essay on Hastings, published just shortly after Gleig's book, Macaulay sought to rectify what he saw as a gross exaggeration of the merits of the governor's career, and instead held him accountable for the crimes committed during his administration, crimes which reflected poorly on the great nation which Macaulay was hard at work celebrating in his *History of England* (1848). Macaulay argued that while Hastings was undoubtedly talented and had more respect for Indian culture and languages than many of his colleagues had, he was nevertheless a heartless and cruel tyrant, for "in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the suffering of others, he was deficient."<sup>104</sup> Mrs. Hastings is given brief mention in the essay, only to be accused of being a bad influence and encouraging him to spend more money than he had: "The influence of Mrs.

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<sup>103</sup> Lawson, *Private Life*, 30; Hastings Papers, Add MS 39903, ff 14-21.

<sup>104</sup> Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," 149.

Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums [in gifts] than she was ever accused of receiving.”<sup>105</sup>

As Marshall has shown, Macaulay’s essay was deliberately provocative, and prompted a strong defensive reaction from Hastings’s supporters.<sup>106</sup> Many of the biographers who followed worked to revive Hastings’s reputation, citing Macaulay’s tendency toward exaggeration, and argued that the essay merely refuted Gleig on a case by case basis instead of bringing forward additional research.<sup>107</sup> Macaulay’s essay is a moralistic one; his writings were greatly influenced by the Evangelicalism of his parents.<sup>108</sup> To him, Hastings represented all the sins of the early days of the empire in India, and Macaulay believed it was important to set the evils of the eighteenth-century apart from the reform-minded empire of his day.<sup>109</sup> Through his essay on Hastings, and his *History*, Macaulay provided the empire with a backstory for its nineteenth-century reforms and promise of Whiggish progress.

Evangelical values such as charity and family would be taken up by late-Victorian biographers to showcase Mr. and Mrs. Hastings in a new light, demonstrating the centrality of domestic themes in imperial narratives as they became an established part of the canon after Macaulay.<sup>110</sup> These biographers showed that through their retirement, the governor and his wife continued to receive appeals for money from their family, particularly from Marian’s relatives. She convinced her husband to find a job in India for her nephew Charles, but he fell deeply into

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<sup>105</sup> While on the other hand, for Macaulay, Hastings’s noble poverty was a point of honor for the governor. Macaulay, “Warren Hastings,” 104-5.

<sup>106</sup> Marshall, “Icon,” 13.

<sup>107</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 5-7; Lawson, *Private Life*, 196-7.

<sup>108</sup> Catherine Hall outlines this argument in her recent book, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>109</sup> Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, 247.

<sup>110</sup> Since his early Company days, Hastings had been supporting both his and his first wife’s family: Grier, *Letters*, 18.

debt while there and returned home penniless.<sup>111</sup> Her brother, disappointed that Marian refused to pay her niece's dowry, sent Louisa to England; it was a complete shock to the Hastings when she showed up at their doorstep.<sup>112</sup> They immediately fell in love with her, and she in turn fell in love with Thomas Woodman, who was Hastings's own nephew. This marriage did not sever Marian's financial ties with the couple, however.<sup>113</sup>

Biographers are also quick to point out that the Baron and Marian remained on good terms, that he even named a daughter in his new marriage after his first wife.<sup>114</sup> Rather than the heartless deserter she was portrayed as in her lifetime, these historians showed that Marian did in fact try even to help the new Imhoff children when she could; young Marian Imhoff would ask her half-brother (Marian's son Charles) for money, and Mrs. Hastings would send it anonymously through Charles.<sup>115</sup> The extensive history done of the Hastings family by biographers in the late nineteenth century presented another side to the well-worn story of Marian and Warren's financial mismanagement and vanity, instead characterizing their debt as resulting from family members taking advantage of their innate generosity, and Warren's and Marian's desire to look out for their relatives.

Over the course of the trial, Marian's profligacy and negative influence over her husband constituted her primary threat to patriarchy and imperial sovereignty. These early twentieth-century historians, writing at a time when feminists were agitating for a greater share in public life, defended Marian's actions and personality by referring to her as a "man's woman." Sydney Grier explains: "a woman's woman leads, a man's woman *seems* to follow," "seems" being the

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<sup>111</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 188-9; Grier, *Letters*, 460-1.

<sup>112</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 242-3.

<sup>113</sup> MH to Duke of Gloucester, 1825?, Supplementary Hastings Papers, Add MS 39873, ff. 74-5.

<sup>114</sup> Grier even goes so far as to claim Baron Imhoff actually remarried before Marian married Warren, making the separation seem less one-sided than the earlier biographers had done. Grier, *Letters*, 463.

<sup>115</sup> MH to Charles Imhoff, June 10, 1810, Hastings Papers, Add MS 29185, ff188-189.

operative word. Women of this ilk had mastered the art of allowing their husbands to think their “will is supreme,” while ultimately achieving the result they sought.<sup>116</sup> Thus, the dangerous influence Burke had warned his audiences of as threatening the very fabric of the British empire became an admirable trait of a capable housewife at the turn of the twentieth century. Her snobbery and disdain for others, which made enemies of many the Calcutta women for Marian, were also excused as unfortunate side effects of having “a strongly masculine streak” that led her to side often with the men.<sup>117</sup> While these biographers emphasized Marian’s domestic virtues, their references to her defiance of gender norms suggests that Victorian understandings of femininity were beginning to change in the early twentieth century during the women’s rights movement.<sup>118</sup>

Celebrating an eighteenth-century couple who seemingly defied strict Victorian moralities in order to promote these values was an attempt to hold on to hierarchies in the face of massive changes to the social and political landscape in Britain and abroad.<sup>119</sup> These writers, pro-empire and decidedly conservative in their politics, appropriated a new narrative of Warren and Marian Hastings which served as imperial propaganda at a time when anti-imperial sentiment was strong. In so doing, they turned both Marian and Warren Hastings into champions of domesticity, appealing to nostalgia for the Victorian age while simultaneously celebrating the ambitious and engaging vicereines of India. Biographer Kathleen Elliott summed up these seemingly contrary ideals when addressing the absence of Marian Hastings in the historiography, and justified her addition to the imperial canon: “Domesticated yet never dull, shrewd but not crafty, generous but clear-sighted, she made her marriage a career without sinking her

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<sup>116</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 28; emphasis added.

<sup>117</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 174-5.

<sup>118</sup> Barbara Caine, *English Feminism, 1780-1980* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1997), chap. 4.

<sup>119</sup> On the reversion to separate spheres ideology at the turn of the twentieth century, see Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London, UK: Croom Helm, 1986), 218-9.



individuality.”<sup>120</sup> The malleability of representations of lady governors like Marian Hastings does not constitute a weakness or lack of agency, rather, the celebrity of lady governors and vicereines had the power to both threaten and preserve an empire. Her successors and future biographers would realize this, and take on the responsibility of managing the reputation of Britain’s empire by appropriating domestic themes of charity, spousal devotion, and Britishness.

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<sup>120</sup> Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 284.

## **Authors of empire: the Eden sisters as lady governors, 1836-1842**

Emily and Fanny Eden accompanied their brother to India in 1836 when George was appointed to the governor-generalship. The Eden sisters' journals demonstrate the extent to which they helped to fashion a role for lady governors while British rule in India was still in its relatively early stages. Their active participation in colonial politics, as well as their recording and publication of that participation, affords historians an opportunity to further explore the significance of gender to the politics of imperial rule and exchanges between Indian and British ruling elites. These interactions highlighted the advantages of having a female counterpart to the governor, and these women eventually become central to the ceremonial and ideological components of Raj rule. Emily's journals are best viewed as transitional pieces, since they were written in the 1830s-40s and published in the 1860s, during which period the colonial government shifted from East India Company control to Crown and Parliamentary control, and the governorship became the viceroyalty, a visible representation of the British monarch's power in India. Written as they were prior to the 1857 rebellions in India, the Eden letters indicate that the public relations responsibilities of lady governors had not yet manifested. However, the sisters' writings helped to create a market in Britain for memoirs of ruling elites which focused on their home lives as well as their official responsibilities.

Emily Eden is no stranger to imperial historiography; her work is usually discussed in the context of female travel writing in the long nineteenth century. Emily's book was also a product of early nineteenth-century English literature; readers will quickly identify the influences of one

of her favorite contemporary authors, Jane Austen.<sup>1</sup> Unlike other female travel writers, however, Eden did not focus solely on the zenana or general descriptions of Indian life. She also gave readers privileged access into her own personal life and the life of the governor-general's family.<sup>2</sup> Emily Eden, the woman and the writer, does not fit comfortably into the narrative categories established for European women in early nineteenth-century imperial discourse. The "picturesque" writing style, popular for contemporary travel writing, romanticized life abroad in prose and illustration. The artists and writers of this genre harkened back to familiar landscapes at home as a means of coping with being strangers in unfamiliar lands.<sup>3</sup> They also tended to reinforce racial hierarchies, as authors wrote nostalgically about the "untouched" nature they encountered, and placed these territories firmly in a "traditional," pre-civilized, childlike state in need of paternal guidance through imperialism. According to Pablo Mukherjee, Eden's writing is "unevenly picturesque," combining nostalgia for the past (celebrating India as an ancient civilization) with increasingly prevalent concerns about the effects of imperialism on Britain.<sup>4</sup> Contextualizing Eden's lady governorship as she wrote within a broader history of British administration in India and the evolution of the position of lady governor help situate Eden at the forefront of changes in British imperial politics and popular representations of the colonial government.

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<sup>1</sup> Indira Ghose, *Women travelers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), 76; Angelia Poon, *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: colonialism and the politics of performance* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 82.

<sup>2</sup> Ghose, *Women Travelers*, 10; Poon, *Englishness*, 76 and Rosemary Raza, *In their own words, British women writers and India, 1740-1857* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 26.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffery Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenization of Empire," *British Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (spring/summer 2004): 47-54, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/41614516> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Pablo Mukherjee, "Touring the Dead Lands: Emily Eden, Victorian Famines and Colonial Picturesque," *Critical Survey* 21, no. 1 (2009): 24-38, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/205823614?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

Emily and Fanny travelled to India while the government there was still undergoing significant administrative changes, which would not stabilize until after the British Crown took over completely in the 1858 transition to the Raj. In the wake of the nabobery of late-eighteenth-century rule in India, the East India Company worked to restore public confidence in their administration by instituting anti-corruption measures, including raising the salaries of their officials so they would not be tempted to line their pockets through extortion and other nefarious means.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, audiences in Britain were taking a growing interest in India, as the Company charters came up for renewal in 1813 and 1833, which culminated in the 1857 rebellions. A wave of histories and biographies about India and its British rulers developed in the 1840s, up through the 1860s, to educate audiences about a country that was becoming increasingly crucial to Britain's empire. These narratives were not only intended to be informative, they also drew a distinction between the corrupt rule of the eighteenth century and the future potential for British rule by a new generation. In many ways, Eden's texts reflect this cautious optimism, which was markedly different from narratives written by officials and their wives in the period following the rebellions. Once the era of Raj rule was underway, narratives of British India became much more openly celebratory; there is little to no hint in Lady Dufferin's journals or Lord Curzon's book of concern about the virtues of imperialism.

By that time also, from the 1880s on, the narrative of domesticity had become firmly entrenched in viceregal ceremony and ideology due in large part to the influence of Queen Victoria, who ascended the throne in 1837, just shortly after the Edens had spent their first year

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<sup>5</sup> In order to discourage private trade among the Company collectors, Cornwallis reduced their number, instituted new regulations, and increased their salaries by Rs. 300, and they also received commissions based on the amount of revenue they collected. See Arthur Aspinall, *Cornwallis in Bengal: the Administrative and Judicial Reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, Together with Accounts of the Commercial Expansion of the East India Company, 1786-1793, and the Founding of Penang, 1786-1793* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1931), 22-26 and PJ Marshall, "British Society in India under the East India Company," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 1 (Feb. 1997): 99, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/312858> (accessed Apr 20, 2016).

in India. Along with Victoria's rise came a trend towards forging a monarchical connection with India's governors, which was officially declared in the transition to the Raj and viceroyalty in 1858, following the end of the rebellions. Eden was writing just before this moment of transition, and her letters indicate that Victorian ideology and a regal branding of the governorship had not yet taken hold, and were therefore open to interpretation and influence by the Edens. Emily Eden helped to position lady governors, and eventually vicereines, as central figures in (and architects of) imperial discourse.

Lady governors helped to fashion and promote gender roles as political and social leaders in the colonial settlement. This fashioning was influenced by their own social background, by wider debates about gender in Britain, and through interactions with individuals in India as representatives of the colonial government. There are only a couple of scholars who have studied Emily Eden within the wider context of the "first wives" of British India, and those that have reduce their analysis to positioning these women within oppositional social orders and binary definitions of feminine and masculine. Relying on conduct book literature to define gender norms, Marian Fowler contends Emily Eden somehow became more feminine during her time in India, obsessed with her looks and more languid than she had been in Britain: "Delicate or daring: all British women in India tended to polarize at these two extremes of feminine or masculine behavior."<sup>6</sup> Histories of these wives were written before the new imperial history and gender turn, and therefore do not account for contestation of these social categories across political and geographic boundaries.

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<sup>6</sup> Marian Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1987), 39, 41.

As this chapter demonstrates, women like Eden developed a central position for themselves within the colonial government and imperial popular culture, which would eventually solidify into the formal position of vicereine in 1858. This self-fashioning was part of a wider struggle in Britain to position women within imperial politics. Emily Eden and Marian Hastings both situated themselves as more equal than subservient to their brother and husband, respectively, than vicereines in the Victorian period did. Following the rebellions, narratives of sacrifice and devotion became crucial to the persona of these wives, as part of a broader defense of patriarchal values that were threatened in the course of the mutiny. There are early hints of this language of sacrifice in Eden's journals, but it was not a quality the sisters actively promoted; it was something they lamented. The Eden sisters developed a role for the lady governor that was almost a surrogate for the governor, which enabled them to engage with Indian elites of slightly lower rank or of questionable position, or female elites, affording them the opportunity to engage in political discussion and ceremonial exchanges.

Eden worked to shape a ceremonial role for governors and their wives in India. She also helped to establish a market for literature on the private lives of imperial elites through the publication of her journals. The success of Emily's book, published in three editions, led her niece to publish another round of the former lady governor's letters in 1872 and her great-niece to do so again in 1919. This illustrates the central role women played in cataloguing and fashioning an intimate history of British Indian colonial governorship, begun by Marian's own attempts to commemorate her husband's career, and ultimately set the stage for the female historians who wrote imperial domestic biographies in the Victorian period.

### **British India in the early nineteenth-century**

Since George Canning's days as President of the Board of Control in 1816, the governor-general of India was selected from among the English political elite to ensure they would be above what were viewed as petty Indian politics in the colonial government.<sup>7</sup> The party in power appointed the governor for India; in Lord Auckland's case it was his friend, Prime Minister Melbourne, who made the nomination. The Edens were well-connected in English politics; George's father was a respected administrator and close friend to William Pitt. As an MP, he worked to reform the penal code. He also negotiated commercial treaties with Spain and France. George inherited the title Baron Auckland when his father died in 1814. He served as First Lord of the Admiralty and as President of the Board of Trade early in his career, but his public speaking skills left much to be desired.<sup>8</sup> PJ Marshall argues it was really the advance in salary which convinced Eden to make the transition to colonial government.<sup>9</sup>

From the 1790s into the 1830s, when Eden became governor, Parliament increasingly exerted more control over East India Company affairs.<sup>10</sup> Since Pitt's India Act of 1784, Parliamentary oversight of the colonial government in India had expanded, particularly through the institution of the Board of Control, whose members were appointed by the British monarch. The 1833 Government of India Act renewed the East India Company charter but, continuing the pattern of curtailing the Company's power, abolished their trade monopoly in China.<sup>11</sup> Pushed

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<sup>7</sup> Henry Morris, "The Earl of Auckland," in *The Governors-General of India, second series*, (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1896), 64.

<sup>8</sup> PJ Marshall quotes from Aspinall's *Three Early Nineteenth-Century Diaries* (1952): "His want of talent for public speaking and of distinction as a public man caused everyone to cry out against [his appointment]." Marshall, "Eden, George, Earl of Auckland (1784–1849)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Jan. 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8451> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> George's annual income went from £2,800 to £25,000 upon his acceptance of the governorship. Marshall, "Eden," *ODNB*.

<sup>10</sup> H.V. Bowen, "British India, 1765-1813: the Metropolitan Context," in *Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 3: the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), 544-550.

<sup>11</sup> Since Hastings's administration, the Company had significant amounts of its political power in India taken away by the British government such that loss of their monopolies in India (1813) and then China marked the beginning of the end for the Company.

through by the Whigs, this act restricted the Company's trading powers in India and reinforced the authority of the Board of Control over the colonial government. Through reforms such as this, Parliament hoped to separate the business interests of the stockholders from Britain's political interests. Ever since Hastings's very public impeachment, audiences in Britain were increasingly aware of British India, especially during moments of significant change, such as the military conflicts which took place in the early nineteenth century or Governor Wellesley's near-impeachment, which kept the colony in British newspapers.<sup>12</sup> Though the public scrutiny was not as intense as it would be when international press agencies developed in the Victorian period, the Eden sisters' journals show that they were intent on reassuring British audiences that the anti-corruption measures instituted beginning with Lord Cornwallis in the early 1790s continued under the Eden administration despite the Company's vast territorial expansion.

Between Warren Hastings's and George Eden's administrations, India witnessed a period of expansion and reform, which continued to erode whatever confidence Indian elites had in British governance. Governor Wellesley, contending with the French and Marathas from 1798-1805, extended the colonial government's economic and political reach in Awadh, pushing well north into Delhi and Agra.<sup>13</sup> He was accused of overstepping his office against directives from England, particularly in his annexation of half of Awadh in 1801. He also opened a college in Calcutta to train civil servants and presided over a lavish expansion of the government house in that city. Britain became the foremost European power in India shortly after Wellesley's tenure,

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<sup>12</sup> In May of 1806, Wellesley was accused of invading Awadh without permission from the Court of Directors. Parliament never voted to impeach him. Robert Rouiere Pearce, *Memoirs and Correspondence of the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley*, 3 Vols., (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 2:428-444.

<sup>13</sup> George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: Cassell & Co., 1925), 1:61; Thomas Metcalf and Barbara Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed. (2001; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 68-75. The Wellesley administration reflected the militaristic ethos of the early nineteenth century colonial government. See Douglas Peers, *Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in India, 1819-1835* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 1995).



and the governor's reforms and approach to the office went a long way toward elevating the stature of the governorship.<sup>14</sup>

Lord Bentinck's administration, from 1828-1833, had been one of domestic reform in India. Working with Thomas Macaulay, a Whig reformer and historian, they sought to "form a class of...persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."<sup>15</sup> Macaulay believed England set the standard for civilization, and that they had a moral duty to impart their laws to those societies that he considered to be lacking in these western, enlightenment virtues of legislation and education. Macaulay and Bentinck made English the official language of the colonial government in India, which was taught at the colleges this new "class" of Indian men attended. Reformers believed they were responsible for leading India towards civilizational progress, and any rituals they construed to be holding India back were banned, including the practice of widow immolation, sati.<sup>16</sup>

As governor, Lord Auckland continued reforms along the lines Bentinck and Macaulay had begun, with slight modifications. He ensured vernacular languages were still taught in schools at lower levels. He also built additional medical colleges in Bombay and Madras after the one Bentinck commissioned in Calcutta, and instituted a number of scholarships for Indian students in Government colleges.<sup>17</sup> However, Eden's administration would forever be tied to his

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<sup>14</sup> David Cannadine quotes from Lord Valentia's famous statement in support of the new Government House: India should "be ruled from a palace, not a counting-house." *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18. On eliminating European rivals, see Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, 67.

<sup>15</sup> T.B. Macaulay, "Minute on Indian Education," from *Bureau of Education: Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839*, Henry Sharpe, ed. (1835; repr., Calcutta: Government Printing, 1920), sec. 34, [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/meac/ac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt\\_minute\\_education\\_1835.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/meac/ac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html) (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

<sup>16</sup> Sati was abolished by Governor Bentinck in 1829.

<sup>17</sup> G.S. Chhabra, *Advanced study in the History of Modern India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1971), 2:85-6.

decision to invade Afghanistan, a supremely unpopular move condemned both in India and Britain.

Although some governors in the early nineteenth century travelled to India with their wives, many did not. Lord Hastings and his wife Flora were together in India for several years while he served as governor between 1813 and 1823; the Bengali intellectual and activist, Ram Mohun Roy wrote to the lady governor in 1820 about banning the practice of sati.<sup>18</sup> Lady Mary Bentinck also accompanied her husband to India, and was the last lady governor before the Eden sisters arrived, since Sir Charles Metcalfe only served as interim governor just before George Eden arrived. Mary Bentinck was a conservationist: she commissioned bird drawings while abroad (currently at the Natural History Museum in London), and donated Himalayan birdskins to London's Zoological Society.<sup>19</sup> The Eden sisters made several references to their predecessor in their letters—they claimed the title of “Ladyship,” referring to the wife of the governor, began with Mary, and that she was the first to put feathers in her turbans, the fashion in Calcutta while the Edens were there.<sup>20</sup> Each of the wives who travelled to India alongside their husbands approached their time as lady governor in their own way. Though the Eden sisters would build off of what women like Marian Hastings began, including acting as hostess for the governor and forging relationships with Indian elites, there was not yet a standard for the lady governors to follow. The Edens elevated the position of governor and establish codes of conduct which began to make lady governorship a crucial ceremonial and political office within the empire.

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<sup>18</sup> Rammohun Roy to James Macnabb (to pass on to Lady Hastings), Macnabb Collection, Mar 6, 1820, MSS EUR F206/86, British Library, London, India Office, no fos.

<sup>19</sup> Trustees of the Natural History Museum, London, “Lady William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, d. 1843,” and “The Bentinck Drawing Collections,” Natural History Museum, [http://www.nhm.ac.uk/nature-online/art-nature-imaging/collections/art-themes/india/more/hoepoe\\_more\\_info.htm](http://www.nhm.ac.uk/nature-online/art-nature-imaging/collections/art-themes/india/more/hoepoe_more_info.htm) (accessed Sept. 22, 2016).

<sup>20</sup> Emily Eden to unknown, Apr. 23, 1836 and Fanny Eden to a friend, Apr. 14, 1837, in Emily Eden, *Letters from India*, 2 Vols., ed. Eleanor Eden (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872), 1:144 2:2-3.

Emily and Fanny accompanied their brother to India in part because they were already keeping house for him in England. One of fourteen children, Emily had gone to live with her brother George and her sister Fanny at the age of twenty-one, after their mother's death left them orphans. The sisters remained by George's side, following him to India as the first sisters to act as lady governors. However, Calcutta remained a male-dominated settlement in the early nineteenth century, which meant they were quite lonely for female companionship. Fanny complained to her friends and family at home: "'I have got a feeling upon me to day (sic) that we have got into such completely different worlds, it is utterly impossible we ever should meet again...the total absence of all women in the camp makes it look less natural still.'"<sup>21</sup>

The sisters were primed for their duties as lady governor from their years of hosting dinner parties for their Whig friends in London. As a member of the elite, Emily Eden had access to privileged information about government both in England and India, access which many men were not privy to, let alone women.<sup>22</sup> Revisions of women's history show that their political and social influence at the turn of the nineteenth century was greater than earlier studies of "separate spheres" had suggested. These projects tend to emphasize a feminine proclivity for forging and maintaining relationships, and depict scenes of wives brokering political deals in dining rooms

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<sup>21</sup> Fanny Eden, 1838, Frances Eden Papers, MSS EUR C130, British Library, London, India Office, ff118-9. Even by 1861, there were only 35,000 British women to the 100,000 men in India: Marshall, "British Society," 90. Later in the century, when the number of single women surpassed the number of eligible bachelors, many journeyed to India, by themselves or accompanied by family friends or relatives, to find husbands. See Anne de Courcy, *The Fishing Fleet: Husband-Hunting in the Raj* (NY: Harper Collins, 2014). This practice had its origins much earlier on, in the seventeenth century, when the East India Company organized temporary shipments of British women to India to deter their servants from marrying Indian women.

<sup>22</sup> For more on the access elite women had in eighteenth-century politics, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 262-281; Elaine Chalus, "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2000): 676, 682, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3020974> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016); Amanda Vickery, ed., *Women Privilege and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present* (Stanford University Press, 2001); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (NY: Random House, 2000) and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentlemen's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

across England.<sup>23</sup> Beyond these “intangible elements” of female influence, some women engaged directly and publicly with debates about empire. Because of her family connections, Eden was able to write to such influential people as Robert Peel and William Gladstone.<sup>24</sup> The highest ranking members of British politics were aware of Emily Eden’s opinions well before she made them available to the general public; she even attended hearings in the House of Commons.<sup>25</sup> Eden was able to apply the skills she learned as a member of the elite in England in her capacity as lady governor, and carved out a significant ceremonial and political role for the “first wives” of British India. She was a hostess, an advisor to the governor, and a liaison between the government and Indian rulers, and she and her sister ultimately defined the essential characteristics of lady governorship and set the tone for future vicereines.

### **Establishing a lady governorship**

Emily and Fanny’s letters describe their daily activities in India. It is abundantly clear, after reading the journals, that there was very little in the way of organized charity in British India in the early nineteenth century. Though Emily and Fanny toured the local schools and occasionally hosted fundraising dinners in Government House, their philanthropic work was much more circumscribed than it would be for vicereines in later decades.<sup>26</sup> Their brother George established a school to teach Indian children, and they occasionally wrote of its success,

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<sup>23</sup> Chalus, “Elite Women,” 674. On the political involvement of wives in an imperial context, see Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener, eds., *The Incorporated Wife* (London, UK: Croom Helm, 1984) and Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, politics and imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> For Peel, see E.E. to Robert Peel, Correspondence and Papers of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, July 7-8, 1834, Add MS 40404, British Library, London, f194 (hereafter cited as Peel Papers); RP to EE, Jan. 25, 1843, RP to EE, Jan. 26, 1843, Add MS 40523, Peel Papers, ff364-7. For Gladstone, see EE to W.E. Gladstone, Selected Correspondence of William Ewart Gladstone, Add MS 44401, British Library, London, f45 (hereafter cited as Gladstone Correspondence); EE to WG, Gladstone Correspondence, Add MS 44413, f54.

<sup>25</sup> *Miss Eden’s Letters*, ed. Violet Dickinson (London: Macmillan and Co., 1919), 158.

<sup>26</sup> EE to a friend, Aug. 13, 1836, Eden, *Letters*, 1:221; Janet Dunbar, *Golden Interlude: The Edens in India* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), 36.

but for the most part the extent of their participation consisted of attending fundraisers for such institutions.<sup>27</sup> Emily's description of a "charity meeting" she and Fanny attended for one of the schools is telling of how rudimentary charity organization was at this stage. Disappointed that they were unable to make their evening drive, the sisters journeyed to the school, where "our own servants found us a way upstairs, and forced open a door what was called the 'Ladies' committee room' ...we all sat looking at each other for half an hour, and then Sir H. Fane wisely advised us to go away and take our drive, which we did."<sup>28</sup>

Both sisters spent a great deal of time in their letters describing the devastating effects of the famine as they travelled through Agra and Cawnpore in 1838. It is estimated that nearly 800,000 individuals died in this famine. Yet they did not write home asking for donations; instead, the Eden sisters pointed in their journals to the futility of the subscriptions raised for the relief effort, arguing that they merely prolonging the suffering.<sup>29</sup> As more missionaries traveled to India, and as charity work became a central component of Victorian domesticity as promoted by the Queen herself, philanthropy proved essential to the cultivation of the vicereine's celebrity image.<sup>30</sup> As evidenced by the Eden sisters' writings, this was not yet an indispensable part of the lady governor's duties at the time they were in the governorship.

Though the elements of domesticity, such as wifely devotion, that would later define the viceroyalty were absent in the Edens' construction of their public image, the sisters began to

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<sup>27</sup> EE to unknown, Apr. 6, 1836 and EE to Rev. Robert Eden, July 17, 1837, Eden, *Letters*, 1:134, 2:65.

<sup>28</sup> EE to a friend, May 3, 1836, Eden, *Letters*, 1:153-4.

<sup>29</sup> Fanny Eden, Jan. 3, 1838, *Tigers, Durbars and Kings: Fanny Eden's Indian Journals*, ed. Janet Dunbar (London: John Murray, 1988), 105-6.

<sup>30</sup> For increased role of women in philanthropy in the Victorian period, see FK. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1980); for female missionaries, see Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), chap. 4-5. For the imperial context, see Barbara Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British women activists in India, 1865-1945," in *Western Women and Imperialism*, edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indiana University Press, 1992); Claire Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain* (NY: Routledge, 2007).

outline the ceremonial responsibilities of the governor and his family. Emily took charge of decorating the first family's home in Simla, even hiring a painter to stencil in borders "all round the doors and windows...[for] want of cornices," making it "like a cheerful, middle-sized English country-home."<sup>31</sup> In their capacity as hostesses for their brother, Emily and Fanny worked to elevate the stature of the governorship. Emily stepped in during a dress rehearsal for a ball they were hosting when the band complained they did not know how to play the vaudevilles he had requested: "'The Gov-Gen must have whatever music he chooses to order and it is your fault if the band can't play it.'"<sup>32</sup> The sisters also helped construct a more favorable public image of the governor, since he was less social than they. Fanny joked in her letters about how she and her sister were responsible for helping their brother to be more engaging and for "making a clinquant figure of his Excellency, in order that he may shine in the eyes of the native princes."<sup>33</sup> The sisters played an integral role in establishing the social and political positioning of the governor and his family and the codes of conduct at Government House.

Emily and Fanny often ran up against George's aide-de-camp, Captain Byrne. He was responsible for overseeing official government ceremonies and protecting the interests of the company, having previously served Governor Bentinck.<sup>34</sup> Eden's references to the planning of official events suggest that the behavior of the inhabitants of government house had far-reaching political consequences. When George wanted to attend a local fair and his advisors felt it would not be proper to do so, Emily told them it was the responsibility of the governor and his family to establish what the etiquette should be, "and that it would be [the advisors'] duty to take the next

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<sup>31</sup> Emily Eden, *Up the Country: Letters written to her sister from the Upper Provinces of India* (1866; repr., London: Richard Bentley, 1867), 128.

<sup>32</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 53; EE to friend, Aug. 15, 1836, Eden, *Letters*, 1:221-3.

<sup>33</sup> FE to friend, Aug. 18, 1837, Eden, *Letters*, 2:80.

<sup>34</sup> On the duties of the governor's Aides-de-Camp, see *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, Vol. 2, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., (London: Wm. H Allen & Co., 1844), 577.

Gov-Gen... to this identical fair.”<sup>35</sup> The sisters also performed the crucial role of hostess to both Indian and Anglo-Indian elites. Though they complained of having to sit for hours at a time while Calcutta ladies paraded through Government House and forced the Edens into small talk, they occasionally relished the opportunity to take the responsibility off of Captain Byrne’s hands and organize parties as the ladies of government house.<sup>36</sup> At times, the social demands government placed on the first family made Emily feel like a cog in a machine: “You have no idea the odd applications that are made to be asked to the dinners and parties at Government House, not from any compliment to us, but alleging that it is a sort of public property....”<sup>37</sup> Just as the first family of British India was becoming more of a marketing tool for the empire, so too was the home of the family essential to the production of imperial propaganda and popular culture, a place for Anglo-Indian and Indian guests alike to gather and marvel at the splendor of the colonial government. Emily’s hands-on approach to ceremonial details, and the way she inserted herself into arguments among George’s advisors, helped to elevate the position of lady governor within government house.

As hostesses and ceremonial figureheads, Emily and Fanny Eden suggest in their letters that there was some confusion regarding precedent and etiquette in ceremonies centered on their interactions with Indian royalty. This indicates that the governors were growing more concerned with public displays of authority, as the governorship became more closely connected with the

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<sup>35</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 33-4, 145-6. She disliked most of the women in the settlement and her patronage responsibilities. See EE to Lord Lansdowne, Aug. 26, (ND—aft. 1848), Bowood Papers, Add MS 88906/9/7, British Library, London, no. 17 (hereafter cited as Bowood Papers); Dunbar, *Tigers*, 157-8 and Eden, *Up the Country*, 130-2.

<sup>37</sup> EE to a friend, May 6, 1836, Eden, *Letters*, 1:156.

Crown over the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> When organizing official ceremonies, the Edens and their advisors struggled with the ranking of the governor in relation to his sisters and the separate ranking of the Indian elite in relation to the Anglo-Indian first family.<sup>39</sup> Frequently, gender was employed as a means of distinguishing between hierarchies. For example, there was a wealthy and influential woman, the “Dowager Baiza Bae,” who requested an audience with the governor but was denied by Captain Byrne.<sup>40</sup> Baiza Bae had been Regent of Gwalior before her adopted son, Jankoji, led a military coup to seize the throne from her in 1833. The new ruler was recognized by Governor Bentinck, which left the queen to spend her days exiled in Fatehgarh, “protected” by a representative of the colonial government.<sup>41</sup> According to Eden, the Baiza Bae had “always been visited by all great potentates” and took great offense at being snubbed by the British governor. After visiting her, Byrne decided someone from the first family should go meet with the exiled ruler after all. George ultimately chose to send Emily and Fanny as his representatives, since they often met with the wives of Indian rulers and he probably considered this a reasonable compromise politically.<sup>42</sup> A more extreme example of this occurred when a discrepancy arose between the King in Delhi and the governor’s camp: both felt the other owed the first visit and so as a compromise, the governor-general sent his sisters in his place.<sup>43</sup> While these examples illustrate the necessity of having a female counterpart to the governor-general for official ceremonies, the ability Emily and Fanny had to stand in for their brother as pseudo-wives

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<sup>38</sup> Bernard Cohn, “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 167-8; Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 21-2, chap. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Cohn points to difficulty in ranking Indian rulers against British governor, but does not mention the placement of wives (or sisters). Cohn, “Representing Authority,” 174.

<sup>40</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 40; Dunbar, *Tigers*, 106. For more on Baiza Bae, see *Begums, Thugs, and Englishmen: the Journals of Fanny Parkes*, ed. William Dalrymple (New Delhi, Penguin Books, 2003), xix-xx and Amar Farooqui, *Sindias and the Raj: Princely Gwalior, c. 1800-1850* (Delhi, India: Primus Books, 2011), chap. 3.

<sup>41</sup> J. Talboys Wheeler, *India and the Frontier States of Afghanistan, Nipal and Burma*, 2 Vols. (NY: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1899), 2:606; Dalrymple, *Begums, Thugs, and Englishmen*, 260.

<sup>42</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 40.

<sup>43</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 131.



for meetings with certain members of the Indian elite also indicates the respect these leaders had for women in power.<sup>44</sup>

While in Gwalior they met a fellow writer, Fanny Parkes, who had accompanied her civil servant husband to India, but travelled mostly on her own while there. In 1850, Parkes published the journals she kept while travelling, a book titled *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. She had become friendly with Queen Baiza Bae, and served as interpreter for Emily and Fanny during their meeting.<sup>45</sup> The Eden sisters, meanwhile, ruthlessly mocked Parkes in their letters for presuming to set up her tents alongside those of the governor-general: “We are rather oppressed just now by a lady, Mrs. Parkes, who insists on belonging to our camp.”<sup>46</sup> As the sisters were beginning to establish a ceremonial role for the governor and his family, they intended to reinforce the dignity and stature of the position, even when travelling outside of Calcutta.

Fixated on their status among Anglo-Indians and Indian elites, Emily’s and Fanny’s letters indicate they were concerned that Indian rulers, including Ranjit Singh, maharajah of the Punjab, were perplexed at the fact that the English governor was unmarried and accompanied to official events by his sisters.<sup>47</sup> George joked with Singh when he asked why he did not have a wife, explaining it was because in England they were only allowed one wife each.<sup>48</sup> The sisters felt that Indian elites sometimes positioned them as wives in ceremonies. When they visited the

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<sup>44</sup> There is the suggestion, in Dunbar’s book, that if the Eden sisters were wives, they would have had more power in the eyes of Indian men: “My ayah has just told me with great triumph that being exceedingly provoked at the wonder the Sikhs express at the open manner in which we walk about the world, she told them yesterday that Emily and I are two very powerful Begums, who can give themselves permission to do anything.” Dunbar, *Tigers*, 186.

<sup>45</sup> Dalrymple, *Begums, Thugs, and Englishmen*, 293.

<sup>46</sup> Dunbar, *Tigers*, 106.

<sup>47</sup> “He was telling George the other day, it was very odd he had not one wife—the Sikhs had twenty five. George said that in England they sometimes found one more than they could manage.” Fanny Eden’s Diary, Dec. 20, 1838, Frances Eden Papers, MSS EUR C130, f37v.

<sup>48</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 218.

Rajah of Ramnagar, Fanny explained that “George was put down in the middle of the sofa, Emily and I evidently his two wives, being allowed a seat on it on each side, and then the nautch began.”<sup>49</sup> Sometimes, Emily and Fanny chose to deliberately defy the orders of the private secretaries and the expectations of Indian elites. When the Rajah of Benares sent boats to receive the governor and his entourage, Emily was frustrated with the seating arrangements, having been placed in an “inferior” position to the governor. Emily and Fanny instead decided to sit in the covered boat that was intended for the governor’s “women.”<sup>50</sup> While a formal ceremonial position had not yet been established for lady governors, Emily and Fanny situated themselves, and ultimately, future vicereines, at the center of public engagements, at or near the position which the governor occupied.<sup>51</sup>

Biographers in the 1980s continued to characterize the Eden sisters’ relationship with George as spousal. Marian Fowler even insisted George and Emily saw each other as husband and wife: “Emily didn’t want a mate because, in her eyes, she had one already...she was quite as dutiful and caring in regard to his physical and mental well-being as any wife.”<sup>52</sup> The promotion of conjugal themes in popular and historical representations of the viceroyalty, beginning with Lady Canning in 1858, has led some biographers to try to force this characterization on the Eden siblings. Asserting that Emily’s devotion to George was almost wife-like illustrates the entrenchment of this particular Victorian virtue in imperial propaganda. Emily and Fanny did not exhibit the wifely devotion which future vicereines would come to embody from 1858 on. However the sisters did ensure that the position of lady governor would be central to imperial politics and popular culture.

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<sup>49</sup> Dunbar, *Tigers*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 26.

<sup>51</sup> Specifically, “at the left hand of his lordship.” Eden, *Up the Country*, 54.

<sup>52</sup> Fowler, *Peacock Fan*, 19, 23.

The sisters also led the charge, along with their brother, of forging connections between the Crown and the colonial government. Emily was an accomplished artist who often painted portraits for members of the settlement. Portraits of the royal family were not yet common instruments of popularizing British imperialism in India, as they would become later in the nineteenth century. However, the governor suggested that Emily use her artistic talents to draw a picture of the new British Queen to give to Ranjit Singh, despite the fact that Emily had never seen Queen Victoria.<sup>53</sup> In her letters, she expressed the irony of the situation: how would Singh know if Emily had truly captured the Queen if he had never seen her himself? Relying on sketches and descriptions of the Coronation in the papers she had received from home, she hoped that this time at least, the government would not confiscate the gift Singh would give to her in return for the drawing, “as it has cost me much trouble to invent a whole Queen, robes and all.”<sup>54</sup>

Emily considered her primary responsibility, however, to be an advisor to her brother—someone with his best interests at heart and whose opinion he respected. She wrote home, expressing her satisfaction with the decision she made to join George in India: “[he] is...more dependent on me, as I am his only confidant. I feel I am of use to him, and that I am in my right place when I am by his side.”<sup>55</sup> Eden’s loyalty to her brother was not quite the same as the wifely devotion which future vicereines would express in their own letters. Charlotte Canning defended her husband’s handling of the mutiny crisis against criticism from British audiences. Harriot Dufferin carefully diverted the praise she received for her charity work to the viceroy, and sought his approval before publishing her journals. Mary Curzon refused to let serious illness keep her from returning to her husband’s side in India after a brief sojourn in England. Emily Eden’s

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<sup>53</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 50.

<sup>54</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 175.

<sup>55</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 337.

journals clearly expressed her sense of independence, yet they also began to point to what would become a crucial vocation for vicereines. One reason governors increasingly brought their wives with them in the late nineteenth century was so that they could have someone with whom they could share some of the responsibilities and burdens of ruling.<sup>56</sup>

### **Writing in transition**

Emily and Fanny Eden have left a significant record of their experiences in India, in letters they wrote home and diaries they kept. These letters are most often situated within the travelogue genre by scholars. There were several well-known female travel writers prior to Emily Eden, the first of whom was Lady Mary Montagu, whose letters from her time spent in Constantinople alongside her husband, the English ambassador, were published posthumously in 1763. These letters offered a unique glimpse at what it was like to travel abroad as a woman, since so few did at the time.<sup>57</sup> Another was Maria Graham, whose *Journal of a Residence in India* was published in 1813 and sold 400 copies in the first month, though her family was less than enthusiastic about her decision to write.<sup>58</sup> Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India* was published posthumously in 1817. Lady Maria Nugent also kept a journal of her time in Jamaica and India while her husband served as commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor; these letters were published after her death in 1839.

Though Emily did not necessarily intend to publish her letters initially, she had always enjoyed writing and began her newfound career following their return to England by publishing

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<sup>56</sup> As Emily writes: "I can see constantly that it is a great comfort to him to have me talk over his little bothers with." EE to unknown, June 12 1837, *Letters*, 2:40-1.

<sup>57</sup> Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn, eds., *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (Ontario: Broadview Editions, 2013), 15-16.

<sup>58</sup> She explains, they "affect to despise my little work." Quoted in Regina Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography* (NY: Cambria Press, 2009), 63.

two novels. The first was *The Semi-Detached House*, in 1859, and in the following year, she published another that she had been working on for many years, *The Semi-Attached Couple*. Emily waited several years after she returned home before she published a selection of her India letters, called *Up the Country* (1866), and indicated in her preface that her friends had been encouraging her to publish these letters for some time. It is also possible that she was inspired to return to her letters in light of the 1857 rebellions and growing attention to India in the British popular press.

Rather than position Eden as a travel writer, this chapter focuses on the biographical elements of her book. By the time Eden was in India with her brother, women in Britain had been writing autobiographies for several generations, though the field truly came together in the nineteenth century, when authors began exploring the history of the genre and publishing seventeenth century life narratives.<sup>59</sup> These memoirs tended to impart their moral influence to audiences by connecting the experiences of these women and their families to wider social issues.<sup>60</sup> By the latter part of the Victorian period, biographies about (and sometimes by) men and women who spent time in India dominated the market, as interest in the colony boomed.<sup>61</sup> Though these texts deviated from the female biographical tradition of focusing exclusively on family life, describing official ceremonies and visits to different places and interactions with different people in India, they were considered acceptable, according to Mary Procida, because they were overwhelmingly positive about the empire.<sup>62</sup> The main difference between the

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<sup>59</sup> Linda Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian Women's Autobiography: The Poetics and Politics of Life Writing* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 16-22.

<sup>60</sup> Peterson, *Traditions*, 22.

<sup>61</sup> Mary Procida, "'The greater part of my life has been spent in India: Autobiography and the crisis of empire in the twentieth-century,'" *Biography* 25, no. 1 (2002): 131-2, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/215623348?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

<sup>62</sup> Procida, "Autobiography," 143.

imperial biographies Procida discussed and the genre which Eden's journals began to develop is the latter were written by governors' wives (and sisters), and therefore promised audiences a privileged glimpse into the private lives of ruling elites.

Since Emily was writing as a lady governor, it is important to situate her biography within contemporary popular writings about India. From the 1840s on, histories of British India and biographies of the men who ran the colonial government began to proliferate in Britain. Thomas Macaulay, the Whig reformer and acquaintance of the Edens, wrote a scathing critique of Governor Hastings's administration in 1841, shortly before Emily returned to England.<sup>63</sup> Sixteen years later, while Eden was in the midst of working on her novels, and several years prior to her publication of her India journals, Harriet Martineau published a history of British India in the midst of the rebellion crisis in 1857. She opened the book with a preface that claimed British rule in India would be better than it had been before if her fellow countrymen took the time to study the history of their rule up to that moment.<sup>64</sup> Once again, Hastings' sins were outlined, yet his respect for Indian cultures and languages was also acknowledged by Martineau.<sup>65</sup> She wrote that he "compromised our national character," and suggested that he surely felt some guilt for his actions in his old age: "He would probably have confessed... that he did not enjoy [the trees at Daylesford] so much after the heavy price he had paid for them as when, in his childhood, he dreamed of possessing them, without a thought of guilt to be risked in the acquisition of them."<sup>66</sup> Though these popular histories indicate Hastings was not totally condemned by this generation, his reputation had not yet undergone the renaissance he would in a couple more decades thanks to the familial element of imperial biography.

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<sup>63</sup> Thomas B. Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," in *Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings*, Samuel Tucker, ed., (1841; repr., New York, NY: Longman, Green, and Co. 1910).

<sup>64</sup> Harriet Martineau, *British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1857), vi.

<sup>65</sup> Martineau, *British Rule*, 127-135.

<sup>66</sup> Martineau, *British Rule*, 135.

As Angela Poon argues, Martineau was suggesting that Britons, through Hastings's own experience, were undergoing a "loss of innocence" over the course of the rebellions, yet by distinguishing between early (corrupt) Company rule and rule by (virtuous) British Government, writers like Martineau and Macaulay were able to suggest to their audiences that maintaining the empire in India would be beneficial to all parties involved.<sup>67</sup> It was in this context that Eden published her own account of colonial government in India on the chance that, as she says, it "may be thought amusing" by some to turn back to "picturesque" descriptions of the earlier days of the empire at a moment when Britain reaffirmed its position as rulers of India, whether to inspire Britons at the beginning of a new imperial era or offer a nostalgic glimpse of life in colonial government prior to the rebellions. However, she distinguished her work from the travelogues her journals closely resemble by virtue of her position within government house. Her frequent reminders of the confiscation of gifts from Indian elites, for example, does the same work as Martineau's and Macaulay's writings, in distinguishing Lord Auckland's governorship from, say, Warren Hastings's, particularly his wife Marian's acceptance of items such as ivory chairs from powerful Indian women like Munny Begum. Emily's position as lady governor offered readers a unique perspective on India that other travel writers lacked.<sup>68</sup> In her letters are traces of what will be more pronounced in Lady Dufferin's journals: they describe in detail the everyday life of British India's official family, the duties they performed as well as the challenges they faced as rulers.

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<sup>67</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, vi. Angela Poon argues Hastings's crimes led to a "loss of innocence" in British understandings of their empire, which was reflected in Eden's writing. See Poon, "Seeing Double: Performing English identity and imperial duty in Emily Eden's 'Up the Country' and Harriet Martineau's 'British Rule in India,'" *Women's Writing* 12, no. 3 (2005): 467, <http://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/doi/citedby/10.1080/09699080500200274> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

<sup>68</sup> One reviewer wrote that Eden's privileged position sets her apart from other travel writers: "To get admittance into the chief society of a foreign land, and to be able to see with one's own eyes what is going on there, is only in the power of those who, like Miss Eden, are placed in close connexion with some high official, such as the Governor-General of India." David Masson, ed., "Life in India," *The Reader* 7, no. 185, July 14, 1866, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/4855092?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016).

However, Eden's published letters are also unique alongside the public relations work the Victorian vicereines would later perform in their own writing because she was sometimes critical of the colonial government, especially certain procedures and individuals. Her light-hearted humor about the steps the Company was taking to improve its accountability and reputation, particularly in terms of regulating gift exchanges with Indian nobility, were situated alongside concerns about the limits of imperial expansion. Yet if anything, Eden seemed to be on the side not only of preserving the empire, but also consolidating the power of the government into the hands of the governor, both literally and symbolically. This tension between regulation and reform, and authority and greed, played out over and over in Eden's writings, and would remain a theme in nineteenth-century debates about empire.

The Eden sisters often lamented the rules of the Company, which did not allow them to keep any expensive gifts given by members of the Indian elite. Emily explained to a friend at home that gifts "were instantly carried away by the private secretary, for the good of the company."<sup>69</sup> To show audiences how far they had come from the days of nabob rule, Emily told her readers about the "rough" condition of their camp life: "They had given us a borrowed camp-table, two very dirty deal boards, covered with the marks of old slops and of the rounds of glasses. I am sure at any of the London gin-palaces the scavengers would have grumbled at the look of it."<sup>70</sup> The sisters also played along with the popular rumors about the Company, joking that when their party entered territory less-travelled by Europeans: "We thought of putting up our pocket-handkerchiefs, and of taking possession of the country; but I know that foolish East India Company would be always fidgeting about our little territories if we made them prosper, so it is

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<sup>69</sup> EE to a friend, May 22, 1836, *Letters*, 1:161; Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 46. Of course, the inexpensive gifts were theirs to keep: "[the Rajah] gave us some beautiful parrots, and monkeys and sloths for our menagerie, which nobody can take away from us." *Letters*, 1:161.

<sup>70</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 106.



as well to say nothing about them.”<sup>71</sup> Yet the sisters also defended the colonial government, or at least pointed to the steps they were taking to assure corruption was kept to a minimum.<sup>72</sup> Their acknowledgment of the restrictions on gifts allowed them to making passing reference to the lavish jewelry and textiles they admired and even purchased, without being branded nabobinas like their predecessor, Marian Hastings.<sup>73</sup> Instead, Emily warned her readers (while also protecting her own image): “I see the danger of this life will be the habit of fancying one may have anything one wants.”<sup>74</sup>

That danger, in the minds of Britons, manifested in the form of Anglo-Indians: a group of Europeans who relocated to India permanently. Lady governors, including Emily Eden, began to devote significant attention to criticizing this group of individuals in their writings, which reflected growing concerns about the corruption of European women in particular (as more were living in India than ever before), and by extension, the corruption of the virtue of the empire itself. Their letters suggest that they felt a need to distinguish themselves from these groups, often noting how they were only in India temporarily and expressing a desire to remain connected to “home.” The process of defining a group as a foil to the lady governor’s own self-

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<sup>71</sup> EE to a friend, June 28, 1836, *Letters*, 2:29. Miles Taylor argues the Whigs at the time of the 1833 Charter renewal were broadly in favor of imperial “retrenchment,” and were tapping into concerns many in England had that interests overseas were distracting what they saw as more pressing problems at home. The dismantling of the China monopoly was in part due to lobbying of English merchants wanting their own opportunities to trade overseas. See “Empire and Parliamentary Reform: the 1832 Reform Act Revisited,” in *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain, 1780-1850*, Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 203.

<sup>72</sup> Gifts given to the governor and his family by Indian guests were evaluated and sent to the government treasury, often to be re-gifted later. The British saw these transitions in terms of monetary values and not symbolic ones at this stage, so they reciprocated with gifts they deemed to be of equal cost. See Cohn, “Representing Authority,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 172. The symbolic power of gift-giving came about in the 1850s, following the Rebellion, when the newly-declared Viceroy Canning established a code of honors which connected Indian servants to England’s monarch and aristocracy. See Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 88 and chapter three of this dissertation.

<sup>73</sup> Even here, though, the sisters demonstrate a frugality which distinguishes them from the profligate caricatures of Marian. Fanny writes: “There is to be seen at our jeweller’s (sic) a pearl, a single pearl set as a mermaid, with an enamelled (sic) head and a green tail, which I had some thoughts of buying and presenting to you. 40,000l. was all they asked for it; very cheap, the man said... Now I wonder who would give 40,000l. for a single pearl. If ever there is a foolish thing to be done, somebody is always found to do it; but in this case, I wonder who?” Apr. 3, 1830, Eden, *Letters from India*, 1:129-30.

<sup>74</sup> E.E. to Countess of Buckinghamshire, Aug. 2-9, 1836, Eden, *Letters from India*, 2:204-211.

fashioning would be a recurring theme in the writings of Eden's successors, including Charlotte Canning and Lady Dufferin, as these individuals managed their self-fashioning on the fringes of the empire.

Anglo-Indians constituted a significant threat to the preservation of British identity abroad; they were often accused of eschewing British cultural norms and traditions for Indian ones, which resulted in corrupted values and manners, according to British audiences. These individuals were seen to be potentially threatening to the racial hierarchies upon which the empire was built, and were increasingly attacked in the British press and stereotyped in popular literature.<sup>75</sup> At one point in her letters, Eden mocked the customs of Anglo-Indians while also making the reader aware of the uncomfortable truths about these customs infiltrating English society. She joked to her friend that when she returned home, her servant would have to coordinate with her friend's servant in order to make plans for dinner, referencing the overdone formality and overabundance of servants in Anglo-Indian homes.<sup>76</sup>

In some respects, this technique was akin to one employed by travel writers in the early nineteenth century. Travelers would often try to assert their English identity to prove they had not assimilated into the culture they were visiting, much as the sisters distinguished themselves from Anglo-Indians. Emily and Fanny sometimes made reference to feelings of discomfort or confusion about what they were observing—reminding audiences that the traveler was maintaining a distance from the foreign surroundings.<sup>77</sup> Travelers abroad preserved their ties to Britain by emphasizing their allegiance to a set of norms, including monarchical domesticity.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Rudyard Kipling was one of the more famous authors of Anglo-Indian life: see chapter four of this dissertation.

<sup>76</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 213.

<sup>77</sup> Poon, *Englishness*, 77-8.

<sup>78</sup> The example provided by Gillian Whitlock is mourning the death of William IV. Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London, UK: Cassell, 2000), 75-77.

When the Queen had her first child (a girl), Emily scoffed at the disappointment she registered from news reports and gossip, demonstrating her loyalty to her country by keeping up with current affairs.<sup>79</sup> For Eden, her letters existed as a refuge from the alienation she felt abroad—they helped fashion a home she could carry with her throughout her travels in India. Emily and Fanny constantly made reference to home in their letters, especially the difficulties of coping with the distance. At the beginning of her time in India, at least, these letters did not simply connect her to home—they *were* home.<sup>80</sup> Both she and her sister Fanny asked their relatives to send them books and the latest fashionable wear, hoping to stay current so that, once they returned home, they would not be found to have changed much while in India.<sup>81</sup>

In their disdain for Anglo-Indians, as well as their descriptions of non-elite Indians they met with while traveling, Emily and Fanny reinforced a racial hierarchy that served to promote British sovereignty. This is apparent both in their letters as well as their illustrations, which were completed on their travels up through the Upper Provinces. These drawings were actually the first pieces of Emily's documentation of her experiences which she published when she returned to England.<sup>82</sup> These illustrations of the people and places they met along their travels were firmly in the female travel genre; drawing was a hallmark talent and leisure activity of the genteel lady, which helped soften the dangerous reality of the female globetrotter. Illustrations accompanying

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<sup>79</sup> "Our dear little Queen's safety I am glad of—and do not much care that it is only a Princess. She will have boys enough in time." EE to Lansdowne, Jan. 22, 1841, Bowood Papers, Add MSS 88906/09/007, no. 8.

<sup>80</sup> In closing remarks to one of her friends, Emily recognizes how important these letters are to her, and the extent to which these letters allow her to pretend she never left England: "how I do live at home!" EE to a friend, Mar. 4, 1836, Eden, *Letters from India*, 1:81.

<sup>81</sup> The letters and goods that expatriates exchanged with their relatives and friends within the empire, according to John Plotz, "became repositories of mobile memory in Victorian Britain and so worked to unify an otherwise disparate global community." Plotz, "The First Strawberries in India: Cultural Portability in Victorian Greater Britain," *Victorian Studies* 49, no. 4 (summer 2007): 660, <http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy.library.cornell.edu/article/232161> (accessed Apr. 20, 2016). See also Margot C. Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780-1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 2006): 223-4, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3876605> (accessed Apr. 19, 2016).

<sup>82</sup> Emily Eden, *Portraits of the Princes and Peoples of India* (London, UK: J. Dickinson, 1844).

narratives also served, in Reante Dohmen's words, "to authenticate [the] experiences" of these women to their domestic audiences.<sup>83</sup> Images, as opposed to words, reinforced the artist's position as a spectator, safely cataloguing information about the colony without risking attachment and the corruption of feminine virtue.<sup>84</sup> The application of the picturesque in drawings positioned the British as conquerors to audiences at home— by depicting Indian subjects in a Romanticized, European aesthetic. With soft pastel colors and a heavy emphasis on nature scenes, artists asserted their power over the colony and positioned it temporarily in the past, behind Europe on the stadial scale of so-called "civilization."<sup>85</sup> "Preserving" India in the past not only "celebrate[d] the pre- or anti-modern" at a time when Europe was confronting modernity in the form of technological advances, social and political revolutions, as Saree Makdisi claims, it justified, in the minds of the British, the need to govern.<sup>86</sup>

Emily's written descriptions of her encounters with non-Indian elites also betrayed a starkly racist attitude. Emily sometimes referred to grown men and women as children, a common theme in nineteenth-century imperial discourse, employed as self-justification for ruling over others. Discussing her maid, Rosina, to her sister-in-law Mary, she wrote: "She is very much (as all uneducated natives are) like a child of three years old in feelings and intellect."<sup>87</sup> In

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<sup>83</sup> Reante Dohmen, "Material (Re)collections of the 'Shiny East': a late nineteenth-century travel account by a young British woman in India," in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760-1900*, ed. Mary Henes and Brian Murray (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 51.

<sup>84</sup> The colonial state's expansion in India depended upon controlling and maintaining vast informational networks. See C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: intelligence gathering and communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton University Press, 1996), esp. chap. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), 13; Jane Rendall, "The condition of women, women's writing and the Empire in nineteenth-century Britain," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 103.

<sup>86</sup> Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10. As Eden writes in the preface of her book: "Now that India has fallen under the curse of the railroads...the splendor of a governor-general's progress is at an end." Eden, *Up the Country*, v.

<sup>87</sup> EE to The Hon. Mrs. Eden, June 11, 1836, Eden, *Letters from India*, 1:164-5.

her description of the orphanages and the devastating effects of the famine, readers do not get any sense of the personality of the sufferers, or any sense of sympathy on Emily's part: the entire exchange seems devoid of humanity. Eden wrote, "We are gone back to an entirely savage state...I take all the naked black creatures squatting at the doors of their huts in such aversion...and the vultures, which settle in crowds on the dead bodies that are thrown on the banks of the river."<sup>88</sup> There were no appeals to her family to spread the word about the need to donate to these causes; the sisters instead distanced themselves from these tragic scenes both emotionally and physically.

In her flippancy, she demonstrated racial attitudes that were growing more pronounced as the nineteenth century progressed.<sup>89</sup> Over this period, Anglo-Indians began to settle more permanently in the hill stations, particularly Simla, in order to physically distance themselves from the populations over which they ruled. In Eden's day, while the number of stations was growing, they were still mostly intended as both military outposts and as a sort of spa retreat, for those who felt ill and were desperate for some cooler air.<sup>90</sup> These hill station communities were isolated experiments in maintaining English customs and social mores thousands of miles away from home. Emily described the feelings towards Eurasians, or those of mixed-race descent, which were brewing in the theaters of Simla, highlighting the biological racism that would continue to develop and reinforce distinctions between the ruling and subject populations:

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<sup>88</sup> EE to a friend, Apr. 28, 1836, Eden, *Letters from India*, 1:147-8.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 1995), 92-112.

<sup>90</sup> Dane Kennedy, *Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1996), 13.

The ‘uncovenanted service’...[are] Very well-educated, quiet men, and many of them very highly paid; but as many of them are half-castes, we, with our pure Norman or Saxon blood, cannot really think contemptuously enough of them.<sup>91</sup>

These sentiments betray the paternalist narratives that were used to justify authoritative measures to circumscribe the rights and liberties of Indian subjects, which developed alongside rhetoric of liberal reform, promoted by Whigs like Thomas Macaulay.<sup>92</sup>

When the Eden sisters did raise doubts about the stability of British rule in India, they often had more to do with race relations, an emergent theme in Victorian discourse around the time of their brother’s governorship in light of abolitionist movements in the 1830s.<sup>93</sup> As *Up the Country* was published just following the 1857 rebellion, Eden certainly would have tapped into broader concerns the stability of these racial hierarchies in light of the violence not just in India, but also in Jamaica. She repeatedly pointed to the precarious imbalance of being rulers outnumbered; in one scenario she estimates “105 Europeans, being surrounded by at least 3,000 mountaineers...I sometimes wonder they do not cut all our heads off, and say nothing more about it.”<sup>94</sup> Her sister Fanny voiced concern in her diary when faced with the death of British ally, Ranjit Singh. At the slightest provocation from England, she feared, “Each sikh who wanted a bit of the kingdom would seize one of us as a hostage.”<sup>95</sup>

However, one passage of Eden’s journals seems to reflect deeply-rooted, historical fears among British audiences about the impermanence of empires that were raised in Edward Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in the year Britain lost the American

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<sup>91</sup> Though she acknowledges there were more gentlemen among this group than in previous decades: Eden, *Up the Country*, 140.

<sup>92</sup> Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 44. For evangelical roots of the civilizing mission as a developing imperial ideology in the early nineteenth-century, see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002),

<sup>93</sup> Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, esp. chap. 5.

<sup>94</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 186.

<sup>95</sup> Fanny Eden’s Diary, Dec. 17, 1838, Frances Eden Papers, MSS EUR C130, 35v.

colonies, 1776. She described a future London that set Britain as the colony and India as the imperial power:

Perhaps two thousand years hence...some black Governor-General of England will be marching through [England's] southern provinces, and will go and look at some ruins, and doubt whether London ever was a large town...and his sister will write to her Mary D. at New Delhi, and complain of the cold...<sup>96</sup>

Yet even at a time of heavy doubt in Britain, Eden's unpublished correspondence show not only that she supported the empire, but that she relished the spectacle and ceremony that would become fixtures of the late Victorian empire: "I wish our [Queen] would be a little more lavish in honours and rewards. They make so much effect in India... these Indian people have restored all the prestige about British courage which we had lost in the Crimea, and ought to be petted."<sup>97</sup>

Writing from a position of authority with an insider's view of colonial politics, this time in letters she published, she encouraged her audience to have faith in the empire, and reassured them that Britons were still quite in command: "There were immense crowds waiting to see G's entry, but they are always very civil and indeed must have been struck by the majesty of my procession."<sup>98</sup> Despite the occasional glimpse of skepticism about the longevity of imperialism, Eden always reinforced the prestige of the governorship in her published work.

### **War and imperial publicity**

While the Eden sisters achieved fame through their writing, George Eden's governorship achieved infamy after a military debacle in Afghanistan, which began in 1839. Although the governor presided over famine relief efforts, began working on plans for expanding India's canal networks to help with the country's irrigation, and made significant reforms to the education

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<sup>96</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 67.

<sup>97</sup> EE to Lady Shelbourne, Nov. 1857, Bowood Papers, Add MSS 88906/09/007, no. 51, f2r-v.

<sup>98</sup> Eden, *Up the Country*, 82.

system, his biographies focus almost entirely on the crisis in the Northwest frontier.<sup>99</sup> Biographer L.J. Trotter and historian John Kaye each argue that Auckland's one weakness was mistrusting his own judgment, which made him easily impressionable to the opinion of others.<sup>100</sup> Some observers argued the fault was not Eden's, instead they claim that he was following orders from England which ultimately led to the Afghan conflict.<sup>101</sup> Nonetheless, Eden's reputation was permanently damaged, and his administration all but forgotten in histories of the empire, while his sisters' writings made them permanent fixtures in the imperial canon.

Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Britain's biggest threat in Europe was Russia. Strategists were concerned about Russia's recent expansion into former Ottoman territories because they were inching ever closer to India. The British had been increasing their political presence in India during the early part of the nineteenth century, and Russia had accumulated vast territories around the Black Sea, including part of present-day Georgia and Armenia. The Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1828 gave over a significant portion of Persia to the Russian Empire. Now the British began to be concerned for their nearby assets, and the majority of politicians in Britain were in favor of immediate action to stave off the Russian threat, including Prime Minister Melbourne and Foreign Secretary Palmerston. The fate of Afghanistan was especially concerning because of its position just on the outskirts of India. It was important to the British to ensure the Amir of Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad Khan, remained their ally.

The British had a decent relationship with Ranjit Singh, who was in a crucial position for the government as the maharajah of the Punjab because it bordered Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad and Singh had been fighting for the last several years, culminating in Singh's

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<sup>99</sup> Lionel James Trotter, *The Earl of Auckland*, Rulers of India Series, ed. Sir W.W. Hunter (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1893), 22-3.

<sup>100</sup> Trotter, *Earl of Auckland*, 17; Morris, "Earl of Auckland," 54.

<sup>101</sup> Morris, "Earl of Auckland," 54.



annexation of Peshawar, a former territory of Afghanistan, to the Punjab in 1834. When Captain Burnes, George's envoy to Kabul, went to try to convince Dost Muhammad to ally with the British, he insisted he would only consider doing this if Singh returned Peshawar to him. Auckland, however, decided the best course of action would be to build an army against the Amir and, relying on Britain's alliance with Singh, unseat Dost Muhammad and replace him with his predecessor, Shah Shuja. He felt the Russian threat was simply too great and that Singh was their best defense against it.<sup>102</sup> This was achieved through the Tripartite Treaty in 1838, in which Auckland pledged British support of Ranjit's forays into Kashmir and Peshawar.

Lord Auckland sent troops to Afghanistan to unseat Dost Muhammad and replace him with Shah Shujah (ally to Ranjit Singh) in 1839. While they succeeded in installing Shujah to the throne, he was a widely unpopular ruler and before long, a massive uprising shook the confidence of the British. Auckland had left troops (along with their wives and children) to maintain order and oversee the transition of power. The son of Dost Mohammad, Mohammad Akbar Khan, led the attack on British troops and, overwhelmed and quickly running out of supplies, some 16,500 men, women and children were forced to retreat in 1842. Around 120 were taken prisoner, among the others only one man survived the treacherous journey back through the snowy mountains.

While not on the level of scandal which Hastings's impeachment trial reached, the press coverage on the Afghanistan crisis was highly critical of both home and colonial governments—blame was cast on everyone from Auckland himself to Lord Palmerston. The consensus by reporters and biographers was that most in charge in 1838 seemed to support the actions

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<sup>102</sup> Sir John Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, 3 Vols. (London, UK: WM. H. Allen and Co., 1874), 1:317-8.

Auckland took, and it was not until things turned south that everyone started pointing fingers.<sup>103</sup> The occupation of Kabul was initially seen as a victory, yet when put to vote at a meeting of the Court of Proprietors of East India Company stock, several voiced concerns about congratulating Auckland prematurely for his achievements in Afghanistan.<sup>104</sup> Some were not sure whether Auckland deserved the praise, or whether members of the home government did—raising the question of accountability in leadership, and not for the last time. The *Colonial Gazette* reported that the Board of Directors went so far as to claim they did not know of the Afghanistan campaign until they read about it in the papers—saying only the Secret Committee was aware of the plans.<sup>105</sup>

Reports on the situation in Afghanistan to the home and colonial governments were sparse. According to Shane Malhotra, members of the Cabinet, the governor-general, and the East India Company Directors, all gleaned information from the private correspondence of the hostages.<sup>106</sup> One woman's letters were so captivating, laying bare harsh truths about the poor leadership during the campaign, that they were published by John Murray in 1843. The wife of a General stationed in India, Lady Sale's letters promised a first-hand telling of what went on in Kabul. Emily Eden was among those who followed Lady Sale's accounts and forwarded the

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<sup>103</sup> "It is difficult to look back without some bitterness," *The Times*, London, May 2, 1842, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS84964002&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016).

<sup>104</sup> "East India House," *The Times*, London, Dec. 19, 1839, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS50490771&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr 21, 2016).

<sup>105</sup> The same article states that the Indian government was 2.5 million pounds in debt at this point in time. "Proceedings in Parliament. The Afghan War," *Colonial Gazette* (London: John William Parker, June 29, 1842): 412. Philip Mason claims the war cost the Indian government 15 million pounds. Mason, *The Men Who Ruled India* (1953-4; repr., NY: W.W. Norton and Co., 1985), 122.

<sup>106</sup> Shane Malhotra, "If she escapes she will publish everything. Lady Sale and the Media Frenzy of the First Anglo-Afghan War 1839-1842," *Book History* 17 (2014): 272-297, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/557363> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016).

information along in her own letters home: “All the news that comes is from a letter of Lady —, who is in Cabul, to her husband, who was wounded at Jellalabad. She writes very heroically, and always was an active, strong-minded woman.”<sup>107</sup>

Emily focused mainly on the reports the governing family continued to receive about the crisis in her messages home. She also, on occasion, mentioned the toll the situation was taking on George: “We know most of the ladies [held hostage]; one has seven small children with her, and another two. You may imagine the state George is in, and indeed there is a general gloom in Calcutta; for everybody has friends and relations there....”<sup>108</sup> In the main, though, Eden’s letters at the time of the conflict suggested she was mostly looking forward to their impending return home, as the final days of George’s appointment were drawing near. The lack of discussion about the events in Afghanistan could be partly due to the fact that the public scrutiny of this conflict was minimal in comparison to the 1857 rebellions, and also that the connection between the British monarch and India’s governor was not as close as it would be in the second-half of the nineteenth century.

As the coverage of the Afghanistan conflict during Eden’s administration indicates, press agencies were not as developed and numerous as they would become just a couple of decades later. During the rebellion crisis in 1857, the confusion and mistaken information which was apparent in the case of the Anglo-Afghan War grew exponentially, and became a pressing issue identified and managed by Queen Victoria and her proxy in India, the lady governor. As the next chapter of this dissertation describes, a significant shift took place in the course of the 1857 rebellions and the resulting press coverage, which led vicereines from Lady Canning on to take a

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<sup>107</sup> EE to unknown, Oct. 3, 1841, Eden, *Letters from India*, 2:91.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

more active role managing public relations for their husbands and the empire, particularly geared toward British audiences, than Marian Hastings or Emily Eden did.

The Eden siblings returned to England in 1842. Unlike Warren Hastings, George was still able to find work among the Whig elite, in a fairly illustrious position as first lord of the admiralty. His death in 1849, quickly succeeded by Fanny's a few months later, devastated Emily. Alone and consistently in poor health, Emily had her visits from old family friends and her writing to occupy the latter years of her life. She also organized the Eden family archive and submitted her father's journals to Richard Bentley to print.<sup>109</sup> Her final task was editing and publishing her Indian letters, which biographer Janet Dunbar claims were more popular than were her novels.<sup>110</sup>

Emily's references to government practices in India indicate the opportunity Emily and Fanny realized they and George had (and seized) to set precedents as governor and lady governors. As well will see, Lady Dufferin's 1880s journals show that the ceremonies and daily responsibilities in Government House became more defined and systematic as time went on, thanks in part to the Eden sisters' proactive approach. Charity work, nearly absent from Emily's journal, also became a fixture of the vicereine's responsibilities and part of the Victorian domestic persona these women embodied after the 1850s, as a means of reinforcing the values which became foundational to the Raj. Finally, the monarchical connection between India's colonial government and Britain, cemented officially in the Proclamation of 1858 and the turn to Raj rule, began in part with Emily's gifting her portrait of the Queen (whom she had never seen) to Singh, yet truly came together as Victoria herself took an increased interest in the colony,

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<sup>109</sup> Richard Bentley & Emily Eden, Bentley Papers, Add MS 46617, British Library, London, ff233-277.

<sup>110</sup> Dunbar, *Golden Interlude*, 227-231.

maintaining a close correspondence with her former lady-in-waiting, Lady Canning, the wife of Governor Canning.

The empire looked different in the 1860s, when *Up the Country* was published, from what it did in the 1830s, when the Edens first set out for India. The governorship was now a viceroyalty—and the Company was no longer managing the colonial government. Eden’s glimpse into the world of imperial administration remained relevant well beyond its initial publication, in some cases it was used to reaffirm the virtues of British imperialism. One late nineteenth-century reviewer of Eden’s book remarked that the images of life in India were disturbing and violent—thuggee and sati were examples given—which showed that English rule had not had the positive effect yet that people hoped it would. They argued this was because the government was still under Company rule, and helped readers to see how far the Raj had advanced from these earlier days.<sup>111</sup> Her book continued to be popular well into the twentieth century, when the celebrity of the governing families was solidified in imperial culture. Even as late as 1920, one reader remarked that Eden’s letters offered “an amusing glimpse into the domesticities of eminent persons.”<sup>112</sup> The Eden sisters helped to popularize the governorship at a time when people in England were beginning to take a stronger interest in the history of the governors and the colonial government.<sup>113</sup> The sustained popularity of her letters serves as a

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<sup>111</sup> Leigh Hunt, Albany William Fonblanque, John Forster eds., *The Examiner* 3051, Jul. 21, 1866, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/8491043?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016).

<sup>112</sup> “A Cheerful Lady,” *Athenaeum* 4689, Mar. 12, 1920, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/8961595?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016). This reader also referred to Emily as the “governess-general,” as there was no equivalent for vicereine in the earlier empire.

<sup>113</sup> They helped to publicize the position in India as well: “We have somehow risen rapidly in public estimation, and there is no end to the attentions they pay us... 'the wretched tools by which George means to make his arbitrary government popular,' as — calls us, are turning to account.” EE to a sister, Dec. 24, 1836, Eden, *Letters from India*, 1:281.

reminder that the market for nostalgic imperial memoirs would prove more durable than the empire itself.

## **Charlotte Canning, Queen Victoria, and the consolidation of imperial domesticity, 1856-1862**

While Emily Eden was busy imagining what the Queen of England might look like, the real Queen was struggling to establish some credibility for herself among audiences at home. Though Britons had to adjust to the idea of having a female monarch in the 1830s, the Indian state of Bhopal had been controlled by women for over one hundred years.<sup>1</sup> The Begums acted both as regents for their sons and as outright rulers. As was the case for Queen Victoria, these queens had to defend themselves against rumors of emotional frailty and other judgments about how their gender challenged their legitimacy as rulers. The oft-repeated attack was that female rulers allowed the men in their lives undue influence, and some British agents encouraged these rumors in order to disrupt the authority of a queen. This tactic proved helpful when the colonial government desired a queen be replaced another ruler more sympathetic to British interests.<sup>2</sup> Though some of the Begums were devoted to the British, and were close friends of the governors-general and even the British King and Queen, others queens were held up to the British public by Queen Victoria during the Mutiny as exemplifying the corruption of Indian civilization.<sup>3</sup> Portraying foreign queens as violent and masculine, both the Queen and her representative in India, Lady Canning, appropriated these images to demonstrate their own femininity and, ultimately, cultivate their own political and cultural power. Queen Victoria and Charlotte Canning were instrumental in writing an enduring narrative of the Indian Mutiny in which domestic virtues helped to consolidate the power of the British monarchy in India and

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<sup>1</sup> For a history of Bhopal's female rulers, see Shaharyar Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal: A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India* (London, UK: Tauris, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Metcalf describes Sir Lepel Griffin's attempt to destroy the reputations of Shah Jahan Begum's husband and the Queen herself, which resulted in the viceroy, Lord Dufferin coming to her defense and condemning Griffin. Metcalf, "Presidential Address: Islam and Power in Colonial India: The Making and Unmaking of a Muslim Princess," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 1 (Feb. 2011): 21-29, *Academic Search Alumni Edition*, EBSCO host (accessed Apr. 29, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> One example of a Begum who was quite close to the British establishment was Mani Begum, the widow of Mir Jafar who used to be Nawab of Bengal and an ally of Warren Hastings.

spark a sense of imperial mission among Britons at a time when the cost of maintaining the empire appeared to vastly outweigh the benefits.

Though Queen Victoria's gender was used by her critics to suggest she might fail as a ruler, she was never accused of being an aberration; a weak ruler at first, perhaps, but not really a threat to the civilizational order.<sup>4</sup> As Arianne Chernock writes, "to reject female succession... would have placed the stability of the Crown in jeopardy," so instead, those who compared Victoria to other queens at the time established the British Queen as exemplifying enlightenment ideals of femininity.<sup>5</sup> This has led scholars to suggest Victoria's power was derived from her ability to work within the parameters of her gender according to prevailing political and cultural norms.<sup>6</sup> During her reign, political commentators compared Victoria to other female rulers, yet she was not quite considered in the same category as these foreign queens because race became central to Victorian definitions of imperial political power. Foreign Queens were viewed by the British as dangerous; hidden behind a veil of secrecy, with the potential for exhibiting both extreme masculine violence and feminine sexual promiscuity. Marian Hastings was portrayed by her critics in a similar fashion; her French and German heritage marked her as foreign, and she was also characterized as a "man's woman" in the late Victorian period.<sup>7</sup> Charlotte Canning ensured she and future vicereines would not face similar accusations by promoting the ideals of Victorian domesticity in her correspondence and in her management of the mutiny crisis. Beyond the cultivation of domestic virtues in their celebrity-

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<sup>4</sup> Before she married, the Queen was sometimes portrayed as a young, innocent girl in need of direction. Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Arianne Chernock, "Queen Victoria and the 'Bloody Mary of Madagascar,'" *Victorian Studies* 55, no. 3 (spring 2013): 430, <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu.proxy.library.cornell.edu> (accessed May 3, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Homans, *Royal Representations*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter one of this dissertation.



fashioning, the vicereines also promoted their Britishness, a crucial step because of their precarious position as both sovereigns and subjects in the colonies.

### **The politics of domesticity**

Victorian gender roles were appropriated in debates between colonial and British officials and publics during the course of the 1857 rebellions. The conflict helped solidify prevailing justifications for imperialism which relied on preserving and defending the sanctity of the Englishwoman's virtue. This virtue centered on the family, specifically on the identification of women as wives and mothers, roles that came to define the Victorian age and the Queen for whom it was named. While some scholars have studied the promotion of domestic values in British imperialism, none have looked at the vicereine's role in that process.<sup>8</sup> Women in empire have been characterized as "scapegoats" and idle memsahibs, but at the top of the social hierarchy, they played a central role in fashioning imperial propaganda and culture. The memorialization of Charlotte's life, and the fashioning of her character by commentators and historians alike, developed in conjunction with the crystallization of these norms over the course of the conflict. Though women like Charlotte Canning appear to have fashioned a space for themselves that was obsequious, passive, and limited in scope, they and their husbands ensured that, by privileging Victorian domestic norms, wives remained an essential part of a governor's public image and political reputation.

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<sup>8</sup> Some examples of projects linking domesticity to imperial ideology include: Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), chap. 2; Deidre David, "Imperial Chintz: Domesticity and Empire," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27, no. 2 (1999): 569-577, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25058479> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016); Alison Sainsbury, "Domesticity and Empire: Gender and Imperialism in Anglo-India, 1880s-1930s," (PhD diss., Cornell University, Jan. 1995) and Alison Blunt, "Imperial geographies of home: British domesticity in India, 1886-1925," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 421-440, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/doi/10.1111/j.0020-2754.1999.00421.x/epdf> (accessed May 19, 2016).

One of the biggest challenges facing scholars of the Queen is the question of how a female monarch and empress with vast power and authority earned the respect and admiration of a nation whose view of women was decidedly narrow. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich argue there were so many competing caricatures of the Queen in the press because people felt conflicted and even uncomfortable about having female monarch.<sup>9</sup> Both Homans and Munich feel that in the end, Victoria herself helped cultivate an image that safely positioned her at the head of the nation and the empire: as wife and mother, Victoria's power began in the home. In fact, she was constantly under scrutiny because of her gender, especially at times of crisis both political and personal.<sup>10</sup> Reynolds argues the Queen chose to assert herself among her (male) advisors and cabinet early on by insisting on appointing whomever she liked to serve in her household despite their husbands' political affiliations.<sup>11</sup> This was how the Queen came to form a relationship with Charlotte Canning, whom Victoria chose to serve as lady of the bedchamber to Victoria just seven years into Charlotte's marriage to Charles.

The central challenge to this delicate balance between Victoria's sex and her power was the love of her life, Prince Albert. In political terms, Victoria outranked Albert. In cultural terms, Albert outranked Victoria as the man of the house. It was ultimately in the Queen's decision to marry and submit to her husband's will in matters of the royal household (and as many argue, probably in matters of the state) that Victoria's true political power derived, according to

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<sup>9</sup> Adrienne Munich, "Queen Victoria, empire and excess," in *Women and Nation*, special issue, *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 6, no. 2 (autumn 1987): 265-281, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/464272> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016); Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, "Introduction," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, ed. Homans and Munich (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-11.

<sup>10</sup> For example, the influence Prime Minister Melbourne had over her and her relationship with John Brown. See Kate Hubbard, "Chapter Three: Charlotte Canning, Lady of the Bedchamber," in *Serving Victoria: Life in the Royal Household* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2012), 70-1; David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 111, 121; Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: An Intimate Biography* (NY: Dutton, 1987), esp. chap. 11 and Homans, *Royal Representations*, 8-10.

<sup>11</sup> Hubbard, "Charlotte Canning," 70-2; K.D. Reynolds and H.C.G. Matthew, *Queen Victoria* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 14-18.

Homans: “By presenting herself as a wife, Queen Victoria offered the perfect solution to Britain’s fears of female rule and of excessive monarchical power.”<sup>12</sup>

The source of her power was domesticity and its ability to “render harmless” the politics of ruling an empire.<sup>13</sup> By submitting to marriage, the Queen acquired political credibility among both female and male constituents because she was serving the patriarchal order. One scholar goes so far as to argue that Queen Victoria’s domesticity is the reason the monarchy weathered the storm of republicanism in the mid-nineteenth century, since having a woman on the throne ostensibly left the business of state management to Parliament, swapping the monarchy’s *actual* power for *symbolic* power.<sup>14</sup> Being a wife and mother and demonstrating a happy family life in public, or through commissioned portraits, gave the Queen political clout.<sup>15</sup> These domestic qualities, as defined and represented by the Queen of England, drew upon wider social movements, including Evangelicalism. Despite the fact that Victoria wished to distance the Crown from religious proselytizers to avoid alienating her Indian subjects, Christian themes of charity and mercy were at the center of the transition to Raj rule.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Homans, *Royal Representations*, 3, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Homans and Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: the woman, the monarchy and the people* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1990), esp. chap. 5-6. It is important to note also that domesticity was an important feature of the British monarchy from at least the time of George III, so that in and of itself is not unique to Victoria. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. chap. 5 and Cannadine, “Meaning of Ritual,” 120-1.

<sup>15</sup> Homans, *Royal Representations*, chap. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Catherine Hall argues Evangelicalism was at the center of Victorian domesticity, and many missionaries claimed the rebellion was the last gasp of heathenism, and that the new government was responsible for finishing the process of civilizing India. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 375-8. The involvement of women in missions grew from the mid-nineteenth century: Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford University Press, 1999), 92-104.

Domesticity was the key to respectability in the nineteenth century, and by Victoria's time, British monarchs hoped to project an image of a happy family life.<sup>17</sup> But as Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, among others, have argued, the Queen's outward reinforcing patriarchal norms was deceiving, because both the Queen and other elite women, such as the vicereines, derived their political power by projecting the values of domesticity in their self-fashioning. The appropriation of these values in biographies and commemorations of the first families of India was also beneficial to the governors as well as their wives. The appearance of a stable family life, and especially evidence of conjugal devotion, often helped revive a governor's reputations in the face of scandal. As with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, the exception would prove to be the rule; the Cannings' marriage was held up by biographers as exemplifying the ideals of imperial domesticity despite the fact that it was one of the more dysfunctional in the group.<sup>18</sup> Charles began the process of self-promotion himself by commemorating his wife Charlotte, marking her death as the ultimate sacrifice made by imperial families in service of the empire. He ensured her fixed position within the Raj historiography by situating her story within early public history tours of Mutiny sites. The "feminine" qualities which Victoria came to embody: maternalism and wifely devotion, Christian charity and mercy, ultimately reinforced patriarchal gender norms and made the Queen respectable, rather than a potential threat. This same approach enabled India's vicereines to promote the empire in the face of strong skepticism in Britain about its virtues.

### **Charlotte and the royal household**

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<sup>17</sup> Catherine Hall and Lenore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, rev. ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 149-155; Colley, *Britons*, 196-7, 207-208.

<sup>18</sup> The Curzons' relationship was also unhealthy, and yet Curzon himself led the charge in emphasizing the positive impact a successful marriage had on a colonial governor's career.

Charlotte became Lady of the Bedchamber to Victoria in 1842.<sup>19</sup> She accompanied the Queen on her travels to Scotland, France and Belgium, documenting these trips in her watercolors, sketches and letters to her relatives in England, a practice she would carry on in India. During her twelve years in this role, Charlotte grew very close with the entire royal family. The Queen's ladies held significant political power in the royal household, as evidence by the so-called "Bedchamber Crisis" of 1839. This conflict culminated in the newly-appointed Prime Minister Robert Peel resigning after the Queen refused to swap out her Whig maids for Peel-approved Tory wives. As Karen Chase and Michael Levenson have persuasively argued, this early moment in Victoria's reign illustrated the importance of the Queen's domestic life in Parliamentary politics.<sup>20</sup> It also demonstrated the Queen's desire to assert her royal prerogative against the wishes of influential politicians. Charlotte's service suggested the Queen was willing to appoint Tory women as long as it was on her own terms, without the interference of Government.

Both Charlotte and Charles Canning grew up in politically active families. Charlotte's father, Baron Stuart de Rothesay, was a diplomat stationed in Paris, Vienna and St. Petersburg over the course of his career. The Stuart family had strong connections to English royalty; Charlotte was named for her godmother, George III's wife, Queen Charlotte. Charles's father, George, was foreign secretary from 1807-1809 and 1822-1827, and was Prime Minister for four months before he died at the young age of fifty-seven. Charles himself attended Oxford, became a Tory MP at 26 years old, and succeeded the family peerage the following year.

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<sup>19</sup> For descriptions of life as lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, see Hubbard, *Serving Victoria*, chap. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, "I never saw a man so frightened": The Young Queen and the Parliamentary Bedchamber," in Homans and Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria*, 200-18; Hubbard, *Serving Victoria*, 70-2.

Early in their marriage, most of the Cannings' biographers claim Charles had an affair. According to these writers, the general public was aware that Canning had taken a mistress early in their marriage, but the Queen refused to tolerate this. There were rumors that when his mistress showed up to the palace at Windsor, Charles confronted her and fainted shortly afterwards, anxious about the Queen finding out that the woman had crashed the party.<sup>21</sup> Some biographers suggest that Charles was offered the Indian governorship in order to separate him from his mistress and that Victoria, against the appointment at first, consented on the grounds that it would help to save Charlotte from future embarrassment.<sup>22</sup> Biographers made Charles's infidelity an essential part of Charlotte's life narrative in the later period Victorian period, garnering sympathy for her and adding it to the catalogue of sacrifices she made as a devoted wife.

When the Cannings first received news of their appointment to India, Charlotte seemed optimistic. She was looking forward to the change of scenery, and had always enjoyed documenting her travels with the Queen. Of course, one of the most difficult aspects of the imperial career was leaving friends and relatives for years at a time. Even still, Charlotte felt she and Charles were better suited for this kind of life than most: "With no children, no duties in a property in England, no bad health or even doubt about health, one really should have had not one excuse to give, but the pain of leaving home for so very long."<sup>23</sup> Her most candid admissions were to her immediate relations, and one cannot help but read slight resentment in

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<sup>21</sup> Marian Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1987), 103.

<sup>22</sup> Fowler, *Peacock Fan*, 102-3; Charles Allan, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain: Leaves from the Indian Journals of Charlotte Canning* (London, UK: Michael Joseph LTD, 1986), 7-8; Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroy of India* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 22; Virginia Surtees, *Charlotte Canning: Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria and Wife of the First Viceroy of India, 1817-1861* (London: John Murray, 1975), 167 and F.W.H Cavendish, *Society, Politics and Diplomacy* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913), 181.

<sup>23</sup> Lady Canning to Mrs. Gladstone, Jun. 25, 1855, Mary Gladstone Papers, Add MS 46226, British Library, London, ff299-301.

her letter to her sister Louisa regarding Charles's appointment: "There are really no reasons against accepting but one's own feelings and dislikes... But I will not take any part in the decision, only be ready to follow like a dog."<sup>24</sup> Perhaps Charlotte considered this image endearing, however, as she used the same simile when writing to her "darling Carlo" several years later in India, when she was unable to meet up with him for an event: "I... meant resolutely to keep to my intentions but have ended by the contrary—and I feel really very much ashamed of being away from my post after always following like the faithful little dog."<sup>25</sup> It is easy to look at these passages and read a sense of helplessness or passivity, but it might also be that Charlotte took pride in being such a loyal partner and companion.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the image of her following her husband like a dog follows its master betrayed the unhappiness she felt in her marriage. Nevertheless, as it was repeated by her biographers, it suggests qualities of devotion and even submission were crucial elements of the dutiful wife persona embodied by model vicereines, such as Lady Canning.

## **Life in India**

In her role as India's lady governor, Charlotte served as the liaison between the royal family and the colony. Through that connection, she helped to reinforce the idea of a global imperial family by presenting the Queen's speeches and portraits to Her Majesty's subjects in India, as Emily Eden had done in the 1840s.<sup>27</sup> As part of her remodel of Government House, she

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<sup>24</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 8; Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 193.

<sup>25</sup> Lady Canning to Lord Canning, Oct. 17, 1861, Photocopies of Charlotte Canning Correspondence, British Library, London, India Office, MSS EUR Photo 321/4, f19 (hereafter cited as Canning Papers).

<sup>26</sup> It is also possible she was inspired by none other than the Queen herself, as Munich argues the appropriation of household pets was a popular Victorian trope that was symbolic of the domestic ideal, and that portraits of the Queen often reflected this. Adrienne Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), 133-43.

<sup>27</sup> See Eden chapter and Simon Schama, "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 167, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/204129> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016).

hung portraits of the Queen's children in the drawing room. These official portraits were in addition to the smaller ones she received throughout her time in India in her correspondence with the Queen. She presented the Begum of Bhopal with interior portraits of Windsor Castle and according to Charlotte, the Indian Queen was quick to compare the home to her own, asking Lady Canning of the rooms depicted, "which was the Durbar and which the 'waiting' room."<sup>28</sup> The proliferation of these portraits helped to build a culture of royal domesticity, which served to connect overseas Britons with their motherland, and Indian subjects with the British Queen.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to representing her monarch abroad, Charlotte was a central figure within Anglo-Indian society. Women followed her lead and Government House was seen, Charlotte wrote, as "the authority for everything to a degree which is astonishing."<sup>30</sup> The British settlements in India were famous for desperately clinging to traditions and social formalities as a means of promoting a sense of stability in their precarious position as minority rulers. As Canning's predecessor, Lord Dalhousie, wearily put it in his letters to the new governor and his wife at the beginning of their administration: "You must both submit to large dinners and a ball as an essential portion of the Constitution of India."<sup>31</sup> In her position as a social and political figurehead in the colony, Charlotte was responsible for modelling the Victorian feminine virtues in narratives that were used to justify British rule in India during the chaos of the rebellions in 1857 and into the transition to the Raj.

Although Charlotte certainly admired many of the formalities of rule in colonial India, there was one which she could not abide, and that was following after her husband during their entrance into official ceremonies. She was made aware of this custom when she first arrived in

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<sup>28</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 151-2.

<sup>29</sup> Homans and Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria*, 3; Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, 139.

<sup>30</sup> Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 218-9.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Maclagan, "*Clemency*" *Canning* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1962), 43.



Calcutta. As their ship was approaching Fort William, Charlotte was given the choice to disembark either before or after her husband's arrival was announced—she could not accompany him. Affronted though she was, she agreed to precede her husband, but refused to let this tradition continue during their state dinners.<sup>32</sup> As the Eden sisters did before her, Lady Canning altered her ceremonial position (this time dictated by the colonial government) in order to make her entrance into state dinners alongside her husband.<sup>33</sup> While Charlotte portrayed herself as a servile dog in intimate discussions about her marriage, in public view she interestingly chose to present herself as the governor's partner. The active participation of lady governors at the center of imperial politics and ceremony, alongside their promotion of patriarchal Victorian gender norms, represents the dual imperatives of female rulers, to both engage in politics but promote an appearance of domesticity.

Charlotte's husband, by contrast, was hardly ever by her side. By all accounts, Charles worked constantly, a common occurrence with governors as, generally speaking, they had to try to catch up on the history, customs, geography, and local politics of the colony, not to mention their on-going struggle with managing directives from home government.<sup>34</sup> It was a job which one learned to perform as one performed it, and while some men deliberately took time out of their day to relax and see their family, others, including Charles Canning, buried themselves in their work.

As busy as Charles was, he was notoriously poor at responding to letters from his colleagues and superiors.<sup>35</sup> Since 1842, encouraged by her husband and the Tories, the Queen

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<sup>32</sup> Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 199.

<sup>33</sup> Fowler, *Peacock Fan*, 119.

<sup>34</sup> Maclagan, "*Clemency*," 47.

<sup>35</sup> John Elphinstone to Lady Shelburne, Apr. 12, 1858, John Elphinstone Papers, MSS EUR C725, British Library, London, India Office, ff74-5 (hereafter cited as Elphinstone Papers).

had kept a correspondence with India's Governor-General in order to maintain a level of royal oversight over the colony.<sup>36</sup> Victoria expressed her displeasure with Charles in the early days of his governorship for failing to keep in touch with her as his predecessors had done. She therefore delegated the responsibility to the lady governor herself: "I wish you to write to me every six weeks—whether you hear from me or not as it seems else so long not to hear from you."<sup>37</sup> Both women would come to rely on this correspondence to maintain a personal and political connection between Britain and India.

The Queen seemed in her letters to be curious about life in her colony, but she had little desire to ever travel there. In her responses to Charlotte, the Queen professed nineteenth-century assumptions about India—that it was a place with a rich history and limitless opportunities for wealth, but that it was in need of British "guidance" in order to truly flourish. Like many of her British subjects, the Queen was wary of travelling to South Asia: "If it was not for the heat and the insects how much I should like to see India, that most luxurious of countries full of such wealth and I am sure intended some day to become civilized and to hold a different position in that respect, to what it has hitherto done!"<sup>38</sup> While she would never visit India, the Queen took up various causes from a distance, developing a particular interest in the education of young Indian women, and encouraged her vice-queens to take up this cause on her behalf. As the monarch's female representative, Charlotte did her part touring both native and European

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<sup>36</sup> Miles Taylor, "Queen Victoria and India, 1837-1861," *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2004): 267, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/212016951?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 21, 2016).

<sup>37</sup> Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 222. Others noted Charles's failures as a correspondent, including John Elphinstone. Elphinstone to Lady Shelburne, Apr. 12, 1858, Elphinstone Papers, MSS EUR C725, ff74-5.

<sup>38</sup> Queen Victoria to CC, June 25, 1856, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, ff32-3.

schools and reporting back to the Queen and others of their condition.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately, philanthropy became an essential quality of a virtuous female vice-sovereign in part due to Queen Victoria's encouragement.

While Charlotte forged ahead with her charity work, Charles was receiving scattered reports of discontent in the northern states. The Doctrine of Lapse and Annexation of Awadh, begun in 1848-9, brought tensions which were already present between Indians and the colonial government to surface.<sup>40</sup> The Doctrine established the colonial government's "right" to appoint rulers in princely states where no direct heir existed.<sup>41</sup> In the past, princes had a right to adopt their heirs, meaning they did not have to be direct descendants. In doing away with this custom, the definition of heir became a point of contention between families in power, their enemies, and the British government. The annexations of Jaipur, Sambalpur, and Jhansi all resulted from the Doctrine. The Punjab and Awadh annexations, on the other hand, stemmed from Lord Dalhousie's attempt to consolidate control over territories in which the Company already claimed a stake. He argued the government had to take over administering these districts in order to protect strategic and commercial interests following a small rebellion in Multan in 1848 and disagreements with the Nawab in Awadh. The reality was that these were simply justifications for Dalhousie's policy of centralizing power by controlling the process of princely succession and revenue collection. The forced insertion of British agents into the local politics of

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<sup>39</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 43; Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 221; Lady Canning to Mountstuart Elphinstone, Feb. 21, 1856, Elphinstone Papers, MSS EUR F87/296, ff89-92 and Lady Canning to Queen Victoria, 1856, Canning Papers, MSS Photo EUR 321/2, fl.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 32-4.

<sup>41</sup> While written prior to Dalhousie's arrival, he invoked it more aggressively and consistently than his predecessors.

these territories resulted in accusations of corruption and arguments over land rights.<sup>42</sup> As the colonial government's reach grew in India, so too did their list of enemies.

Many of Dalhousie's policies, including the limitations he placed on the power of the princes in the Punjab, forcing sepoys to fight in Burma, and the steady imposition of external forms of government, economy, religion, and infrastructure, were beginning to take their toll. The causes of the conflicts in 1857, therefore, were numerous, and the participants were by no means limited to the military. Deposed rulers, a growing class of educated Indians frustrated with the British for constantly thwarting their attempts to participate in government, and landowners stymied by unfair and arbitrary taxation, all took up arms. These tensions would reach a breaking point shortly after the Cannings arrived in India in 1856.

While a variety of causes of the conflict were floated, including rumors about forced religious conversions, many seemed to agree that ignorance of ruling elites regarding the feelings of Indian subjects generally-speaking had been a fatal mistake. An article in the *Friend of India*, written in the midst of the conflict, suggested army generals should cultivate relationships with their Indian officers in order to avoid future conflicts: "In every Regiment there should be a new and persistent effort to ascertain what the Sepoy really thinks, hopes and wishes...an exhibition of real personal sympathy with the men would remove much of the discontent."<sup>43</sup> The racism that Charlotte herself participated in had certainly bred resentment among the groups targeted by it, but the article was not advocating an end to bigotry—rather, it argued Britons needed to at least appear to be serving Indian interests; that the price of obedience was demonstrating kindness. Charles and the Queen's approach to rebuilding the colony after the revolts gave the

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<sup>42</sup> Metcalf, *Aftermath*, 44-5.

<sup>43</sup> "The Mutinies and their Cause," *Friend of India*, Calcutta, Apr. 9, 1857, microfilm, p. 338, SM141.

appearance of compassionate rule without addressing the basic problem which was at the heart of British rule in India: racism. As the correspondence between Charlotte and the Queen shows, British racism in India only strengthened in the course of the rebellions.<sup>44</sup>

### **Controlling the message: violence and mercy**

While much of the academic debate in the past about the rebellions attempted to explain what had happened, the emphasis more recently has been on different ways in which the events of 1858 have been appropriated by politicians, historians and other interest groups.<sup>45</sup> The very term “mutiny” has been called into question, as it implies not only the guilt of Indian participants and sovereignty of the British government, but also that it was a military coup, when actually soldiers were just one group who participated in protesting colonial rule. “1857” is now presented as a contested narrative laden with heavy political implications—just one element of which concerns the representation of women in novels and other studies of the conflict, and the ways women were used to justify violence as a means to ensure imperial sovereignty.

The uprisings have since become mythological in their retelling—the event was described by contemporaries as an all-encompassing revolt coordinated by sepoys across India. The “spark” that lit the flames of insurrection was considered to be the implementation of the new rifle cartridges, supposedly greased with pork fat. Requiring Hindu soldiers to bite the tops off in order to load the rifles was degrading and a complete affront to their religion. There were

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<sup>44</sup> Metcalf, *Aftermath*, 309-15.

<sup>45</sup> The “official” mutiny history was written by military historians Sir John Kaye and Col. George Malleon. See *History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8*, 6 Vols. (London, UK: W.H. Allen and Co., 1892). One debate centers on the Cawnpore Massacres and the nature of the violence that transpired. Rudrangshu Mukherjee argues the episodes of violence that occurred were a systemic problem at the heart of British imperialism in India, while Barbara English argues that moments of extreme violence were the responsibility of certain individuals. See Mukherjee, “‘Satan let loose upon the Earth’: the Kanpur massacres in India in the revolt of 1857,” *Past and Present* 128 (Aug. 1990): 92-116, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/651010> (accessed 22 Apr. 2016) and English, “Debate: the Kanpur massacres in India in the revolt of 1857,” *Past and Present* 142 (Feb. 1994): 169-178, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/651200> (accessed Apr. 22, 2016).

also wide-spread rumors that the governor intended to convert masses of Indians to Christianity, which Charlotte fervently denied in her letters.<sup>46</sup> Stories such as these circulated in the press in both India and Britain, spiraling out of control up through the end of the conflict and the Proclamation of 1858, which sealed the fate of the colony as Crown territory.

Samuel Carrington, a civil engineer for the East Indian Railway during the revolt, described the state of panic and confusion in Calcutta during the summer of 1857. Misinformation was perhaps one of the biggest threats to the security of the colonial government at the time—tensions were so high that everyone carried pistols with them walking around town and short-lived speculation that the governor had been killed made matters worse.<sup>47</sup> Much of what the community of Anglo-Indian officials felt, according to Charlotte, was betrayal. She wrote to Mary Gladstone: “You can never imagine the surprise all this dreadful revolt has caused here, I think perhaps to those most used to India. The trust and confidence...in sepoys was so unbounded, they were so well treated so prosperous, and so ‘well behaved’ [at the] time the murmurs arose...”<sup>48</sup> Because the empire relied so heavily on the sepoys, the mutinies brought this dependency into sharp relief and encouraged the worst sort of retribution to mollify the bruised ego of the imperial power.

The Queen’s correspondence with Charlotte took on a greater significance in light of the panic induced by the scanty and irregular intelligence on the rebellions. During the fighting, Britons were anxious for information about how their relatives in India were faring. There was

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<sup>46</sup> “...any fear that religion or caste shall be tampered with, can always excite [sepoys] to every possible folly...with proper precautions, there is no cause for further anxiety.” CC to QV, Apr. 9, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, f6. A *Friend of India* article suggests these rumors might have been exacerbated by the failure of commanding officers to connect with their troops: “The regiment which has confidence even in one officer will never be misled by rumours of conversion.” “Mutinies and their Cause,” 338.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Carrington to O.G. Edwards, Aug. 7, 1857, Samuel Carrington Papers, MSS EUR B212/1, British Library, London, no. 4.

<sup>48</sup> CC to Mrs. Gladstone, Aug. 7, 1857, Mary Gladstone Papers, Add MS 46226, ff 310v-311r.

also a tremendous amount of frustration and anger among the political elite—many were looking for someone to pin the blame on for the escalation of violence and very often, it fell to Canning. Charlotte’s correspondence with the Queen indicates Victoria’s attempt to control rumors and to contain the in-fighting between her Government and her representative in India. She often voiced her support and sympathy to Charlotte in familial terms, writing: “A Woman and above all a Wife and Mother can only too well enter into the agonies gone thro’ of the massacres... what a comfort for Lord C to have such a wife as he has in you, calm, and pious and full of trust in Him who will not forsake those who call on Him...”<sup>49</sup> Being so far removed from India and the conflict, the Queen looked to domestic roles as a means of commiserating with the governor and his wife, seeing domesticity as a source of stability at a time of heightened distress and insecurity.

The Queen relied on Charlotte for “on-the-ground” information—even the British monarch could not trust the newspaper reports. She looked to Charlotte for word on how policies were affecting local opinion, as well as for clarification on some of the more gruesome rumors, trusting these letters would remain somewhat private, or at least stay within their circle of advisors. Far-fetched horror stories of the torturing of British women and children started popping up in English papers, and the government wanted to refute the more sinister of the bunch, including any rumors that suggested the virtue of British women had been compromised.<sup>50</sup> As far as the colonial government was able to discern, most of these stories appeared to be false. A committee established to determine if there had been any cases of rape found instead that “the result is the very reverse, and shows that slaughter and extermination

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<sup>49</sup> QV to CC, Feb. 8, 1858, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, ff72-4; Allan, 79-80.

<sup>50</sup> QV to CC, Oct. 22, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, ff 84-97; CC to QV, Dec. 11, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, f35.

seems to have been in all cases the object of the mutineers and there is not a particle of credible evidence of the poor women having been ‘ill used’ anywhere!”<sup>51</sup> Stories of rampant sexual violence against British women became a fixture of mutiny propaganda in the English press despite the fact that, as the vicereine declared, the research proved otherwise. Charlotte’s attempt to control these rumors can be seen as part of the policy promoted by the Queen and viceroy to lessen the calls for retaliation and move toward promises of mercy and peaceful reconciliation.

Scholars have pointed to the discrepancy between the number of rape cases reported officially and the prevalence of suggestive accounts during the revolts and in novels published afterwards to show that images of violence against Anglo-Indian women were appropriated by proponents of British imperialism in order to justify the escalation of violence needed not only to squash the rebel groups but also to solidify Britain’s control in India. The objectification of women in graphic depictions of violence demonstrate their frailty and defenselessness, calling to arms all British men to rescue not only the women but the very empire itself.<sup>52</sup> Violence against British men, although it happened, was censored because, as Jenny Sharpe argues, these suggested an inversion of the “master-servant relationship” and thus “would negate colonial power at the precise moment that it needed reinforcing.”<sup>53</sup> Mutiny narratives united Britons in India and in Britain with a common cause based firmly in racial domination.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> CC to QV, Jan. 9, 1858?, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, f40.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy Paxton, “Mobilizing Chivalry: Rape in British Novels about the Indian Uprising of 1857,” *Victorian Studies* 36, no. 1 (fall 1992): 5-30, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3827931> (accessed Apr. 29, 2016).

<sup>53</sup> Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: the Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 67. For more on press censorship around and following the mutiny, see C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chap. 10.

<sup>54</sup> Alison Blunt, “Embodying War: British women and domestic defilement in the Indian ‘Mutiny, 1857-8,’” *Journal of Historical Geography* 26:3 (2000): 403-428, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/science/article/pii/S0305748800902366> (accessed Apr. 22, 2016); Penelope Tuson, “Mutiny Narratives and the Imperial Feminine: European women’s accounts of the rebellion



In addition to exchanging information and securing support for the governor's policies, Charlotte also managed a relief effort, in her correspondence with the Queen and other officials, for Anglo-Indians affected by the conflict. During the revolt, she hosted families that had been displaced by the fighting and helped make clothes for the refugees.<sup>55</sup> Knowing well that her accounts of the events would carry much weight among British audiences, additional support from the Queen made these charity drives immensely successful. Charlotte also felt survivor stories would tug at the heartstrings of a people otherwise vastly disconnected from the overseas empire. She told the Queen: "I am even inclined to send your Majesty some very touching narratives of the escape of some of the poor refugees and sufferers. I hope there will be much sympathy felt for them in England and that there will be subscriptions opened both for them and for the wives and orphans of soldiers."<sup>56</sup> These stories often centered on the effects the rebellion had on Anglo-Indian families: separating wives from husbands, children from their parents. The call to charity in Britain, and the call to arms in India, were both grounded in a defense of family.

At the beginning of the rebellions, Canning's response was actually quite fierce. In August of 1857, he sent a message to the Lieutenant Governor of Benares:

You may let the rebels and their leaders know that if there is a repetition at Lucknow of the horrors of Cawnpore, the vengeance of the Government will never sleep till retribution has been exacted. That it is idle for them to hope to escape the Force with

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in India in 1857," *Women's Studies International Forum* 21, no. 3 (May-June 1998): 297, 300, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/science/article/pii/S0277539598000235> (accessed Apr. 29, 2016); and Sharpe, *Allegories*, 91-3.

<sup>55</sup> Lord Elphinstone to Lady Shelburne, Dec. 18, 1857, Elphinstone Papers, MSS EUR C725, f69; Fowler, *Peacock Fan*, 115 and Bence-Jones, *Viceroy of India*, 30.

<sup>56</sup> CC to QV, Aug. 24, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, f12. Charlotte had some concerns about the types of clothing people were donating to the cause, telling her mother that much of it would go unused as it was considered inappropriate: "They will all do for the Lucknow people, but I hope these gifts will not go on arriving on the same scale...No one remembers that no 'poor' white people exist in India, so the clothes are not always very suitable. There are some few half castes who are poor but would hate poor people's clothes..." She goes on to say that many soldiers' wives who might have worn the clothes were killed in Cawnpour. CC to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, Dec. 8, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/3, f35. Despite being in a state of war, Charlotte still stubbornly clung to the rigid social hierarchy and customs which were hallmarks of the colonial government.

which England is preparing to crush them...not a man who can be traced as having been amongst the besiegers of Lucknow shall have mercy.<sup>57</sup>

Canning was referencing one of the most infamous scenes of the mutiny, in which several hundred British men, women and children were held captive for three weeks and then, upon their release, were ambushed by their captors. The language of this letter conveys the seriousness of the situation in that particular region, and reflects what much of the British public was looking for in their leadership during the early days of the rebellion, according to the Queen. She wrote to Charlotte in July of 1858, and revealed the reactions in Britain to the uprising: “about six months ago the blood thirsting was too horrible and really quite shameful!”<sup>58</sup> In the midst of the British forces’ response to the conflict in Awadh, Canning drafted a Proclamation, to be delivered by the Chief Commissioner of that province once the rebellion had been squashed. In it, the governor announced his plan to confiscate the land of the inhabitants of that territory unless individuals pledged their allegiance to the colonial government.<sup>59</sup> Some in Britain viewed this as a particularly harsh measure, which would only further enflame the agitators’ anger and essentially prove their point about the arbitrary rule of the British conquerors. Lord Ellenborough, president of the India Board, made public his disapproval of Canning’s plans, which the Queen took to be not only a personal insult against her colonial representative, but a poor political choice in light of the instability in the region.<sup>60</sup> Above all, she was concerned Ellenborough’s criticism would betray division within the ranks of the imperial government at a

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<sup>57</sup> G.F. Edmonstone to Lieut. Gen. Sir James Outram, Aug. 31, 1857, Miscellaneous Indian Mutiny Papers, MSS Eur C124, OMF/IOR.Neg20285, British Library, London, no. 276.

<sup>58</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 107.

<sup>59</sup> Metcalf, *Aftermath*, 139-145. On the original draft of the Awadh Proclamation: Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria, May 23, 1858, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: a selection from Her Majesty’s Correspondence*, ed. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher (London, UK: J. Murray, 1907), 3:369-70.

<sup>60</sup> He was actually the governor-general with whom the Queen began her colonial Indian correspondence in 1842.

time when confidence was needed to build support for the new Raj.<sup>61</sup> In the face of the controversy and the Queen's displeasure, Ellenborough resigned from his position.

As the conflict drew to a close, and the Crown and colonial government were looking ahead at rebuilding relationships between the Indian people and their new sovereign, the official message became one of peace and reconciliation. Both Lord Canning and Queen Victoria were desirous of quelling calls for violent retaliation which were coming in part from Britons, but especially from Anglo-Indians. To a certain extent, this was an issue of numbers. Even with army reserves sent over to Bengal and Calcutta, they were still short on European manpower. Charles declared to Lord Granville: "We are still dependent (mainly) upon the good-will...of the natives."<sup>62</sup> The Queen took an active role in the matter, and consistently wrote to encourage her Government to take the situation more serious and consider sending more troops.<sup>63</sup> But while Canning believed the visible presence of European troops would help convey "British might," and discourage further discontent, he also keenly felt the need to at least promote the appearance of level-headed justice, to counter the bitter anger of Anglo-Indians. In a letter to the Queen, Canning explained: "One of the greatest difficulties which lie ahead...will be the violent rancor of a very large proportion of the English community against every native Indian of every class...It is to be feared that this feeling of exasperation will be a great impediment in the way of restoring tranquility and good order."<sup>64</sup>

It was crucial, to the Queen and to Canning, that British retaliation distinguish itself from the violence of the rebels: it needed to at least appear to be restrained and conforming to

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<sup>61</sup> H.S. Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, Rulers of India Series, ed. Sir W.W. Hunter (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1891), 157-61; Benson and Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3:282-6 and Kaye and Malleon, *Indian Mutiny*, 5:180.

<sup>62</sup> Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, 124.

<sup>63</sup> Q.V. to Lord Panmure, June 29, 1857, Benson and Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3:235-6.

<sup>64</sup> Viscount Canning to Q.V., Sept. 25, 1857, Benson and Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3:251-2.

enlightenment ideals of justice. In addition to inflated stories of native violence against Anglo-Indians, the Queen also had to contend with rumors of extreme brutality of British soldiers against Indians. Violence was an unfortunate side effect of “civil war,” Her Majesty argued, but these scenes of cruelty should not become public knowledge either in Britain or India. She wrote to Charlotte:

Of course, the mere murdering (I mean shooting or stabbing) innocent women and children is very shocking in itself but in civil war this will happen, indeed I fear that many of the awful insults etc. to poor children and women are the inevitable accompaniments of such a state of things and that the ordinary sacking of Towns by Christian soldiers presents spectacles and stories which if published in Newspapers would raise outbursts of horror and indignation.<sup>65</sup>

Men were not the only ones committing violent acts: Charlotte confirmed that an Anglo-Indian woman killed at least a couple of individuals, but assured the Queen that Miss Wheeler did not torture anyone. She writes: “As to Miss Wheeler I think it is believed that she certainly killed several persons. But not that she cut off their heads.”<sup>66</sup> While stories of white violence needed to be kept in check, Charlotte made sure to report of bravery on the part of loyal Indian subjects to the Queen. One story she recounted attempted to restore the image of the loyal Indian subject which the mutinies had disrupted: “A person told me an extraordinary story of the pains taken by a chief in saving [one family]. He had a boat prepared with hollow places in which they could lie down and be covered over with planking at the bottom and in this way he sent them down the river to a place of safety.”<sup>67</sup> The Queen pointedly distinguished between the minority of rebels and those generally-loyal Indian subjects who were swayed by rumors and lies in her 1858 Proclamation, noting that “large indulgence will be shewn to those whose Crimes may appear to

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<sup>65</sup> QV to CC, Oct. 22, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, ff84-97. Also in Mia Carter and Barbara Harlow, eds., *Archives of Empire, Volume I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 484.

<sup>66</sup> CC to QV, Dec. 11, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, f35.

<sup>67</sup> She also reported: “Outram mentions no less than 10 chiefs in Awadh who have protected Europeans.” CC to QV, Oct. 9, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, ff17-18.

have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing Men.”<sup>68</sup>

As these letters between the vicereine and the Queen indicate, the British and colonial governments struggled to control rumors as information quickly flew, from multiple quarters, between Britain and India. They worked to temper the calls for harsh retribution in Britain in order to ease into the transition to Crown rule and avoid alienating Indian subjects.

Canning and the Queen both felt the best way forward, to earn the trust and loyalty of Indian subjects, was to cultivate a sense of magnanimity on the part of the British sovereign. To this end, once British control was established, Canning curtailed the civil tribunals which had been instituted during the campaigns. Without oversight, these often resulted in indiscriminate death sentences, and though still in place they were (theoretically) now reserved only for those rebels who directly had weapons in hand, or were members of regiments who had murdered British citizens. Critics claimed these new policies were tantamount to offering “amnesty” to people whom they considered to be criminals.<sup>69</sup> Canning had the advantage of enjoying the support of the Queen, who felt strongly that the government should appear merciful as a means for securing the loyalty of Indian subjects in the transition to Crown rule.<sup>70</sup>

Interestingly, the Queen seems to have believed this quality of mercy would especially resonate with her subjects because it emanated from a female ruler. Writing to Prime Minister Lord Derby, she explains: “The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write [the Proclamation] himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign

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<sup>68</sup> “Proclamation of the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1st, 1858),” in *East India Proclamations* (London, UK: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1908): 3, <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers/Queen'sProclamation.pdf> (accessed Oct. 10, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, 149-50.

<sup>70</sup> “The retribution will be a fearful one, but I hope and trust that our Officers and Men will show the difference between Christian and Musselmen and Hindoo by sparing the old men, women and children. Any retribution on these I should deeply deprecate for then indeed how could we expect any respect or esteem for us in future?” QV to CC, Sept. 8, 1857 and Dec. 9, 1859, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, ff76-7, 129-131.

who speaks ...Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling...”<sup>71</sup> In addition to her public support for Canning’s pardoning of “accomplices,” the Queen added her own promises of “royal clemency” in her Royal Proclamation. This narrative of maternal mercy continued into the 1890s, as one of Canning’s biographers, Sir Hugh Cunningham, declared the effect this policy had on Indian subjects was more powerful by virtue of Victoria being the “mother of sons...one of whom was one day to be their Sovereign.”<sup>72</sup> It is rather interesting that this seems to imply that the male heirs to the throne were more significant than Victoria, whose power was essentially derived from the fact that she was their mother. Victoria’s self-styling as a mother first, monarch second, continued to influence imperial biographies in their depiction of vicereines in the late empire, indicating that Britons were still uncomfortable with women in positions of authority more than half a century after Victoria took the throne.

In direct contrast to the merciful policy of the British monarch, Indian queens were held up by the press as exemplifying both the evils of the rebellion and the general corruption of Indian society which required the virtuous guidance of British rule. One of the most powerful rulers in India, the Rani of Jhansi, received some of the harshest condemnation. In 1853, Lakshmibai succeeded the Jhansi throne upon the death of her husband, who had adopted on his deathbed the five-year-old Damodar Rao, a distant relation, as his rightful heir. In February 1854, Governor Dalhousie took the opportunity to declare the adoption null, and therefore the kingdom “lapsed” into British control. The Rani submitted petitions against Dalhousie’s decision, citing the family’s loyalty to the British government and the legitimacy of the adoption. When rebellion broke out at a nearby fort, eventually spreading into Jhansi, the deaths of the

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<sup>71</sup> QV to the Earl of Derby, Aug. 15, 1858, Benson and Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3:298.

<sup>72</sup> Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, 175.

Anglo-Indians attempting to escape the Star Fort were blamed on the Rani, and seen as an act of revenge for having her kingdom taken from her.<sup>73</sup> Although many scholars agree that the Rani's primary goal was conciliation with the British, once she had taken control of Jhansi back from the hands of the rebels the British began their campaign against her. She was forced to flee her fort and later died in battle at Gwalior.

Representations of the Rani in correspondence, novels and dispatches, vilify her through her gender. If British women were in need of defending because of their sex, the Rani represented evil inversions of the natural order which, according to the British, pervaded Indian society and provided the colonial government with their justifications for ruling. Descriptions of the Rani compare her to a man, characterizing her as violent, cold and unforgiving. If she was not described wielding a sword and brutally attacking British soldiers (as some write of her), she was accused of ordering the executions. Contestations over the character of the Rani of Jhansi show the ways in which Indian women were offered as a warning to British women on how not to behave. Charlotte's aunt wrote to Charlotte's mother: "I suppose you have been told that the Ranee of Jhansi, who permitted all that wholesale murder of women and children, is a lovely woman of twenty-three, clever and a splendid horsewoman. Amongst other marvels of this war, the insight into the character, talents, and immense influence of the native wives and women is not the least singular."<sup>74</sup> In this short passage, Mrs. Stuart points to fears about powerful women and their potential for violence—the danger lurking beneath the surface. Domesticity, the saving

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<sup>73</sup> Joyce Lebra-Chapman, *The Rani of Jhansi: a Study in Female Heroism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 64-70.

<sup>74</sup> June 5, 1858, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives: being memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning, and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 2 Vols., ed. Augustus Hare (London, UK: George Allen, 1893), 2:443. According to Maria Jerinic: "Sir John Smyth argues that Lord Canning...and Lord Elphinstone...attached the very greatest importance to the defeat of the Rani and the capture of Jhansi, which they considered to be the main stronghold of rebel power in Central India." Jerinic, "How we lost the empire: retelling the stories of the Rani of Jhansi and Queen Victoria," in Homans and Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria*, 123n2.

grace for women in power, was also used to attack powerful women who fought against the British.

Comparisons of the Rani and the Queen made by contemporaries expressed popular anxieties about the dangers of female rule, and were used to reinforce racial stereotypes and legitimize colonial rule. Maria Jerinic argues images of the Rani cautioned Britons about the potential downfalls of having a female ruler or alternatively, that queens like the Rani could learn from Victoria's example.<sup>75</sup> The malleability of representations of female rulers has led many scholars to argue that women were scapegoats for imperialism, what Margaret Strobel calls "the myth of the destructive female."<sup>76</sup> Women were blamed for its failures as much as they were relied on to provide "moral" justifications for continued violence, yet they often participated in fashioning these narratives themselves. Women who challenged Victorian norms, whether they were the Rani or Marian Hastings, were condemned (other women were often their most zealous critics), and their "otherness" was often exaggerated. Women who promoted this patriarchal social order, including Charlotte Canning and the Queen, were celebrated posthumously for their efforts.

The backlash against Canning for his clemency program was significant. *Punch* ran two separate cartoons which accused the governor of being soft, merely chiding Indian rebels instead of instituting harsher punishments.<sup>77</sup> Europeans in Calcutta and Bengal petitioned the Queen to recall Canning, citing a loss of faith in the colonial government. They believed the governor-general was unable to protect them, and they were aghast at being lumped together with Indian

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<sup>75</sup> Jerinic, "How we lost the empire," 126-7.

<sup>76</sup> Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), esp. preface and chap. 1.

<sup>77</sup> "The Clemency of Canning," *Punch* 33 (Oct. 24, 1857): 171, <http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/punch/57.html> (accessed Oct. 18, 2016); "Too 'Civil' by Half," *Punch* 33 (Nov. 7, 1857): 191, <http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/punch/59.html> (accessed Oct. 18, 2016).



subjects in emergency legislation which put restrictions on both European and Indian papers and required individuals to carry a license for firearms.<sup>78</sup> Charlotte was his fiercest defender, and constantly corrected rumors circulating about her husband in her letters home. She had the additional advantage of having access to the upper echelons of Britain's political circles, assuring future Prime Minister William Gladstone that they would all eventually see the benefits of Canning's approach in India: "When Parliament meets I trust if not sooner, you will all see that his policy was one he did not adopt inconsiderately."<sup>79</sup> But it was her connections to the Crown that proved the most useful to Charlotte, who insisted that public support from the Royal Family and Cabinet would go a long way towards restoring confidence in Canning's administration: "The hearty testimony borne by the Duke of Cambridge...has been a real satisfaction to him...The good effect of these accounts is already apparent..."<sup>80</sup>

The viceroy travelled throughout the country delivering the Queen's Royal Proclamation, issued in 1858, which promised Indian subjects that the Crown would not look to expand its territory in India, and that all religions would be considered equal under the Raj. Not only would time prove these declarations false, but even the immediate result was questionable. Lady Canning was unsure that those who came out to hear the new viceroy read the Proclamation really understood what changes were taking place.<sup>81</sup> In the course of restructuring the imperial

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<sup>78</sup> Canning's biographer suggests the colonial government felt the need "to guide public opinion in the right direction." Cunningham, *Earl Cunningham*, 145-8.

<sup>79</sup> Viscountess Canning to Mr. Gladstone, Nov. 3, 1859, Gladstone Papers, Add MS 44392, British Library, London, f247r-v. Lord Granville took it upon himself to read one of her letters aloud during a cabinet meeting. Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister at the time, was pleasantly surprised by the lady Governor's writing: "Unlike a lady's letter, it is all to the point." Quoted in Bence-Jones, *Viceroy of India*, 30 and Maclagan, "Clemency," 136. See also Lord Granville to Lord Canning, Oct. 24, 1857, in *Life of the Second Earl Granville*, 2 Vols., ed. Lord Fitzmaurice (London, UK: Longmans, Green and Co. 1905), 1:261-3.

<sup>80</sup> CC to QV, Dec. 24, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/2, ff36-7.

<sup>81</sup> "The natives had some misunderstanding of the subject and not much more than 2000 were present. Lord Canning gave the proclamation to the chief secretary Mr. Edmondton who read it aloud in English and Urdu and said it exceedingly well and I believe delighted the natives who were near enough to hear." CC to QV, July 17, 1858, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo F321/2, ff63-4.

and colonial governments, the Queen appointed a representative with whom she could communicate directly: the Secretary of State for India.<sup>82</sup> The Secretary was in a position to override the Council in India at the Queen's behest and that authority, coupled with the fact that all public declarations were now made in the Queen's name, ensured Her Majesty's actual and symbolic power in India was vastly improved.<sup>83</sup> In short time, British opinions of Governor Canning reversed, such that his clemency became a shining example of gentlemanly honor and exemplifying the magnanimity of British imperialism, rather than a sign of weakness.<sup>84</sup> Crucial to this improvement of Canning's reputation were the narratives of domestic virtue and mercy, promulgated by the Queen and vicereine.

Discussions about the rebellion between the Queen and the Vicereine were racially charged and hinged on gendered definitions of civilized behavior. The violence of English soldiers was considered respectable, even noble, as long as they did not torture anyone and left women and children alone.<sup>85</sup> When stories of English soldiers committing horrific acts came out, it was surprising to Charlotte and Victoria, who believed that such brutality could only be committed by another race.<sup>86</sup> The entire Proclamation, though promising religious toleration, ultimately enforced a platform of Christian rule. The British felt they were not only justified but

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<sup>82</sup> Benson and Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3:257-8.

<sup>83</sup> Taylor, "Victoria and India," 270-1.

<sup>84</sup> On June 5, 1858, *The Examiner* printed a letter read in parliament from the COD to the Gov-Gen, voicing their support and "conviction that his measures for the pacification of Awadh and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterized by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with satisfactory accomplishment of that important object." F. Currie, W.J. Eastwick, "The East India Company and Lord Canning's Proclamation," *The Examiner*, 359,

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924066353230;view=1up;seq=381> (accessed Oct. 18, 2016). See also: Antoinette Burton, review of *Terrorism, Insurgency and Indian-English Literature, 1830-1947*, by Alex Tickell, *Victorian Studies* 56, no. 1 (Autumn 2013): 168, <http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy.library.cornell.edu/article/542197> (accessed Apr. 29, 2016) and Christopher Herbert, *War of no Pity: the Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), esp. chap. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Jenny Sharpe argues that the British even convinced themselves that they were "morally" justified in their violence towards Indians. Sharpe, *Allegories*, 81.

<sup>86</sup> QV to CC, Oct. 22, 1857, Canning Papers, MSS EUR Photo 321/1, f88.

obligated to rule in India on the basis of their race and religion. Extending the pardon to rebels exemplified both Charles Canning and Queen Victoria's plans for the reformed Raj. Vicereines become figureheads for this new policy, and their philanthropy promoted the Christian and Victorian domestic values that were central to the new order.<sup>87</sup>

### **Viceregal domesticity**

In her letters home, Charlotte offered some impressions on her life in India, but focused more on Anglo-Indians than on her interactions with Indian elites. She was very conscious of the stringent class differences among Anglo-Indians, which many scholars have suggested was a defining feature of their society.<sup>88</sup> Charlotte recognized, as all lady governors did, that this stratification kept her exiled from everyone else in the settlement. As the highest ranking woman, she really only had the wives of the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice and Commander-in-Chief within her circle.<sup>89</sup> One of her predecessors, Emily Eden, told friends that she sympathized with young Charlotte: "At the end of six years, I had never arrived at making any intimate friends, nor indeed any friend at all. It is impossible in her position."<sup>90</sup>

Charlotte brought her own prejudices against career imperialists to India. Perhaps it was a product of being a highborn Englishwoman, or indicative of prevailing attitudes in Britain, but

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<sup>87</sup> The following, written by a popular historian at the time, is an example of this notion of forgiveness in British reactions to the mutiny: "They who have risen against us are but the few... They have been signally chastised—fearfully punished... Let us think no more, then, of that part of the story, but with one great hymn of forgiveness inaugurate the new era—'Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace and good-will towards men,'" J.W. Kaye, "The Royal Proclamation to India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 85, no. 519, Jan. 1859 <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/ilej/image1.pl?item=page&seq=1&size=1&id=bm.1859.1.x.85.519.x.126> (accessed Apr. 22, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> Edward Buck, *Simla, Past and Present* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1904), chap. 11; David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), chap. 4; David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), chap. 11 and 15.

<sup>89</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 27.

<sup>90</sup> EE to Lady Shelburne, May 17, 1856, Bowood Papers, British Library, London, Add MS 88906/09/007, no. 42.

Lady Canning had a deep hatred of Anglo-Indians. She considered herself above them because India was merely a temporary home for her, as opposed to those who settled permanently and embraced life in India completely: “In an instant, one traces out the women who are not Indian and who come of some good English county family; the difference is quite extraordinary. The Indian families...are more insipid than words can express.<sup>91</sup> It is no wonder she did not feel she connected with anyone. It seems that, much like Mrs. Hastings, Lady Canning had quite an elevated view of the governorship and projected that sense of entitlement to the public.<sup>92</sup>

If there was one group Charlotte hated more than Anglo-Indians it was the Americans, who were currently in the thick of civil war. In a letter to her sister-in-law, she interestingly compares the two groups of current and former British expatriates and is concerned that colonists everywhere eventually lose essential (as she sees them, at least) English qualities. She argues that these qualities: nobility, manliness and chivalry, were absent in America, especially in the North, but could still be found in certain Anglo-Indians: “I wonder if we shall see that in time in all the colonies. I must say for Anglo Indians with all their defects this one does not appear to have come upon them yet.”<sup>93</sup> The chivalry Charlotte spoke of as distinguishing Anglo-Indian settlers from Americans was tested by a “crisis of imperial domesticity” over the course of the

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<sup>91</sup> “Indian families” refers to those who made India their permanent home. Quoted in Allan, *Burning Plain*, 29. As the highest ranking woman in the settlement, Charlotte considered herself responsible for fixing the manners of Anglo-Indian women: “They sit *clouées* to their chairs until one has them quite dragged up by force to come to be introduced. I am sure it is only stupidity, but they must be cured...I would not sit down till every one had properly got up and come up to me,” quoted in Hare, *Two Noble Lives*, 2:22.

<sup>92</sup> Fowler and Surtees quote from an American visiting India at the time who describes meeting Lady Canning. She was “reclining in courtly style upon the regal chair... The formality of her reception was freezing, for that aristocratic bow was worse than an electric shock.” See Fowler, *Peacock Fan*, 119 and Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 216-7.

<sup>93</sup> Charlotte to Harriet, Sept. 14, 1861, Canninc-Clanricarde Papers, British Library, London, Add MS 47469, ff105-109. Charlotte was not the only one making comparisons between India and America. At a Mansion House meeting in London on August 25, Judge Haliburton (introduced as a “native of North America”) rather callously called the violence of Native Americans against British settlers “child’s play” when set against Indian mutiny, and he promised that Americans would gladly send money and men to help the British cause in India. See “Sufferers by the Indian Mutiny,” *The Examiner* 2587, Leigh Hunt, Albany William Fonblanque, John Forster eds., London, Aug. 29, 1857, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/8852336?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 23, 2016).

rebellions.<sup>94</sup> There was hope yet for Anglo-Indians, as long as they remained loyal to their Queen and country and followed Her Majesty's clemency policy. Charlotte's detachment from Anglo-Indians served as a reminder to her friends and family that her rank and her English manners distinguished her from those who made India their adoptive home, therefore justifying her position as a monarchical figurehead and arbiter of domestic ideology in British India.

The extensive space Charlotte devoted in her letters to outlining the deficiencies in the character of Anglo-Indians and Americans suggests these colonial groups constituted a greater threat to her identity as a pseudo-sovereign than Indian subjects perhaps did. Lady Canning's comments about colonists are part of a general pattern in the writings of vicereines which reinforced common British stereotypes about the frailties of Anglo-Indian society. This trend speaks to what scholars have defined as a struggle on the part of colonial Britons to assert their Englishness while coping with feelings of alienation and distance from friends and family back home.<sup>95</sup> Against the popular accusation that career imperialists were somehow less English after their time abroad, it seems possible that many, especially those in power responsible for representing British interests overseas (whose careers overseas were often temporary, compared to lower-ranking civil servants and soldiers), would actively distance themselves from those who had settled permanently in the colonies. Charlotte accomplished this by passing judgment on

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<sup>94</sup> Blunt, "Embodying War," 407.

<sup>95</sup> For more on imperial actors asserting their English identity abroad, especially to British audiences, see: Angelia Poon, *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: colonialism and the politics of performance* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), chap. 3; Denise Quirk, "'True Englishwomen' and 'Anglo-Indians': Gender, national identity and feminism in the Victorian women's periodical press," in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed. Julie Codell (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing, 2003), 167-187; Manu Goswami, "Englishness on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9, no.1 (Mar. 1996): 54-84, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1996.tb00178.x/abstract;jsessionid=3BA6FA7BA5A8F08ECB591776AFAF1648.f01t01> (accessed June 4, 2014) and Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identities* (Princeton University Press, 1999), chap. 2.

these groups, using these observations to indicate to audiences at home that her Britishness remained unscathed by her obligatory exile abroad.

Shortly after recording her observations about the American Civil War, Charlotte, who often travelled to different parts of India while her husband worked, visited Darjeeling in October 1861. She compiled a collection of watercolors from these trips, and sent her drawings home to her family and the Queen. Sadly, on this particular journey, Charlotte contracted malaria, which she succumbed to shortly after she returned to Calcutta in November of 1861. Letters of sympathy arrived for Charles from all over as he set to work constructing a final resting place for his wife that was befitting her status as British India's first vicereine. He chose one of Charlotte's favorite spots-- the garden at Barrackpore, which she herself had helped design, along the banks of the Hooghly.

More than simply a tomb for his wife, Charles envisioned a cemetery that signified the permanence of British rule in India, centered on the families who governed: "The space to be consecrated is small; about seventy yards by eighty; but limited, as it is to be, to the house of the Governor General's family it is likely to suffice for many generations."<sup>96</sup> The cemetery was paid for by the colonial government while the Canning estate (managed by Charles's nephew, the Marquis of Clanricarde) covered the costs of Charlotte's tomb. The tomb was designed by the architect Gilbert Scott, Colonel Yule, and Charlotte's sister, Louisa Waterford, who was an

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<sup>96</sup> Charles Canning to unknown, Nov. 19, 1861, *Canning-Clanricarde Papers*, Add MS 47469, British Library, London, f132r. Governor Canning's intentions for the cemetery are in line with Frances Hutchins's explanation of Victorian imperial ideology that linked a sense of duty and sacrifice to long-term rule in India. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), chap. 2 and 4. Charles's ideas for a cemetery dedicated to British India's first family, and making Charlotte's tomb part of the so-called "Mutiny Tours," both reflect the beginnings of a patriotic narrative centered on, as Robert Travers writes, "a growing band of heroic, sacrificial forebears." Travers, "Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century India," *Past and Present*, no. 196 (Aug., 2007): 121, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/25096681> (accessed Oct. 10, 2016).

accomplished artist in her own right.<sup>97</sup> Quite plain, the tomb consisted of a white marble slab, only measuring four feet in height, with a Celtic cross perched on top. The marble itself was Italian, the influence in design was English Gothic, but Angus Trumble argues that the Cannings' affinity for the Taj Mahal (it features in some of Charlotte's watercolors and photographs) suggests that some Mughal influence might be read in a similar monument from a husband to his dead wife.<sup>98</sup> Lord Curzon later made the connection between the conjugal love the Taj represented and Charles's devotion to his own wife, but at the time the monument was built, it was intended to represent English and Christian domesticity.<sup>99</sup> Further, the banning of Indian guards from carrying Charlotte's casket and restrictions placed against Indians visiting the site of the Cawnpore memorial serve as stark indicators of the racial divisions inherent in this domestic narrative.<sup>100</sup>

Another lasting memorial to Charlotte's imperial service was a home and training facility for nurses, built in Calcutta to honor Lady Canning's early charity work with Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War. The Nurses' Fund made clear in their advertisements that this home was intended to reflect appreciation for Charlotte on the part of both Britons and Indians, to "express not only the regret of her countrywomen but also the affectionate admiration

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<sup>97</sup> Angus Trumble "Gilbert Scott's 'Bold and Beautiful Experiment', Part II: The Tomb of Charlotte, Lady Canning," *The Burlington Magazine* 142, no.1162 (Jan. 2000): 23, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/888765> (accessed Apr. 23, 2016). Although there is no direct evidence linking her to any of the monument plans, Emily Bayley's letters suggest Louisa played an instrumental role in planning her sister's memorial. See Allan, *Burning Plain*, 165 and Tracy Anderson, "The Lives and Afterlives of Charlotte, Lady Canning (1817-1861): Gender, Commemoration and Narratives of Loss," in *The Afterlives of Monuments*, Deborah Cherry, ed. (NY: Routledge, 2014), 34-5.

<sup>98</sup> Trumble, "Tomb of Charlotte Canning," 25.

<sup>99</sup> Anderson, "Lives and Afterlives," 40-1. Anderson argues commemorations of English women in the empire helped to fashion a "myth of conjugal love and ideal domesticity," which became so ingrained in the public conscience that it influenced conservationists and politicians up through 1969, when they moved Canning's statue from government house and put it by Lady Canning's memorial. Anderson, 45.

<sup>100</sup> Anderson, "Lives and Afterlives," 38.

in which many noble qualities and Christian virtues are held by all classes in India.”<sup>101</sup> This would not be the last time that Indian sympathy and personal connection were appropriated as imperial propaganda, centered on a vicereine.

Charles was only able to take part in the early planning stages because he died shortly after returning to England in 1862.<sup>102</sup> “Clemency Canning” found his way into a glorified position within the popular memory: statues of him were placed in the grounds of Government House in Calcutta and in Westminster, next to his father.<sup>103</sup> Part of his success lay in the construction of a domestic narrative which placed his marriage at the center of imperial propaganda. Many observers believed Charles died of a broken heart: “remorse broke down his health and he mourned for her in truest deepest love and reverence—anguish for her loss really killed him.”<sup>104</sup> This image of Canning, as the distracted and repentant husband, dominates the biographies of the Cannings up through the present-day.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> “Home for Nurses Fund,” Calcutta, n.d., Charlotte Canning Papers, MSS EUR D661, British Library, London, f93. See also Allan, *Burning Plain*, 165 and Hare, *Two Noble Lives*, 3:184-5.

<sup>102</sup> There was a serious debate, both in the newspapers and among government officials, as to whether the colonial government in India should be moved somewhere else following the climate-related deaths of the first viceroy and vicereine, and they were certainly not the first, nor would they be the last, to fall victim to illnesses contracted while serving in India: “[Charles’s] sudden and unexpected stroke will not tend to lessen the disinclination already felt among the governing class to tempt the climate of India.” *The Englishman Extraordinary*, Calcutta, Nov. 18, 1861, Charlotte Canning Papers, MSS EUR D661, f82b. For more on these climate debates, see “House of Commons, Friday, June 27,” *The Times* 24284, London, June 28, 1862, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS134912732&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 23, 2016) and “The Climate and the Work,” *Cornhill Magazine* 6, no. 32, Frederick Greenwood, George Henry Lewes, George Smith, eds., London, Aug., 1862: 241-257, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/6594618?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 23, 2016).

<sup>103</sup> Anderson, “Lives and Afterlives,” 35-6.

<sup>104</sup> Emily Bayley, a friend of Charlotte’s, quoted in Allan, *Burning Plain*, 165.

<sup>105</sup> Writing in 1982, Mark Bence-Jones corroborates the story that Charles died of a broken heart: “He appears to have been suffering from a disease of the liver; but there is no doubt that his grief for Charlotte hastened his death” (41). It is important to note that one of Lord Canning’s biographers points to a contemporary who refuted the rumors about the Canning’s estrangement: Maclagan quotes from the *Memoir of L.B. Bowring*, p. 171: “Gossip –mongers were not wanting who averred that there was an estrangement between husband and wife, but all I can say is that I never perceived it, for although Lord Canning, under the pressure of business, kept much to his own room, where he generally breakfasted and lunched alone, he was invariably most considerate towards her, showing her every mark



Shortly before he died, Canning suggested the possibility of conducting tours of sites that were significant to the rebellions of the 1850s.<sup>106</sup> Eventually, these so-called “Mutiny Tours,” included a stop at the tomb of India’s first vicereine, as well as the Cawnpore memorial. Charlotte had begun working on toward the end of her time in India. That memorial consists of a large well with the statue of an angel atop, surrounded by a garden, marking the spot where the women and children were found when British troops relieved the city. In both monuments, the Victorian “Angel of the House” was brought to India, and immortalized in the historiography built from these memorials. Efforts were made by the government to preserve British feminine innocence and domesticity from Indian corruption by barring Indians from visiting the site of this statue for the duration of Raj rule until 1947, reinforcing a policy of racial division.<sup>107</sup>

Charlotte’s memory was wrapped in imperial commemoration from the beginning, signifying the reliance biographers and governing elites placed on the celebrity of imperial families in building support for the empire. Charles’s biographer referred to Charlotte’s death as “a public loss—a common sorrow...her memory [is] one that Englishmen treasure among the precious relics of their country’s past.”<sup>108</sup> Her death reinforced the domestic attributes Queen Victoria promoted, and these became the hallmarks of successful vicereines for the duration of the Raj. Her sacrifice was noble because she had proven herself devoted to her husband and the empire, to the very end. Her “charity, humility, and Christian piety” were cast in stone, and became the foundation upon which the empire in India was built.<sup>109</sup>

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of attention, while his behavior on her death proved how truly he loved and esteemed her.” Maclagan, “*Clemency*,” 305.

<sup>106</sup> Goswami, “Englishness,” 62.

<sup>107</sup> Allan, *Burning Plain*, 133; Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, 234.

<sup>108</sup> Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, 211.

<sup>109</sup> Anderson, “Lives and Afterlives,” 37.

Charlotte helped to establish the domestic ideals that became the central tropes of imperial biographies, embodied in the celebrity of the vicereines. While Lady Canning was characterized by her peers as an exemplary female-- beautiful, a gentle soul-- she also exhibited some of the qualities that were considered dangerous in other women. She was intelligent; as one reporter wrote in an obituary: "Never was a masculine mind more clothed with feminine charm."<sup>110</sup> But unlike Marian Hastings or the Rani of Jhansi, Charlotte's activities were not threatening to British masculinity and imperialism. Instead, they were legitimized by her devotion to her husband, and served to promote the domesticity which the Queen herself also embodied. The obituary that appeared in the London *Times* highlighted Charlotte's loyalty to her husband: "She was a fit companion for her husband in their hour of trial. Her calm and steady courage, her accurate perceptions of duty... must have greatly helped to keep him in that frame of mind so essential to bear him through their prolonged agony of peril."<sup>111</sup> Charlotte's performance, and the way in which her short life was commemorated, ensured that future vicereines would take responsibility both for maintaining a close connection with the British monarch and for cultivating Victorian domesticity as a means of assuring the public at home that they were merely subjects playing at being sovereigns.

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<sup>110</sup> "The Late Lady Canning," *The Times*, London, Dec. 23, 1861, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS101620119&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 23, 2016).

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

## Celebrity and performance: Lady Dufferin's Canadian and Indian journals, 1872-1888

The Dufferin governorships in Canada, 1872-1878, and in India, 1884-1888, represent the height of the appropriation of familial tropes in British imperial political culture, culminating in the vicereine's own publication of her journals in the early 1890s. Their experiences in office also highlight the limits of liberal imperialism on the eve of the transition to Tory imperial rule, as well as the sharp divisions between settler and crown colonies. But while Lady Dufferin is a popular figure in the historiography, most scholars have not paid much attention to her journals, which chronicle her experiences as lady governor in Canada and vicereine in India.<sup>1</sup> They are evidence of a popular market in England for literature offering a glimpse of life behind the scenes for governing elites. Her control over the publication of her journals and her husband's biographies demonstrate the role vicereines played managing the public relations of the office in the late nineteenth century. These journals chronicled Hariot's daily activities, her official responsibilities, her management of her charity in India, the experiences her children had in both colonies, as well as her interactions with Indian elites, Canadian settlers, Native Americans, Americans, and with the Burmese following the annexation in 1886.

Following Charlotte Canning's attempt to control coverage of the Mutiny in the papers, technological advances such as the laying of telegraph lines in the 1850s and 60s accelerated communications between Britain and India, and public relations became a central component of the viceroy and vicereine's responsibilities. The performances of ruling elites were more important than ever before in part because there were more Britons visiting India and reporting

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Roberts's article is an exception, though he characterizes her journals as travel writing and does not address Hariot's discussion of her official duties. He then moves fairly quickly on from this discussion to focus on her charity work. "'Merely Birds of Passage': Lady Hariot Dufferin's travel writings and medical work in India, 1884-1888," *Women's History Review* 15, no. 3 (2006): 443-457, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09612020500530307> (accessed Oct. 5, 2016).

back to constituents and neighbors at home of the sights and sounds, vices and virtues of the empire.<sup>2</sup> This was also when international news agencies first formed, which broadened interest among Britons in their Indian empire and sparked a wealth of imperial periodicals.<sup>3</sup> As a further challenge to governing elites, audiences in North America were becoming increasingly attentive to Britain's empire in South Asia, as several Canadian governors moved on to careers in India, including Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne.

This proliferation of imperial newspapers and magazines made viceregal couples celebrities in Britain. Lady Dufferin consciously appropriated her fame to promote domestic themes as vicereine through the medium of imperial domestic biography. In so doing, she followed the example of Queen Victoria, who had published the journals she wrote during the royal family's trips to the Scottish Highlands in 1868. Both sources cultivated domesticity, which the Queen and Lady Canning established as a foundational ideology in the new Raj at the time of the mutiny. Lady Dufferin's books in particular helped draw attention among British audiences to imperial life. The Dufferins also reinforced the strong connection between the British and Indian thrones, established by Charlotte Canning's correspondence with the Queen, through the application of monarchical rituals in official ceremonies in India in an attempt to fashion patriotic feeling and loyalty among colonial subjects. While the need to reassure Britons of the virtues of their empire still existed as it had in the days of Hastings and Eden, which Lady Dufferin's charity work and writings helped to do, by the late nineteenth century the imperial and colonial governments were realizing that convincing subjects abroad of the benefits of

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<sup>2</sup> Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs: the Women of Victorian India* (London, UK: Secker and Warburg, 1976), 171-3.

<sup>3</sup> Alex Nalbach, "'The Software of Empire': Telegraphic News Agencies and Imperial Publicity, 1865-1914," in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed. Julie Codell (NJ: Rosemont Publishing, 2003), 68-94; David Finkelstein and Doug Peers, eds., *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (NY: Palgrave, 2001), chap. 1. The first cable in India was installed in 1851, between Calcutta and Diamond Harbor.

membership in the empire was quickly becoming crucial to the integrity of the empire. However, as Lord Dufferin's experience governing in Canada and India suggests, there was a significant difference in British understandings of colonial subjectivity between settlement and Crown territories.

The Dufferins were more openly fixated on managing public opinion than their predecessors had been. While both enjoyed performing in amateur plays put on at their summer retreat in Simla, the political stage is where Frederick truly showcased his acting abilities. His speeches were theatrical and he felt the best way to quell discontent among imperial subjects, both Canadian and Indian, was to forge a personal connection between himself and his audience. Lady Dufferin also tried to develop a personal connection with her audience by appealing to women in Britain as mothers, sisters and wives to encourage them to donate to her Fund. However, the limits of fashioning familiarity through domesticity and monarchy soon became glaringly obvious. At the end of Lord Dufferin's term in India, some observers were beginning to point to the discrepancies between his promises and his actions. And while women like Lady Dufferin helped position vicereines at the center of early imperial history and propaganda, this was accomplished at the expense of non-elite Anglo-Indian and Indian women.

### **The Queen's journal and the birth of imperial domestic biography**

After the Queen and Charlotte Canning led a defense of domestic virtues to reinforce British rule in the wake of rebellion, the Queen went on to publish her Highland journals, which put to paper her ideas about domesticity and linked family biography to imperial propaganda. This book represents the next phase in the evolution of imperial domestic biography and served as a means of boosting the widowed Queen's popularity among her people by celebrating her

family life. Lady Dufferin's journals clearly echoed these domestic scenes, yet differed because they came from an appointed official's wife, and focused entirely on colonial life. They therefore carried an additional burden of promoting an institution that faced criticism and condemnation both among sceptics in Britain and marginalized colonial subjects.

*Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (1868) was originally intended to be a private family history, a way for Victoria to reminisce about life prior to her husband's death. However her editor, Arthur Helps, convinced the Queen to make the book available to the public. He believed "future historians" would enjoy a glimpse into the private life of their monarch.<sup>4</sup> It sold 20,000 copies in the first two weeks of publication.<sup>5</sup> The book reads somewhat like a travelogue, as Victoria recorded the sights and sounds of Scotland, and described her day to day activities there, from Albert's hunting to life in their home, Balmoral. She also often identified both the people she encountered and the lands she visited as foreign.<sup>6</sup> Journeying to Dalhousie Castle near the Moorfoot Hills in Midlothian, Lord Dalhousie told her that she was the first British sovereign to venture there since Henry IV.<sup>7</sup> Situating Scotland as a colony in her text signaled the Queen's imperial power, while her record of the mundane activities she participated in while there helped to "render [imperialism] harmless," according to Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Arthur Helps, ed., *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, from 1848-1861* (NY: Harper and Brothers, 1868), vii, x, [https://archive.org/stream/cihm\\_25355#page/n9/mode/2up](https://archive.org/stream/cihm_25355#page/n9/mode/2up) (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 131 and chap. 3.

<sup>6</sup> "The fishwomen are the most striking-looking people, and are generally young and pretty women—very clean and very Dutch-looking." Helps, *Life in the Highlands*, 19-20, quote on 28.

<sup>7</sup> Helps, *Life in the Highlands*, 29. She also described Fingal's Cave on the island of Staffa as new territory for a Queen of Great Britain. Helps, *Life in the Highlands*, 93.

<sup>8</sup> Quote in Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, "Introduction," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, eds. Homans and Munich (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3. They add that the images of Victoria, which proliferated across the empire, even helped make imperialism "comforting." For more on the imperial component to Victoria's journals, see Homans, *Royal Representations*, 138-141.

This personal biography forged connections between the Queen's subjects across time and space by encouraging familial feelings among readers through her descriptions of "everyday" home life.<sup>9</sup> A *Times* reviewer wrote that the book "appeals...directly to the common heart," reconnecting the Queen with her people at a moment when she was in deep seclusion and avoiding public appearances while mourning her husband.<sup>10</sup> Since Queen Victoria established her credibility as a monarch based on being a dutiful wife, Albert's death put this into jeopardy because as a widow, she could no longer actively play the part. To rectify this, Munich argues Victoria did all she could to keep his memory alive. By maintaining his bedroom as it was the day he died, sleeping with a picture of him every night, and publishing these family histories, Victoria demonstrated to the public her continued service to her husband and therefore her country.<sup>11</sup>

Lady Dufferin followed Her Majesty's lead, publishing her own memoirs of her time as a diplomat's wife and focusing on her family life overseas, building upon the themes of empire and family which the Queen had developed. Hariot's journals represent the fulfillment of the elements of domesticity espoused by Charlotte and the Queen: wifely devotion, charity and Britishness. In an effort to gain support for the empire in Britain, she further relied on familial language, specifically a brand of maternal imperialism, to encourage British women to participate in the charity she began as vicereine, which educated female doctors in India. The Dufferin Fund was sanctioned by the Queen and reinforced the imperial savior narrative in which British women "protected" their Indian sisters from what they deemed to be backward gender

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<sup>9</sup> Artificial feelings though, because as Homans writes, she was "a monarch trying to impersonate ordinariness." Homans, *Royal Representations*, 137, 115.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Homans, *Royal Representations*, 132.

<sup>11</sup> Adrienne Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), 96-100.

norms, bringing education and civilization into their world.<sup>12</sup> Though she was one of the most politically involved vicereines, Harriot emphasized her home life in her journals and attributed all of her charity's successes to Lord Dufferin, and thereby avoided accusations of overstepping her boundaries as a wife.

### **Dufferin's family history and imperial diplomacy**

Lord Dufferin was groomed for public service from a young age. His mother's family was well-connected descendants of the literary Sheridan family.<sup>13</sup> When her husband died, she raised Frederick in Hampton Court, as a friend of the royal family's. He later became a Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria, from 1849 to 1852. It took Frederick a while to grow into his own in school at Eton and Oxford but once he did, he developed a passion for debating and speech-writing. He was an avid traveler as well. In 1854, he took his yacht up to Iceland and the Russian Fort Bomarsund in the Baltic Sea, and afterwards published his journals from the trip, *Letters from High Latitudes*. His fondness for travel and speech writing led him to pursue a career in diplomacy. Dufferin worked in the War Office and held ambassadorships in St. Petersburg and Constantinople. This made him especially attuned to issues of foreign policy in his capacity as governor in Canada and Viceroy of India, often at the expense of local reforms.<sup>14</sup>

Lord Dufferin's career highlights broader trends in British imperial administration. In the Victorian period, the men who were appointed to crucial governorships, the crown jewel of which was the Indian viceroyalty, were more often men with significant diplomatic experience,

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<sup>12</sup> Lady Dufferin to the Ladies of Bengal, Nov. 1888, "Countess of Dufferin's Fund, National Association," Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/J/G/6/2, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), Belfast, copy; Barr, *Memsahibs*, 179.

<sup>13</sup> Lord Dufferin's great-grandfather was one of the more famous Sheridans, Richard Brinsley, who delivered a speech for the Prosecution during Warren Hastings's impeachment trial.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroys of India* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 138-9.



while in the earlier days of Company rule, for example, governors tended to have military experience, necessary for managing the near-constant wars waged against the French and Indian princes in the early nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> By the 1840s, imperial service required training, and the leaders of the empire represented “a new breed of civilian, ‘professional’ proconsuls of Peelite persuasion.”<sup>16</sup> Due to the distance between the colonies and Britain and the high stakes of protecting the empire’s strategic interests, these proconsuls had a remarkable amount of independence in their administrations. Peter Burroughs, Mark Francis and John Benyon all argue that some of the most significant qualifications for these “new governors,” who essentially represented the British sovereign abroad, were personal. As Burroughs writes, “what mattered was character and such personal qualities as self-sacrifice and public-spiritedness.”<sup>17</sup>

Many of India’s nineteenth-century governors had diplomatic careers prior to becoming viceroy: James Bruce, who became Baron Elgin, was Governor of Jamaica in 1842 and Governor-in-Chief of British North America from 1846-1854 before becoming Viceroy of India in 1862. Lord Lytton was a diplomat stationed in Portugal, France, and Austria before he became Viceroy of India in 1876. He then was appointed to the French Ambassadorship after the viceroyalty. Since many governors had previous experience working in other countries, the lessons they learned governing in one territory occasionally influenced policy changes in another territory. There was an extensive history of this kind of administrative exchange between

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<sup>15</sup> Peter Burroughs, “Imperial Institution and the Government of Empire,” in *Oxford History of British Empire*, Vol. 3. ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 178. Hastings was unique for working his way up the administrative ranks of the Company. George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: Cassell & Co., 1925), 2:51-5.

<sup>16</sup> John Benyon, “Overlords of Empire? British ‘Proconsular Imperialism’ in Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19, no. 2 (1999): 167, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03086539108582835> (accessed Sept. 23, 2016).

<sup>17</sup> Burroughs, “Imperial Institution,” 178; Benyon, “Overlords of Empire,” 163, 180 and Mark Francis, *Governors and Settlers: images of authority in the British colonies, 1820-1860* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Academic and Professional, 1992), 3.

colonies, especially India and Ireland, as Christopher Bayly noted, dating at least from the time Lord Cornwallis transitioned to the Lord-Lieutenancy in Ireland in 1798, just a few years following his own governorship in India.<sup>18</sup> He was sent to Ireland to put an end the rebellions that had broken out, after his failure to secure the loyalty of the American colonists in their revolution a decade earlier. According to Bayly, Cornwallis viewed the East India Company's corruption, which he blamed in part on "native depravity," as similar to Ireland's instability, which he blamed on Catholicism. Therefore, he worked to keep both groups out of their respective government.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to his time spent in Canada, Dufferin had his own personal connections to Ireland which informed his approach to ruling in India. Dufferin's ancestors, the Blackwoods, came to Ireland during the Plantation of Ulster under Queen Elizabeth I in the seventeenth century. While the family was somewhat influential, entering the Irish Parliament in the 1700s and the Irish Peerage in 1800, they were never among the most wealthy and powerful Irish landlords.<sup>20</sup> Lord Dufferin, in fact, relied on the income his governorships provided him.<sup>21</sup> Dufferin spent much of his youth in English schools before making a lengthy and formative trip to his home country with a friend, during the Famines in 1847.<sup>22</sup> They published a short description of the trip, and donated the proceeds to the relief effort. Dufferin assured readers that the Irish were "grateful" for the aid they had received from England, and that all levels of society

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<sup>18</sup> C.A. Bayly, "Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (2000): 377-397, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3679386> (accessed Sept. 23, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Bayly, "Ireland and India," 380-1.

<sup>20</sup> A.T. Harrison, "Dufferin and Ava Papers," Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, [http://apps.proni.gov.uk/DCAL\\_PRONI\\_eCatNI\\_IE/ResultDetails.aspx](http://apps.proni.gov.uk/DCAL_PRONI_eCatNI_IE/ResultDetails.aspx) (accessed Oct. 20, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> Richard Davenport-Hines notes that Dufferin was in debt by about £299,000 by 1872. "Blackwood, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple, first marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826-1902)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), under "Canada," <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31914> (accessed Sept. 24, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Alfred Lyall, *Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, 2 Vols. (London, UK: John Murray, 1905), 1:42-4.

had been affected by the devastation: “The accounts are not exaggerated...nothing more frightful can be conceived.”<sup>23</sup> At the age of twenty-one, he was already thinking ahead to his political career, and wondered at the end of his narrative “what legislation and what influences could soonest make Ireland happy and cheerful, and its poor people industrious and independent.”<sup>24</sup> He eventually blamed overpopulation and Fenian influences for Ireland’s continued struggles, and defended the rights of the landlords against cries of corruption.<sup>25</sup>

As he began his colonial career, Dufferin legislated with British interests in mind over local interests, and continued to favor the rights of elites. In his capacity as an Ulster landowner, Dufferin advocated for Irish landlords during the 1860s, carving out small spaces for tenants to claim certain rights to their land, including compensation for improvements made, as long as they were approved by the landlord.<sup>26</sup> His biographers have argued that Dufferin’s work on land rights in Ireland prepared him well for similar debates in India. As viceroy, his 1885 Land Tenancy Act, for example, clarified the position of tenants and landowners, and also opened up a space for the colonial government to involve themselves in local matters.<sup>27</sup>

Dufferin was also a member of the Liberal party, though reformers in India were sorely disappointed by his inattention to local political and social issues. He was part of a contingent of Liberals known as Unionists, who split from Gladstone over the issue of Irish Home Rule (with Dufferin on the side of Ireland remaining part of Britain). As a Unionist, Dufferin was

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<sup>23</sup> March 1, 1847, Lord Dufferin and G.F. Boyle, *Narrative of a Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen During the Year of the Irish Famine* (Oxford, UK: John Henry Parker, 1847), 5, 8.

<sup>24</sup> Dufferin and Boyle, *Narrative of a Journey*, 23.

<sup>25</sup> Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 1:160-3. For more on Dufferin’s approach to Ireland’s struggles, see his *Contributions to an Inquiry Into the State of Ireland* (London, UK: John Murray, 1866), esp. chap. 2 and 3.

<sup>26</sup> Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 1:163, 1:175.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Sartori, *Liberalism in Empire: an alternative history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 85. Lord Dufferin himself suggested in a speech that lessons learned from the famine in Ireland should help the government’s efforts to combat the severe famine in India that lasted from 1897-1901. “How India fights the Famine,” *North American Review* (1897): 401-3.

committed to British imperialism, and his party often found common political ground with the Conservatives in the late nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Lord Dufferin's Liberal Unionist politics represent a clear transition in the second half of the nineteenth century away from reformist ideology in India to an artificial fashioning of loyalty through viceregal ceremony, which gave all the *appearance* of citizenship without the substance.<sup>29</sup> In both Canada and India, Dufferin believed it was his job as governor and viceroy to represent the Crown to both Canadian and Indian subjects through public appearances, in order to cultivate national and imperial sentiment. The Unionists, followed by the Tories, ushered in a period of monarchical patriotism, with a heavy emphasis on ceremony in the Indian empire, which carried through the remainder of nineteenth-century and into the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon in the early twentieth century.<sup>30</sup> As self-government agitations grew, and promises made by liberals went unanswered, the deep division inherent in the viceroy's dual obligation to British and Indian interests became increasingly apparent. Regarding both Ireland and India, Dufferin demonstrated his preference for government action along with bolstering the government's supports of elites to help recover from famine.

### **Governing in Canada**

Lord Dufferin came to the Canadian governorship in 1872. Following a series of rebellions in 1848-9, small concessions to responsible government were made by the British in the hopes of securing the loyalty of their Canadian subjects, the details of which varied by

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<sup>28</sup> Gordon L. Goodman, "Liberal Unionism: the Revolt of the Whigs," *Victorian Studies* 3, no. 2 (Dec. 1959): 173-189, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3825003> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Henry Maine, legal scholar and member of the governor's council in the 1860s, argued efforts by the British to introduce modern state reforms in India were destroying "traditional" social and political frameworks in India, and that these "customs" needed to be preserved rather than reformed—in other words, that British stewardship of Indian government needed to continue indefinitely. See Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), esp. chap. 1 and 5 and Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chap. 3.

<sup>30</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford, UK: University Press, 2001), chap. 4.

province.<sup>31</sup> The Dominion of Canada was inaugurated by the British North America Act in 1867, and Dufferin was the first governor of the confederation. The Act sought to consolidate British Canadian territories, but there were still unanswered questions regarding the balance of power between the provinces, the federal government, and the Parliament back in Britain. In the midst of the uneasy transition to confederacy, Governor Dufferin took on the role of public relations expert, celebrating the virtues of self-government and espousing the benefits of being members of the prestigious British empire to Canadians. But he also played to Canadians' feelings of independence, encouraging them to stand united not just by their common share in the empire, but also through their own particular Canadian patriotism.<sup>32</sup> Dufferin sought to promote the strength and solidarity of this newly-unified nation abroad, particularly to its increasingly formidable neighbor to the south, in order to thwart U.S. attempts to draw Canadians away from British influence.<sup>33</sup> A unified Canada would signal the supremacy of the British empire to the western world, a message directed foremost at the United States, a country still in the midst of rebuilding after its civil war. However, despite the narrative of unity and fellowship between Britons and Canadians that Dufferin cultivated, Lady Dufferin's published Canadian journals tell a different story about their approach to governing, one which highlights their reliance on biological racism to distinguish between Canada's British settlers and Native Americans.

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<sup>31</sup> William Leggo, *The History of the Administration of Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Late Governor of Canada* (Montreal: Lovell Printing and Publishing Co., 1878), 38-9; Miles Taylor, "The 1848 revolutions and the British Empire," *Past and Present* 166 (Feb. 2000): 163, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/651297> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016); J.M. Bumsted, "The consolidation of British North America, 1783-1860," in *Canada and the British Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series, Buckner, ed., (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 43-65 and Phillip Buckner, *The Transition to Responsible Government: British Policy in British North America, 1815-1850* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

<sup>32</sup> "Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England...Nevertheless, I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself—if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism." Lord Dufferin, Sep. 2, 1874, "Speech at Toronto Club Dinner," quoted in Leggo, *Administration of Dufferin*, 278.

<sup>33</sup> Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 1:230-1.

As governor, Dufferin believed that maintaining a strong ceremonial presence throughout the country was the best way to reassure colonial subjects who were feeling increasingly alienated by Britain. As America was becoming more influential in the global economy, many Canadians were concerned about the growing number of their talented and wealthy citizens venturing south.<sup>34</sup> Lord and Lady Dufferin made frequent trips to the United States as imperial ambassadors and hosted luncheons and ice skating parties at government house in Ottawa for their Canadian subjects. Throughout their travels in Canada, Dufferin made sure to promote an appearance of unity among Canadian subjects: “Everywhere have I learnt that the people are satisfied...to be the subjects of the Queen; satisfied to be members of the British Empire.”<sup>35</sup> Further evidence of his attempt to drum up positive press for the empire, as well as his theatrical tendencies, was Dufferin’s rumored practice of inserting shouts of praise and applause from the audience in copies of speeches that he gave to members of the press.<sup>36</sup>

Dufferin always looked back fondly on his time in Canada because his wife and young children enjoyed their time there. They would often go fishing, hunting and hiking, and Lady Dufferin would bring her camera along, capturing the wildlife and scenery. The Dufferins travelled throughout the expanding dominion, carefully maintaining a visible presence of British authority and splendor, particularly to the people of the newly-joined territory of British Columbia.<sup>37</sup> Canadians were impressed with Hariot’s quick adjustment to the rugged terrain and climate. Lady Dufferin wrote proudly in her journal of the positive reception she received in her

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<sup>34</sup> Phillip Buckner, “The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901,” in *Canada and the British Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series, Buckner, ed., (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 66-86.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Hariot Dufferin, *My Canadian Journal, 1872-8: extracts from my letters home written while Lord Dufferin was Governor-General* (London, UK: John Murray, 1891), 192.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Gailey, *The Lost Imperialist: Lord Dufferin, Memory, and Mythmaking in an Age of Celebrity* (London, UK: John Murray Publishers, 2015), 150.

<sup>37</sup> Lord Dufferin to Lord Northbrook, Aug. 15, 1872, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/H/B/B/113/9, PRONI, f2r-v.

new role, quoting from a local paper: “It would astonish some of our fine ladies to see Lady Dufferin walking about the town. She dresses plainly and sensibly...and does not shrink from the muddiest of our crossings.’ This comes of my Irish training!”<sup>38</sup> There was in fact a significant population of Irish immigrants there who were pleased to have a governor who hailed from their home country.<sup>39</sup> Some even felt their Irish roots would help the Dufferins understand the colonial sense of insecurity Canadians felt that came from being torn between feelings of both independence and attachment to the empire.<sup>40</sup> Not only was Harriot well-suited to the Canadian environment, she also fell very easily into her role as lady governor, and stood in for her husband when business took him out away from government house.<sup>41</sup> She was an enthusiastic and engaged first lady, visiting orphanages and asylums throughout the country; however she took a much more proactive philanthropic role in India as vicereine.

While Lord Dufferin had a strong vision for the cultural and ceremonial responsibilities of the Canadian Governor-General, he struggled to identify his constitutional role. The ongoing political crises in Canada directly called into question the relationship between the colonial and home governments. The governor’s office was supposed to be above party politics, and so when a contingent of British Columbians threatened to secede from the union, and addressed their grievances to Dufferin, he instructed them to petition the Crown instead, in order to avoid the appearance of partisanship.<sup>42</sup> However, in another case Dufferin appeared to be overstepping his boundaries, acting without the advice of his Council and taking a broad view of his executive

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<sup>38</sup> Nov. 7, 1872, Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 44.

<sup>39</sup> Barbara Messamore *Canada’s Governors General, 1848-1878: Biography and Constitutional Evolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 151; Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 1: chap. 7.

<sup>40</sup> Messamore, *Canada’s Governors General*, 180.

<sup>41</sup> “We are rather afraid that Papa may have to go to Ottawa next week, and if so, I shall have to stay here and be ‘governor general’ for a few days, but I shall hurry back to my little Tadousacious as quickly as possible.” Harriot Dufferin to Archibald, Earl of Ava, c. 1872-78, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1231/H/2/1-2, PRONI, f2v.

<sup>42</sup> Leggo, *Administration of Dufferin*, 448. On party politics: Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 100.

powers. His decision to prorogue Parliament proved highly controversial, sparking outcry in the press and among Canadian ministers. In 1873 the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, asked Dufferin to close the current session of Parliament because there were rumors spreading that several ministers, including Macdonald himself, had personal investments in the large-scale Pacific Railway project that had been proposed, creating a conflict of interest. The opposition called meetings following the prorogation condemning the governor-general and calling for his resignation, but he did receive a vote of confidence from the Queen and British Parliament, affirming he had acted within his powers by taking the advice of his ministers.<sup>43</sup> As lady governor, Harriot was able to attend Parliamentary hearings during the prorogation crisis. Since the governor himself was not allowed to attend, Lord Dufferin was able to keep up with the debates mainly through his wife's frequent updates.<sup>44</sup>

As the secession and prorogation crises indicate, the biggest challenges which Dufferin confronted in Canada were disunity and disaffection among the colonial subjects there. However, Dufferin's approach to rectifying the situation demonstrates the distinctions he made between British settler and Crown colonies. In particular, Lord Dufferin showed an awareness and respect for Canadian national and colonial sentiment that he did not (sincerely, at least) present during his time as viceroy in India, as will be discussed in the next section. There are, however, a few similarities in the Dufferins' experience ruling in Canada and India that illustrate two central

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<sup>43</sup> Nicholas MacDonal and James Bowen, "No discretion: on prorogation and the governor-general," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 34, no. 1 (spring 2011): 7, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/912385884?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016); Messamore, *Canada's Governors General*, 171.

<sup>44</sup> Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 4; Messamore, *Canada's Governors General*, 171-2; Eugene Forsey, *How Canadians Govern Themselves*, "Chapter 7: What goes on in Parliament," (Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2012) [http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/senatoreugeneforsey/book/chapter\\_7-e.html](http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/senatoreugeneforsey/book/chapter_7-e.html) (accessed Mar. 30, 2016).



themes of late Victorian imperial discourse that the Dufferins helped to perpetuate: domesticity and racial discrimination.

First, there was an element of paternalist language in Lord Dufferin's speeches to Native Americans that would reappear in his speeches about India, and which illustrate the racial prejudice and paternalism at the heart of British imperialism.<sup>45</sup> For example, during a visit to a reservation in Ontario, Lady Dufferin reported that her husband said to the crowd that he was "glad to hear that his children were content," and reassured them that "their great Mother, the Queen, took also a special interest" in their lives.<sup>46</sup> In addition to the hierarchal nature of the paternalist language, there is also evidence of the objectification of individuals in the Dufferins' writings. For example, while Harriot claimed that in general, "the Indian women are very dark and ugly" in North America, in India, she wrote: "Many of these women are very good-looking, and have refined and intelligent faces, but those of the Mongol type are extremely ugly."<sup>47</sup> These letters corroborate arguments made by Catherine Hall and Thomas Metcalf, among others, about the tendency toward biological racism in imperial thought over the Victorian period.<sup>48</sup>

In Canada and India, Dufferin faced subjects who were dissatisfied by their positioning within the empire, who either wished for independence or for a greater share in government and representation of their interests in Britain. In both colonies, he believed the seeds of disaffection

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<sup>45</sup> In a speech made at a banquet in Belfast shortly before his departure to India as viceroy, he outlined what he perceived to be his upcoming responsibility: "When endeavoring to mold by slow and cautious efforts the most ancient, the most continuous, and the most artificially organized civilization to be found on the face of the earth, into forms that shall eventually harmonize more and more with those conceptions which the progress of science and the result of experience have shown to be conducive to human happiness, the result of the ruler's exertions...are seldom perceptible at the moment..." Lord Dufferin, "Speech in Belfast," in *Speeches Delivered in India, 1884-1888* (London, UK: John Murray, 1890), 9.

<sup>46</sup> Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 160.

<sup>47</sup> Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 12; Harriot Dufferin, Feb. 18, 1886, *Our Viceregal Life in India: selections from my journal, 1884-1888*, 2 Vols. (London: John Murray, 1890), 1:148.

<sup>48</sup> Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), chap. 6; Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 82.

were being sewn, in part, by outsiders: Americans in the former case, and radical British liberals in the latter.<sup>49</sup> Dufferin proved to be much more conciliatory to Canadian rebels than to Indian reformers, even though the members of the newly-formed Indian National Congress, at least, were openly supportive of the Queen and the empire. This difference is indicative not only of prevailing racial attitudes in the British empire at the time, but also suggests that affective and patriotic ties between colony and metropole were treated differently for settler and Crown colonies, despite the appearance of a unified approach in terms of monarchical ceremony in both territories.

### **Dufferin's viceroyalty**

In India, disaffection had been growing among Indian intellectuals since at least the Proclamation of 1858, as many felt the promises made by the Queen for equal treatment of Indian and British subjects were not being met. When reforms were made, they were often done for the benefit of the colonial state, not India itself. The government expanded railroad networks throughout the subcontinent, and conducted the first census in 1871 and the first Survey of India in 1878, in an effort to maintain control over the population and landscape.<sup>50</sup> With developments in steam powered transportation, more people than ever before were travelling between Britain and India. Since Governor Bentinck and Thomas Babington Macaulay began to emphasize reform through English education in the 1830s, Indians were also learning about the English, and

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<sup>49</sup> Briton Martin Jr, "Dufferin and the Indian National Congress, 1885-1888," *Journal of British Studies* 7, no. 1 (Nov. 1967): 86, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/175381> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>50</sup> Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), esp. Introduction; C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chap. 8 and Metcalf, *Ideologies*, chap. 4.

some even travelled to England to train for the Civil Service.<sup>51</sup> Yet this represented a very small portion of the population, meaning Indians were scarcely represented in the Service in the 1880s.<sup>52</sup>

Viceroy Ripon (1880-1884), Lord Dufferin's immediate predecessor and a staunch liberal, made the most aggressive reforms toward self-government with his 1882 resolution. The intention of the act was to institute local boards with a majority of members elected, in the hopes that would enable more Indians to participate in local government.<sup>53</sup> Ripon also repealed the Vernacular Press Act, which censored Indian-language papers, and passed legislation protecting child factory workers. Under Lord Ripon, the controversial Ilbert Bill was presented in 1883, intended to bolster the power of local Indian authorities by subjecting British settlers to trial by Indian magistrates. Anglo-Indians protested the bill, with the result that it was amended to allow British citizens the right to trial by a jury comprised of a European majority.<sup>54</sup> The hostile backlash to the bill was particularly unsettling because it indicated not only the deeply rooted bigotry of the colonizers, but also the incompatibility of expectations and priorities between India's temporary settlers and its permanent residents. However, spurred on by these small advances enacted by Ripon, the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was convened in 1885, at the beginning of Lord Dufferin's term.

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<sup>51</sup> On the experiences of life in Britain for these travelers, see Michael Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600-1857* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), chap. 3 and 9.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Metcalf and Barbara Metcalf note "no more than a dozen" in the 1880s: *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed. (2001; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 135.

<sup>53</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, 118-9.

<sup>54</sup> For more on the efforts of the colonial government to privilege the legal rights of European settlers, see Elizabeth Kolsky, *Colonial Justice in British India* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For more on the Ilbert Controversy, see chap. 2 of Kolsky and Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), chap. 1.

The Congress rose in part out of the discrepancy between expanding opportunities in education amongst India's learned classes and limited representation for them in colonial government. While members of the Congress were anxious to lobby for local interests, making sure colonial political and social reforms did not suffer at the hands of British imperial policy, they had no plans for immediate independence. In fact, the leaders of the Congress made clear to the public that their organization was nothing but loyal to the Queen and the empire, performing a delicate balance act in order to prevent reactionary backlash from the Anglo-Indian community. In language that mirrored Lord Dufferin's own speeches about Canadian loyalty to the empire, President Dadhabai Naoroji delivered his opening address at the second meeting of the Congress:

It is under the civilizing rule of the Queen and people of England that we meet here together...Such a thing is possible under British rule and British rule only... It is to British rule that we owe the education we possess...Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone."<sup>55</sup>

Naoroji went on to give evidence, from the speeches of British statesmen, of how many politicians acknowledged that the INC was peaceable and fully supportive of the empire. It was important to the congressmen to prove that they were on friendly terms with the colonial government, especially on the heels of violent events such as the 1857 mutiny and 1883 Ilbert controversy.

Dufferin entered the viceroyalty less concerned about internal reforms and more interested in foreign policy, seeing it as crucial to maintaining the broader security of the empire. He set to work securing the borders around British India shortly upon the start of his administration. Since Russia had been trying to expand into India for a couple of decades, the

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<sup>55</sup> Dadhabai Naoroji, "Speech at the second Indian National Congress, Calcutta 1886," in *Politics and Empire in Victorian Britain: a Reader*, ed. Antoinette Burton (NY: Palgrave, 2001), 191-2.

British were determined to protect the border around Afghanistan, fearing the Russians would use that strategic location to launch attacks on India. Therefore in 1885, when Russia attempted to invade Panjdeh, in the northwestern part of Afghanistan, Dufferin was able to use his familiarity with the players to prevent a full-scale conflict.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile in Burma, the French had been expanding their influence in Southeast Asia, signing a commercial treaty with the Burmese government in January of 1885, and tacitly agreeing to supply them with weapons in the event of British retaliation.<sup>57</sup> To deter against the expansion of French influence in the region, protect the Indian-Burmese border, and expand British access to trade routes to China, Dufferin oversaw the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, continuing the work begun by Dalhousie's conquest of Lower Burma in 1852.

Lady Dufferin's account of their first official visit to newly-conquered Burma, where she and Lord Dufferin sat upon their peacock thrones in Mandalay, demonstrates their approach to engaging with their South Asian subjects.<sup>58</sup> As Hariot wrote: "The [Burmese Ministers] stood in a row before the Viceroy, and he told them then that their country had been taken over by the English people, and that we expect them now to show loyalty and devotion to their new Sovereign."<sup>59</sup> Though probably intended to be glib, the Dufferins soon learned that monarchical pageantry alone would not be enough to earn the colonizers the respect and admiration of those they conquered. The British began their campaign looking for diplomatic influence over these

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<sup>56</sup> Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 2:206; Davenport-Hines, under "Viceroy of India."

<sup>57</sup> Anthony Webster, "Business and Empire: a Reassessment of the British Conquest of Burma, 1885," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (Dec. 2000): 1007, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3020877> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>58</sup> Lady Dufferin was amused by these thrones, remarking that it was bizarre "to king and queen in this way," yet just a few short years later, another Vicereine, Mary Curzon, would adopt this symbol of Mughal royalty while hosting a Durbar in Delhi. Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 1:307.

<sup>59</sup> Feb. 18, 1886, Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 1:326.

territories in order to protect commercial interests; however, they would invest the next five years and several thousand troops into trying to maintain control over the region.<sup>60</sup>

Despite occasionally successful foreign policy negotiations, Lord Dufferin faced significant disapproval in the Indian, European, and American newspapers, particularly for the Burma annexation. Just as his predecessor, Lord Lytton, was criticized for not paying enough attention to internal reforms in India, local groups were not happy with the raising and diversion of taxes from famine relief to the military budget under Dufferin's administration.<sup>61</sup> It appeared to many that the viceroy could not be bothered with domestic problems during his tenure in India, that is, aside from fending off the nationalists. In fact, his relationship with members of the newly-formed National Congress soured over the course of his administration, especially regarding Burma.<sup>62</sup> Indians were frustrated by the war, and disappointed at the limited opportunities for them to participate in the Volunteer Corps, a defense militia set up after the Mutiny and mostly reserved for Europeans.<sup>63</sup> Many were tired of being asked to finance wars and yet not be allowed the opportunity to defend their own country.

An article in the *Madras Mail*, published when news of Dufferin's imminent (early) departure had just arrived in India, suggested opinions about the viceroy were divided in part on racial lines. The author proposed that Lord Dufferin should spend his final year in office working to seek approval from the Indian press, rather than continuing to appeal solely to the Anglo-Indian press. The article quotes from several other papers, including the *Indian Nation*, which voiced frustration at the steady downward turn the economy in India had taken under Dufferin,

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<sup>60</sup> PJ Marshall, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 179.

<sup>61</sup> Martin, "Dufferin and the INC," 81, 85.

<sup>62</sup> Martin, "Dufferin and the INC," 75.

<sup>63</sup> Martin, "Dufferin and the INC," 76.

and rather succinctly summed up the disappointment felt by Indians at the end of Lord Dufferin's term: "our general conviction...[is] that the administration...has been a complete failure."<sup>64</sup>

Responding to his critics, who felt let down after the promise of reform and expanding opportunities for self-government, Lord Dufferin defended his policies by claiming that he was looking out not only for England's interests but the interests of the Indian majority who, in his mind, preferred to be ruled by the British and not by a "radical" minority. He argued Britain had "the duty of providing for the welfare of the diversified communities over which she rules," claiming the Indian population was "complicated" (meaning at varying levels of Europeanization) and therefore difficult to govern.<sup>65</sup> The British, Dufferin went on, were the most qualified to rule in India because they had more experience maintaining a democratic government, and would maintain their sovereignty with "august impartiality," pledging to provide opportunities for educated Indians to participate in their government.<sup>66</sup> Of course, there were many in England who defended the viceroy's position, but this merely highlighted the different motivations of English and Indian subjects.

Rather than promoting liberal reforms, the Dufferins instead promoted monarchical ceremony as a means of inspiring awe and loyalty among Indian subjects. They underscored their connections to the British Crown by constructing a regal palace in Simla. Viceregal Lodge replaced Peterhof, which Lady Dufferin had referred to as a "cottage" that could fit inside the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab's drawing-room.<sup>67</sup> They impressed visitors with the martial and aristocratic power of the empire by decorating the dining room with the family crests of

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<sup>64</sup> "The Viceroy's Resignation: Opinions of the Native Press," *Madras Mail*, Madras, Feb 27, 1888, [http://phw01.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl\\_009242016\\_2026\\_05267\\_526.pdf](http://phw01.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl_009242016_2026_05267_526.pdf) (accessed Sept. 24, 2016).

<sup>65</sup> Dufferin, "Speech at St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta," *Speeches*, 234, 245.

<sup>66</sup> Dufferin, *Speeches*, 240.

<sup>67</sup> Barr, *Memsahibs*, 193; Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:93.

former governors.<sup>68</sup> The Dufferins considered the new palace more suitable for a viceroy to host a bevy of illustrious guests, as more foreign dignitaries and European royals visited the colony than ever before.<sup>69</sup> Dufferin worked to maintain a visible presence of majesty in the person of the viceroy in order to solidify ties to Britain for individuals who, in the main, would never journey there. Military reviews, bands playing “God Save the Queen,” and images of Queen placed next to Dufferin’s own image, were all present in abundance during his administration.<sup>70</sup> He spoke of these monarchical traditions in familial terms, as Lady Dufferin referenced in her journals a flirtatious moment the viceroy had with the maharajah’s mother: “D. said to her that as she and I were members of the same Order (Crown of India) we must be sisters, and then that as we were sisters he must be her brother, and must come behind the purdah.”<sup>71</sup> Though said in jest, this statement points to the idea that the empire was viewed by ruling elites as a sort of global family; its official homes decorated with iconography of its great ancestors. Of course, entrance into this family was based on ones’ social ranking, which left the vast majority of Indians to watch from a distance as the viceregal family paraded through their country espousing messages of loyalty and fellowship.<sup>72</sup>

### **The new, managerial vicereine**

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<sup>68</sup> Barr, *Memsahibs*, 194-5. The Lodge also provided the viceroy a chance to showcase the modern amenities he had equipped the house with, particularly, electricity. See Dane Kennedy, *Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 163-5 and Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:295.

<sup>69</sup> The first visit of member of the British royal family was the Duke of Edinburgh in 1867. See Bernard Cohn, “Representing authority in Victorian India,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 182. During their time in India, the Dufferins hosted two princes from Sweden, as well as princes from Prussia and Saxe-Weimar.

<sup>70</sup> Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, 105, 180; Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 1:7, 39, 93, 187, 241.

<sup>71</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 1:264.

<sup>72</sup> In a speech given upon the return of the Fortress of Gwalior from British control to the Maharaja of that state, Dufferin suggested this act “indicat[ed] that Her Majesty and the English nation have not failed to appreciate the universal loyalty to the imperial rule and to the throne and person of Her Majesty which has recently been displayed in so striking a manner by the Princes, the Native States, and the people of India.” Dufferin, “Restoration of the Fortress of Gwalior,” *Speeches*, 59. For another example of Dufferin remarking upon the “universal loyalty” of Indian subjects, see p. 169 of the same text.



Lady Dufferin helped solidify an official role for vicereines in the late nineteenth-century Raj, by putting public relations management at the center of her responsibilities, as well as performing the role of philanthropist more aggressively than her predecessors had done. She also helped establish the genre of imperial domestic biography, which reached its height of popularity in the final decades of Queen Victoria's life. As a publicist, writer, and philanthropist, she reinforced the virtues of domesticity that Queen Victoria and Charlotte Canning instilled in British Indian political culture at the time of the rebellions. Despite playing a crucial leadership role within the settlement on her own, apart from the viceroy, she was able to maintain her respectability by consistently reinforcing her ties to the monarchy and her devotion to her husband in her work. She followed previous lady governors who had worked to commemorate their husbands' careers by overseeing the publication of Lord Duffeirn's official biography, and the celebrity she relied on to promote her journals and her charity ultimately helped to position vicereines within early public histories of British India.

Hariot took a very active approach to her position as vicereine, and solidified her popularity among Indians when she established the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India in 1885. The Fund promoted the education of female doctors in India. Though not directly part of the colonial government, viceroys served as Patrons for the Fund in India, while the Queen was Patron in Britain. Lady Dufferin's conscious promotion of her family in her writings, and the familial language she employed promoting her charity, reflect the domestic image of the post-Canning era vicereine. But despite her popularity in Britain and in India, the gap between her rhetoric and the realities of her reforms mirrored her husband's own record, and indicates the strong impact imperial domestic biography had on repairing the reputations of governors and the empire.

Lady Dufferin's Fund correspondence indicates the managerial skills which were required to run the charity. Hariot hosted charity events, sought donations from British audiences in her letters home, toured local hospitals, and attended and delivered speeches at regular meetings. Her letters also suggest the potential opportunities her charity afforded other British women for work. For example, when searching for a new secretary, rather than employ another gentleman, Hariot felt it would be a good chance to appoint a lady, one whose status would preclude the issue of payment.<sup>73</sup> The wives of district governors, including Lady Grant Duff, ran local chapters of the organization. The Fund was intended to improve the health of Indian women by making available female doctors to encourage women to seek medical attention, as well as furthering the education of young women.<sup>74</sup> While Lady Dufferin worked with Indian elites and even INC medical professionals to expand the Fund, in terms of direct impact the emphasis was on educating European female doctors first, before Indian female doctors, so that they could set the example.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, although the charity provided English women and Indian men with opportunities for work, the same could not be said for Indian women.

The Fund promoted a sense of maternal investment in the empire on the part of the stationary citizens of Great Britain, and Hariot's appeals to the public in India and Britain reinforced a narrative of British superiority.<sup>76</sup> This language pervaded Lady Dufferin's Fund

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<sup>73</sup> "A lady of position might help us very much apart from the writing she may have to do... I think also that it would be pleasant for us to work with a lady." Lady Dufferin to Lady Grant Duff, Sep. 15, 1891, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff Papers, Mss Eur F234/307, British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, no fols. (hereafter Grant Duff Papers).

<sup>74</sup> "National Association," 1890, flv.

<sup>75</sup> Maneesha Lal, "The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India: The Countess of Dufferin's Fund, 1885-1888," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68, no. 1 (spring 1994): 48-50, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/1296236951?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016); Antoinette Burton, "Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India,' 1874-1885," *Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 3 (July 1996): 374-6, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/175919> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>76</sup> Lal, "The Politics of Gender," 38-9. Beyond Dufferin's Fund, the image of the "maternal" imperialist was invoked frequently by activists: Barbara Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British

pamphlets; since they were intended to appeal to British women, they referred to Indian women as “sisters,” asking: “Are there not a thousand women in Great Britain and Ireland who, reading of the unrelieved and unnecessary sufferings of their Indian sisters, will help make up the sum?”<sup>77</sup> Additionally, addresses from Indian women, made to the vicereine at the close of Dufferin’s administration, mirrored this language, as these women thanked Lady Dufferin for her “sisterly feeling” in helping to educate female doctors.<sup>78</sup> The idealistic image of a sisterhood that crossed the boundaries of race, promoted by the Dufferin Fund, was later recalled with a tinge of nostalgia during the instability of the decolonization period. On the fiftieth anniversary of the Fund, Queen Mary wrote to Hariot: “It must be an abiding satisfaction to you to think that this enduring monument to the work of yourself and Lord Dufferin still flourishes in India, and may perhaps play a not unimportant part in binding together British and Indian interests...in the years that are to come.”<sup>79</sup> The timing of the revival of this familial language, coming as it did when British imperialism in India was drawing to a close, indicates this imagery, invoked by activists and politicians as a means of enforcing a unity of purpose between Britons and their subjects, was only ever a rhetorical device built upon empty promises.

Lady Dufferin chose to publish her letters in the year following her departure from India. Her journals were part of a wider world of female periodical culture through which women engaged in imperial debates in an effort to expand their political voice at home.<sup>80</sup> By the 1870s, there were a number of imperial periodicals that catered specifically to women, including *The*

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women activists in India, 1865-1945,” in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992), 119-136.

<sup>77</sup> “The National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India,” c.1890, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1231/G/13/16, PRONI, flv.

<sup>78</sup> “The Female Inhabitants of Barabauki,” Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/J/G/6/2, PRONI, flr-v, copy.

<sup>79</sup> Queen Mary to Lady Dufferin, Mar. 1, 1935, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/J/G/3/12, PRONI, no fols.

<sup>80</sup> Jane Rendall, “The condition of women, women’s writing and the empire in nineteenth-century Britain,” in *At Home with the Empire*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101-121.

*Queen* and *The Englishwoman's Review*. These papers signaled both the growing presence of British women in India and the heightened interest women took in imperial matters. The magazines were intended not only to educate Englishwomen at home about Indian affairs-- they had a cultural resonance as well. They were meant to help women maintain their English identity while living with their husbands overseas.<sup>81</sup> These publications helped inform British women about the work of the Fund and other causes, encouraging their participation in empire whether through missionary work or donations to philanthropic organizations.<sup>82</sup>

In her journals, Harriot steered readers towards her interests—her charity work, her official responsibilities, and her family. As Queen Victoria and her editors did in her Highland journal, Lady Dufferin deliberately avoided political debates in her writing, making a point to acknowledge the importance of this neutrality in her Canadian journal specifically, in light of the instability within the government at the time of Frederick's governorship.<sup>83</sup> Instead, both memoirs were marketed as offering a unique glimpse into the minds of these influential women and their private family life. Lady Dufferin described the people she encountered and the life she led in the settlement, behind the walls of the governors' mansions, and in the viceregal camp as it was touring the country. This emphasis on domesticity allowed Lady Dufferin to avoid the more controversial aspects of imperialism, just as Victoria's cultivation of her familial persona allowed her to avoid substantial criticism as a female monarch following the early years of her reign.

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<sup>81</sup> Denise Quirk, "'True Englishwomen' and 'Anglo-Indians': Gender, national identity and feminism in the Victorian women's periodical press," in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed. Julie Codell (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing, 2003), 167.

<sup>82</sup> Claire Midgley, "Bringing the empire home: women activists in imperial Britain, 1790s-1930s," in *At Home with the Empire*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 230-250.

<sup>83</sup> Helps, "Life in the Highlands," vii. Lady Dufferin wrote in her preface: "I have not attempted to record in it any part of the business of the Governor-General. . . we met with such universal kindness from all persons with whom we came in contact in the dominions, that I, at least, never wanted to remember that people differed from each other in their political views." Dufferin, *Canadian Journal*, vii.

Family is a strong theme in Dufferin's journals; she spends a great deal of time describing the experiences her children had in both colonies. The Dufferins had nine children, whom they immersed in the world of diplomacy and empire from very early on. They were a constant presence throughout the Dufferins' public career, following them from Canada to India and places in between. Two were born in Canada; one of the babies, Victoria, was lucky enough to have Her Majesty as a godmother. Lady Dufferin took special care in her published journals to detail her family life in Canada and in India, describing her children's reactions to the people and places they encountered, and how they adjusted to their new surroundings. The children endeared themselves to the public with their sledding during the intense Canadian winters.<sup>84</sup> These cozy domestic scenes offered by Harriot in her Canadian journal presented a much more joyful image than the political struggles in the colony suggested was actually the situation, and were probably more enjoyable for the general public in Britain to read than a dense discussion of the constitutionality of Dufferin's prorogation.<sup>85</sup>

As they grew older, the children attended official ceremonies, including interviews with Indian elites, many of whom took care to show special deference to these children of the viceroy.<sup>86</sup> Their sons Archie and Terence both served in Indian Army, and Basil was honored by the Persian Consul-General, who considered it a great mark of respect that he was given Basil's house at Mount Pleasant to stay in when visiting Lord Dufferin.<sup>87</sup> Lady Dufferin's daughters

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<sup>84</sup> Kion, "Canadian Courtesies: an editorial excursion," *The Advance* 12, no. 569, Aug. 1, 1878, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/750476838?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 27, 2016); Hospitality, "Earl Dufferin: official reception of the Governor-General of Canada," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 16, 1874, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/171510595?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 27, 2016).

<sup>85</sup> Rosemary Raza argues it was the "approachable" quality of women's writing about India that helped British audiences connect to them. Raza, *In their own words, British women writers and India, 1740-1857* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 26.

<sup>86</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:1-3, 122, 242, 280.

<sup>87</sup> Lady Dufferin explains the Consul-General "descend[ed] from his horse" when greeting Basil. Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:180-1.

participated in most of the official assemblies, as well as all of the recreational activities, including tennis, horseback riding, and hunting. They also participated in their mother's Fund work; they attended a nursing lecture and helped her receive guests at government house, including hosting the deputation that delivered a farewell address to the vicereine.<sup>88</sup>

Lady Dufferin continued to maintain strong ties to the Crown as vicereine by linking her charity to monarchical ceremonies. In fact, Hariot was inspired to begin the Fund in part by the Queen herself, who had been concerned about reports she received from female missionary doctors in the 1870s about the state of female healthcare in India.<sup>89</sup> The Dufferins celebrated the Queen's Jubilee in 1887 with a series of elegant parties, speeches and parades. Hariot took the opportunity to request subscriptions during the festivities through her Jubilee Collection, hoping the patriotic feeling inspired by the Jubilee would encourage loyal subjects to donate to the Fund. She raised around £33,000 in India and £2,000 in England for the Fund.<sup>90</sup> Tying the performance of monarchical symbolism to promotions of the Fund served to connect Britain to its colony, with Lady Dufferin at the center of this connection.

Lady Dufferin's decision to publish her journals set her apart from other vicereines. Unlike Emily Eden, she did not write recreationally. The viceroyalty had changed significantly as well—in the post-Mutiny era, more eyes were on these elites than ever before. Her letters to her publisher indicate she was aware of her celebrity, as she told John Murray that her status as a public figure made her writing worthy of popular print. She also wanted Murray's honest opinion as to the quality of her work, to ensure that she preserved the reputation of the Dufferin name:

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<sup>88</sup> On the lecture: Dufferin, *Our Viceregal Life*, 1:155; on the deputation: Dufferin, *Our Viceregal Life*, 2:338-9.

<sup>89</sup> Barr, *Memsahibs*, 177.

<sup>90</sup> Lal, "The Politics of Gender," 37.

It would be false modesty in me not to explain that I am quite aware my name, and my having been ‘Vicereine’ in India, would make the greatest rubbish sell and succeed in that way. But I should not like to publish ‘rubbish’ and if I now ask you to look at this journal, I do so because I want your opinion solely on the question of merit...<sup>91</sup>

Lady Dufferin made clear that she was only willing to publish as long as her husband gave his permission. Once John Murray wrote to say that he was impressed with Hariot’s work, Lord and Lady Dufferin decided that it would be worth moving forward with the project. Hariot chose to involve her children in one of her first publishing decisions, reinforcing the importance of her family in her correspondence as she set to make their private lives public. On the question of what to call the new book, Hariot wrote to Murray:

I am afraid I do not like ‘Domestic Vicissitudes of Viceregal Life’ very much. It is not simple enough and too long—and all my family laughed at the idea... Do you like ‘Pages from a Viceregal Diary’ or ‘A Diary of Viceregal Life’...I myself rather like ‘The Viceroy’s Camp’ or ‘Life in the Viceroy’s Camp’ but my daughter, for instance, says she would never read a book about a ‘Camp’ and people in general would not know that this is the Viceroy’s postal address wherever he may happen to be.<sup>92</sup>

The allusion to the term “camp” implies an early-modern definition of family, meaning staff as well, though Lady Dufferin’s disagreement with her daughter suggests this reference might have been lost on the younger generations in Britain.<sup>93</sup> Hariot’s preference for this title reflects the emphasis she place on family in her publications, and suggests she thought this theme would appeal to readers in Britain.

In addition to managing the publication of her journals, Lady Dufferin also oversaw the publication of her husband’s memoirs. Lord Dufferin’s early hesitations about publishing his biography highlight a cultural divide between Britain and India, and the concern those writing

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<sup>91</sup> Lady Dufferin to John Murray, Mar. 3, 1890, John Murray Archive, MS.40108, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh, ff.12-15.

<sup>92</sup> Lady Duffeirn to John Murray, June 25, 1889, John Murray Archive, MS.40108, NLS, ff.26-9.

<sup>93</sup> Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001). I am grateful to Dr. Weil for suggesting the connection between camp and family.

imperial books for Britons had about connecting with their audience. He felt readers would not recognize half the names of his imperial colleagues, and that the gossipy bits of his career would be the only material capable of drawing in a popular audience.<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately, these details could not be made public during his lifetime: “I do not see that any memoirs of mine would be really worth publishing... The greater part of my official life has been spent in a kind of work which is essentially of a confidential character, and on that very account must remain a sealed book.”<sup>95</sup> In the end, Dufferin’s biography was published in 1905 after his passing and was written by Sir Alfred Lyall, a former lieutenant-governor in the North-Western Provinces and Lady Dufferin’s first choice. His wife, Lady Cora Lyall, was President of the Northwest and Awadh branch of the Lady Dufferin Fund and founder of the Lady Lyall Medical College at Agra. Sir Alfred Lyall was no stranger to the literary world: throughout his administrative career in India, he published essays in the *Edinburgh Review*, and he also had experience writing about British India’s rulers, having published an essay on Warren Hastings in 1889.

Lady Dufferin had some doubts about the choice of Lyall as biographer. She wrote to their family friend, Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff: “I do not know whether he would have a light enough hand for this kind of work. I imagine his prose has always been of a very serious character, and in Biography people expect something easily read.”<sup>96</sup> Lady Dufferin’s concerns about the tone of her husband’s biography speak not only to her level of involvement in the publication process, but also her constant attention to the public reception of her family’s life and

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<sup>94</sup> When William Leggo set to work on his history of Dufferin’s Canadian governorship, Dufferin provided him instructions in the form of newspaper clippings and annotations, just as Curzon did for his own biography. See Gailey, *Lost Imperialist*, 150.

<sup>95</sup> Lord Dufferin to John Murray, Apr. 10, 1900, John Murray Archive, MS. 42038, NLS, f118.

<sup>96</sup> Lady Dufferin to Sir Mountstewart, May 14, 1902, Grant Duff Papers, Mss Eur F234/194, no fols.



writings.<sup>97</sup> Her biggest issue with Lyall's book was his treatment (or lack thereof) of Lord Dufferin's family life. As she explained to her publisher: "In reading the pages straight through, one feels that a brilliant and interesting narrative is given, but that the character of the man is rather left out."<sup>98</sup> Victorian biography was heavily didactic, encouraging individual and national improvement led by the example of prominent (and sometimes, as Juliette Atkinson indicates, more obscure) figures.<sup>99</sup> I argue this proved helpful, in an imperial context, in distracting from morally questionable government policies with the supposedly virtuous intentions of individuals. This tactic featured prominently in the revival of Hastings's reputation in the late Victorian period.<sup>100</sup> Though Hariot was keen to introduce some aspects of their private life to a public audience, to commemorate her husband's memory and their imperial career together, she was very careful about which aspects of this life she was willing to hand over to Lyall, and she wanted control over the presentation of these anecdotes.<sup>101</sup> She particularly took offense to Lyall's treatment of Dufferin's resignation where it concerned her family and her position as the viceroy's wife.

Some questioned Dufferin's decision to retire after four years in India because the typical length of term for a viceroy at this stage was five years.<sup>102</sup> Dufferin wished to begin his retirement at a European post closer to home, possibly Italy or France, because he believed relocating his children to these countries would be more advantageous to their education, career,

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<sup>97</sup> For more on Lady Dufferin's involvement in the publication of her husband's biography, see Gailey, *Lost Imperialist*, 345-6.

<sup>98</sup> Lady Dufferin to John Murray, Mar. 29, 1904, John Murray Archive, MS.40108, NLS, ff166-7.

<sup>99</sup> Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century "Hidden Lives"* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 24-5; Christopher Tolley, *Domestic Biography: the legacy of Evangelicalism in four nineteenth-century families* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1997), 6.

<sup>100</sup> Late Victorian biography "was increasingly used as a canonizing tool that could assess the accomplishments of an age through the depiction of its most significant individuals." Atkinson, *Victorian Biography*, 22.

<sup>101</sup> J.L. Pattison to Lady Dufferin, May 16, 1904, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/A/K/2B/36/1, PRONI, fl.

<sup>102</sup> Lyall and Dufferin both point out, however, that most of Dufferin's predecessors also left before their five years was up. See Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 2:179.

and marriage prospects, than would remaining in India. He also was at least somewhat concerned about his wife's health, not an uncommon anxiety following Charlotte Canning's untimely death.<sup>103</sup> Yet, Hariot worried that Lyall's outlining of reasons for Dufferin's early retirement would make it seem like she pressured her husband to leave his post early. Lyall's response to Hariot demonstrates the different motivations of biographer and wife, and the contestation over representing the viceroyalty to Britons at home. Lyall rather curtly reminded the former vicereine that, despite the fact the passage in question concerned her, the responsibility for the publication lay in the hand of the author:

I am inclined to differ from you in regard to the passages which you desire to be struck out... They exemplify Lord Dufferin's affectionate feeling for his family—a point which I think you wished to be brought out... I do not believe that any one would suppose you to be in any way responsible in the matter.<sup>104</sup>

Despite Hariot's objection, these passages (at least in part) ultimately appeared in the finished product. Interestingly, the viceroy himself seemed completely comfortable referring publicly to the "domestic reasons" for his resignation in his address to the Legislative Council in Calcutta. Future vicereine Mary Curzon worked as hard as Hariot did controlling rumors about her ill health and the possible effects this had on Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, indicating the lengths to which these wives went to demonstrate their loyalty to the empire and determination to promote their husbands' careers. While linking family and career could help audiences sympathize with ruling elites, Lady Dufferin's concerns suggest private motivations could never outweigh public interests, and if they appeared to do so, women might be blamed for the imbalance.

Lord Dufferin passed away in February of 1902, at home in Clondeboye, just outside of Belfast. He had just lost his son Archie in the South African War. Lady Dufferin received

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<sup>103</sup> Lord Dufferin to Godley, Feb. 13, 1888, quoted in Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 2:179.

<sup>104</sup> Alfred Lyall to Lady Dufferin, Aug. 19, 1904, D1071J/A/14, PRONI, no fols.

hundreds of sympathy letters celebrating his career and the merits of his public service, but Hariot reminded their close friends that her husband's virtues began at home: "He had so much outside charm that people were oft to think it was 'outside' only, but...Every merit which the world saw was intensified at home."<sup>105</sup> Throughout her life, Hariot Dufferin proved she was not only concerned about her own reputation-- she was also concerned about the public memory of her husband and his career, as well as her positioning within that world. But Hariot could not control everything and just as soon as Dufferin passed away, unauthorized biographies started to appear. C.E.D. Black's *The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava* came out in 1903, one year after Dufferin's death, much to Hariot's frustration.<sup>106</sup> To ensure that the representation of their family name was fully under their control, Lady Dufferin hired a lawyer to force Black to acknowledge that his version did not have her support. Hariot's work managing commemorations of her husband's life show that a vicereine's public relations work continued well after the appointment in India concluded.

### **The gap between rhetoric and reality**

Lady Dufferin was showered with praise, in both India and Britain, upon her husband's resignation. Countless addresses thanked Hariot for her "sympathy and untiring zeal in promoting such measures as tends towards the amelioration of the sufferings of our country women."<sup>107</sup> Her journals referenced a particular moment in which a large group of women from Bengal, Orissa and Behar delivered an address to her in the throne room of Calcutta's

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<sup>105</sup> Lady Dufferin to Lady Ilbert, Clandeboye, May 3, 1902, Papers and Diaries of Sir Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert, Mss Eur D594/11, British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, f39.

<sup>106</sup> "I am rather troubled about a 'life' being brought out by [Black]. Lord Dufferin tried to persuade him not to do it... No papers or letters have been given to this man, but, on the strength of having sent us two chapters to look at, which made us both all the more anxious to stop the publication, he has advertised the book as having been 'revised' by Lord Dufferin!" Lady Dufferin to Sir Mountstewart, May 14, 1902, Grant Duff Papers, Mss Eur F234/194, no fols.

<sup>107</sup> "An address to Lady Dufferin," Dec. 6, 1887, D1231/G/13/12, PRONI, no fols.

government house, an unprecedented event, according to Lady Dufferin.<sup>108</sup> Hariot's charity work was also seen by contemporaries as a means of bolstering Lord Dufferin's own popularity, because it reflected positively on the viceroy himself to have such a successful and devout reformer by his side. As the *Times of India* reported:

The [Kaiser-i-Hind]<sup>109</sup> regrets to learn that there has been a strong rumour prevailing that Lord Dufferin has recently sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State for India asking the Ministers for permission to follow a more rigorous policy in India ... The paper is in a certain measure loth to believe in the rumour circulated about a Viceroy, whose generous and high-minded consort has been doing all she could for the...females of this country.<sup>110</sup>

In addition to this supportive role, Hariot was also viewed as incredibly successful on her own account. Her achievements were even considered by some to be at a similar level to that of previous governors. As she wrote in her journal, following the Fund committee's address to Viceroy Dufferin, they "voted me a separate address all to myself, and, moreover, intend to ask me for my picture to be hung up in some public building here. This is an unprecedented compliment—too great a one, I fear."<sup>111</sup> Calcutta residents proposed placing a picture of Lady Dufferin in the town hall, as she explained, "amongst the lieutenant governors and male celebrities of the past!"<sup>112</sup> This is why Lady Dufferin was so determined, in her farewell speeches to her female supporters in India, to insist that none of the Fund projects would have been possible without the support of the viceroy and the colonial government.<sup>113</sup> While she perhaps

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<sup>108</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:338-9.

<sup>109</sup> An INC-affiliated newspaper, the name translates to "Emperor/ess of India." Cohn, "Representing Authority," 201n70.

<sup>110</sup> "Rumour about Lord Dufferin's Policy," *The Times of India*, May 3, 1886, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/608698227?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 27, 2016).

<sup>111</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:270. The Amir of Afghanistan noted in his autobiography that "Lady Dufferin's residence in India was of hardly less importance than that of her husband," quoted in Lyall, *Life of Dufferin*, 2:95.

<sup>112</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 2:271, 273.

<sup>113</sup> "You can readily understand that without his personal sympathy and encouragement and [Lord Dufferin's] hearty interest in the work of the National Association, I myself could have done nothing, nor must I omit to acknowledge here the friendly aid and consideration my plans have always received from the Government of India." Lady Dufferin to the Ladies of Bengal, Nov. 1888.

might have been hoping to downplay the efforts of others to compare her to her husband's colleagues, it seems clear that Lord Dufferin needed the positive press more than she.

Lady Dufferin was not only positioned by others within a lineage of governors, her work was also viewed as part of wider philanthropic efforts made by the vicereines. One group of Indian women thanked Lady Dufferin for her contributions, and connected her successes to Charlotte's own charities:

The wife of the first Viceroy of India...has earned our grateful remembrance by her efforts on behalf of the sick and suffering; but it was reserved for you [Hariot] to found an institution of a wider scope with a still more benevolent purpose.<sup>114</sup>

Hariot also helped ensure vicereines a position within public commemorations of the empire as historians were beginning to document the history of the Anglo-Indian empire. Guided by Company historian, H.E. Busteed, the Dufferins visited Charlotte Canning's grave and Fort William in Calcutta, site of the Black Hole, in March of 1886, both monuments which paid respect to those who sacrificed their lives to the colony.<sup>115</sup> The connections made between Charlotte Canning and Hariot Dufferin by their contemporaries indicate that vicereines had become recognizable imperial celebrities in the second half of the nineteenth century, and were part of the living memory of the Raj in public memorials just as they were increasingly playing a role in Raj biographies.

After resigning from the viceroyalty in 1888, the verdicts on Dufferin's governorship in India were mixed. Supporters insisted that the viceroy's public relations problem was

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<sup>114</sup> Native address to Lady Dufferin, c. 1888, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1231/G/13/14, PRONI, no fols.

<sup>115</sup> Dufferin, *Viceregal Life*, 1:23-4, 2:6-8. Busteed was anxious to replace a monument to commemorate the incident, as the old one had been taken down amidst controversy. The British were concerned about dredging up animosities between Anglo-Indians and Indians, uncovering wounds that had never really healed. Therefore, there were concerns about a monument to the Black Hole; many felt it would be better simply to move on. See Kate Teltscher, "'The fearful name of the Black Hole': fashioning an imperial myth," in *Writing India*, ed. B.J. Moore-Gilbert (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1996), 45-49 and Barr, *Memsahibs*, 193.

situational—that the hardships of on-going famines, combined with a lengthy history of failed promises from British leaders, created difficulties which no viceroy could possibly overcome: “It may be the measures, not the man that the natives dislike, and the man may not be properly responsible for the measures.”<sup>116</sup> Others felt the dissatisfaction Dufferin was faced with on the part of his Indian constituents betrayed the precarious balancing act required of Anglo-Indian ruling elites. This intermediary community could try to satisfy both Britons and Indians but in the end, by Dufferin’s time at least, the ultimate measure of a viceroy’s success was how well he served the interests of the empire for Britain. Though there were some viceroys, like Ripon, who appeared to cater more towards India’s interests, as one reporter at the time noted: “It was because Lord Ripon kept that ideal steadily before him that he came to be the idol of the Indian people...But he had to lose caste with his own people.”<sup>117</sup> For those viceroys who were looking to return to a political career in Britain following their time in India, it was crucial to maintain friendships with elites there—the viceroyalty was only a temporary appointment, after all.

Despite the praise Lady Dufferin received at the end of the viceroyalty, there was a stark disconnect between the optimistic rhetoric of the virtues of British imperialism espoused in the Dufferins’ speeches and journals and the realities of their actual reforms and policies. Dufferin’s background as an Irish landowner colored his perception of both land right debates and the consolidation of the Indian National Congress during his administration.<sup>118</sup> He was extremely skeptical of these reformers, and created a surveillance unit in 1888 to monitor the growing

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<sup>116</sup> “Lord Dufferin,” *The Times of India*, Apr. 24, 1888, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/234897826?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> “Has Lord Dufferin been a good Viceroy?” *The Times of India*, May 1, 1888, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/234851685?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 26, 2016).

<sup>118</sup> Christopher Bayly suggested Irish Home Rule Bill’s failure impacted his views on INC as it emerged in 1880s. Bayly, “Ireland and India,” 391-2.

Indian nationalist movement, called the Special Branch of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department.<sup>119</sup> Reading between the lines, it is clear from Hariot's journals that not everyone was satisfied with British rule in India. Lady Dufferin's descriptions of loyal imperial subjects they met with in their travels contrasts sharply with her frequent references to the extensive police retinue that followed the viceregal family in India in the wake of the assassination of Lord Mayo in 1872.<sup>120</sup>

Outside the circles of the political elite, even the press on Lady Dufferin's Fund was not entirely positive. One reporter raised a concern some individuals had that requests Indian subjects received for donations to the Fund felt as if they were a command of sorts, coming as they did from the vicereine.<sup>121</sup> This observation reflected wider debates about how to involve more lower-ranking Indians, and in particular, Indian women, in the cause. As the Dufferins were leaving India, the *Madras Mail* recognized the vicereine's efforts to educate female doctors; however they raised doubts about the longevity of the Fund's success. They suggested that people were quick to praise the charity because it was founded by the viceroy's wife. In order to have a more lasting impact, the reporter not only hoped that future vicereines would continue to support the Fund, but that ultimately, the work "may extend to the women of India."<sup>122</sup> Though Lady Dufferin wielded significant political and social influence as vicereine, the fashioning of her imperial celebrity indicates that her access to this power depended upon sacrificing the character and agency of women outside the small circle of ruling elites.

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<sup>119</sup> Harrison, "Dufferin and Ava Papers," under "Unexpected gems of the Indian papers."

<sup>120</sup> Dufferin, *Our Viceregal Life*, 1:335, 2:198, 301.

<sup>121</sup> "Latest Telegraphic News," *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, Aug. 31, 1885, [http://phw01.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl\\_009242016\\_1641\\_25506\\_979.pdf](http://phw01.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl_009242016_1641_25506_979.pdf) (accessed Sept. 24, 2016).

<sup>122</sup> "Lady Dufferin's Work," *Madras Mail*, Madras, Apr. 17, 1888, [http://phw02.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl\\_009242016\\_1644\\_44371\\_461.pdf](http://phw02.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl_009242016_1644_44371_461.pdf) (accessed Sept. 24, 2016).

## Mischievous memsahibs and the malleable female character

Lady Dufferin carefully constructed her celebrity around being a wife, mother, and charitable vicereine. Though she was incredibly active politically, she was not attacked for being meddling, devious, or threatening to the patriarchy of the colonial government because she consistently showed deference to her husband and maintained her Britishness throughout her travels abroad, unlike the pernicious memsahibs. Elizabeth Ward rejoiced when she read a letter from the vicereine: “I must thank you for not eating ‘tiffins?’ and having ‘chowries’ to flap off the flies, and not being carried in a ‘dandy’ . . . when commonplace people go to India, the first thing they do is to write home in this Indian style—they grow too big for English life.”<sup>123</sup> Despite the heavy prejudice in Britain against Anglo-Indians, Lady Dufferin managed to avoid association with these stereotypes completely. This was partly due to her being stationed in India temporarily, as opposed to the career civil servants. This itinerancy, together with their elite status, allowed viceregal families to maintain a distance from the rest of the European community in the settlement. However, the prevalence of images of the memsahib at the time, a sort of successor to the eighteenth-century nabobina, along with images of the domesticated vicereine, indicate a persistent appropriation of the female character, British and Indian, in popular literature as women were made to stand for both the vices and virtues of imperialism.<sup>124</sup>

Victorian debates about India frequently dealt with the growing concern at home about the disturbing effects living in India had on the morality of Anglo-Indian wives, or

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<sup>123</sup> “Lady Dufferin’s Work,” *Madras Mail*, Madras, Apr. 17, 1888, [http://phw02.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl\\_009242016\\_1644\\_44371\\_461.pdf](http://phw02.newsbank.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/cache/arhb/fullsize/pl_009242016_1644_44371_461.pdf) (accessed Sept. 24, 2016).

<sup>124</sup> Jenny Sharpe writes that in the course of the mutiny, the memsahib became a “scapegoat” for empire, both “the remedy and the poison . . .” *Allegories of Empire: the figure of woman in the colonial text* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 92.



memsahibs.<sup>125</sup> Indrani Sen argues that “this pleasure-loving, frivolous memsahib...[proved the] antithesis of the ideal of the gentle, sexless, Victorian ‘angel-in-the-house’”<sup>126</sup> As Marian Hastings faced scathing attacks that branded her a “nabobina” in the late eighteenth-century, the new appellation of female vice and frivolity in British India, wielded by their sisters in Britain, was “memsahib.” Characterizations hinged on the domestic failures of these women as mothers and wives, and suggested the potential this had to ruin the reputation of the empire. For example, “grass widow,” which referred to wives who were consistently without their husbands, originally indicated a woman who had been left behind in Simla (the resort town of the British to escape the hot summer months) while her husband returned to Calcutta to work.<sup>127</sup> As the term evolved however, and as more women came to live in India, it became a pejorative name directed at women whose decision to travel without their husbands threatened their reputations.<sup>128</sup>

Rudyard Kipling is credited with propagating the negative memsahib image, which the majority of historians working on imperial wives since the 1980s have tried to counter.<sup>129</sup> Kipling spent a great deal of time in India; his father was an art school professor and his parents were frequent guests at Peterof, the Dufferins being active patrons of the arts.<sup>130</sup> At the tender age of six, Kipling was sent to England to attend school and did not return to India again until he

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<sup>125</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary defines “memsahib” as “a married European or upper-class woman; often used as a respectful form of address by non-Europeans [in South Asia, especially India].” *OED Online*, s.v. “memsahib, n.,” <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116367?redirectedFrom=memsahib> (accessed Oct. 20, 2016).

<sup>126</sup> Indrani Sen, “Between Power and ‘Purdah.’ The white woman in British India, 1858-1900,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, no. 3 (Sept. 1997): 365, <http://ier.sagepub.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/content/34/3/355> (accessed Apr. 27, 2016).

<sup>127</sup> J.K. Stanford, *Ladies in the Sun: the memsahibs’ India, 1790-1860* (London, UK: The Galley Press, 1962), 102.

<sup>128</sup> Kennedy, *Magic Mountains*, 117-126.

<sup>129</sup> Marian Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1987); Margaret Macmillan, *Women of the Raj: the Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1988) and Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, politics and imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002) are recent examples of resurrecting the fallen image of the memsahib. Maud Diver’s *The Englishwoman in India* (Edinburgh, UK: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1909) was one of the first to counter Kipling’s memsahib.

<sup>130</sup> Bence-Jones, *Viceroy of India*, 145.

was appointed a position as sub-editor for the Civil and Military Gazette in Lahore at the age of seventeen. As difficult as it was for adults to transition from their life in England to their life in India, the ramifications of Anglo-Indian split childhoods are apparent in Kipling's stories, which exhibited a mixture of enchantment with Indian landscapes and culture and yet a marked sense of English racial superiority and belief in the promise of improvement through empire.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps spending time in both India and Britain as a young man helped Kipling to become especially attuned to the precarious, in-between state of being an Anglo-Indian.

His archetypal memsahib, Mrs. Hauksbee, appears in several of his short stories in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, first published in 1888. Conniving and flirtatious, Mrs. Hauksbee was the most dangerous type of memsahib because she was intelligent and manipulative—and she inserted herself into official business to repay a man for helping get back at an ADC who had snubbed her. In “Consequences,” Mrs. Hauksbee stumbled across a packet of state intelligence, the unfortunate result of misdirected post, a commentary perhaps of the foolhardy attempts of the colonial government to keep their business a secret, particularly from nosy memsahibs. Hauksbee used this information to position her young friend, Tarrion, as an expert in diplomacy, having him memorize the details and bring them to the attention of the viceroy, pretending to have unparalleled foresight.

The hidden influence of the meddling female recalls the fears surrounding Mrs. Hastings's power over her husband. The corruption the memsahib threatened to contaminate the settlement with was largely based on the assumption that restlessness and boredom led them to

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<sup>131</sup> Zohreh Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chap. 2.

carry out illicit affairs or satisfy vendettas through gossip and patronage.<sup>132</sup> Beyond their sexuality, memsahibs were also accused threatening the stability of the empire through their deeply-embedded bigotry which, due to their supposedly emotional natures, was said to be more belligerent than the racism of the men.<sup>133</sup>

In contrast to the “memsahib,” Kipling held Lady Dufferin up as a paragon of virtue; an example for all British women in empire to follow. Upon the Dufferins’ departure from India in 1888, Kipling, speaking on behalf of Indian women aided by the Fund, wrote:

Say that we be a feeble folk who greet her,  
But old in grief, and very wise in tears:  
Say that we, being desolate, entreat her  
That she forget us not in after-years  
For we have seen the light and it were grievous  
To dim that dawning if our Lady leaves us<sup>134</sup>

Kipling’s commemoration of Lady Dufferin’s career aptly illustrates the discrepancy between the familial rhetoric of British imperialism and the realities of discriminatory ideology and practices. Restoring the reputation of the British lady from the negative “memsahib” character was accomplished by sacrificing the agency of Indian women, whose opinions were chosen for them and appropriated to serve the vicereine’s celebrity.<sup>135</sup> The ideal Anglo-Indian woman, epitomized in the figure of Lady Dufferin, was philanthropic, elegant-- a spokeswoman for empire. She was also a caregiver for Indian women who, in the end, were spoken for by a white man in support of a white woman, reinforcing patriarchal and racial hierarchies.

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<sup>132</sup> Indrani Sen, “Gendering (Anglo) India: Rudyard Kipling and the Construction of Women,” *Social Scientist* 28, no. 9/10 (Sept.-Oct. 2000): 12-32, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/3517975> (accessed Apr. 27, 2016).

<sup>133</sup> Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the ‘manly Englishman’ and the ‘effeminate Bengali’ in the late nineteenth century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), 47.

<sup>134</sup> Rudyard Kipling, “The Song of the Women,” *The Pioneer*, Apr. 17, 1888.

<sup>135</sup> For more on the “victimization” of Indian women in Kipling’s texts, see Sen, “Gendering (Anglo) India,” 12-26.

Lady Dufferin's journals cemented the vicereine's position as her family's (and the empire's) publicist, in this era of heightened public scrutiny of colonial government. The role she developed for herself, in official ceremonies and in her journals, showcased her devotion to her family, her husband's career, and philanthropy, and set the example for future vicereines. Indeed, Lady Lansdowne continued to promote the Fund as vicereine following the Dufferins' administration. Even as the empire in India was beginning to fade away, the Indian viceroy, the Earl of Willingdon, wrote to Lady Dufferin in 1935, during King George V's Silver Jubilee, of the success of his Jubilee Fund: "You may well be gratified that the great work which you initiated here, and which has done so much for countless women in India, still flourishes...."<sup>136</sup>

By Dufferin's time, vicereines had become political and cultural imperial icons, as evidenced by the popular references linking them. The Dufferins' tour of Charlotte Canning's tomb, native addresses to Lady Dufferin connecting Charlotte's charity work to Harriot's accomplishments with the Fund, and American publishers promoting Dufferin's journal alongside Emily Eden's letters in 1898, and marketing them to audiences interested in the appointment of their own daughter, Mary Curzon, to the viceregal throne that year— are all examples which suggest the celebrity of these vicereines was clearly established in Britain and America by the late nineteenth century.<sup>137</sup> British imperial wives helped to shape imperial politics and culture, but they also contributed to characterizations of women that perpetuated patriarchal norms. As popular representations of the vicereines indicate, the fashioning of the vicereines into imperial celebrities, by themselves as well as by imperial biographers and popular writers like Kipling, was accomplished at the expense of Indian and Anglo-Indian women alike.

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<sup>136</sup> Earl of Willingdon to Lady Dufferin, Mar. 10, 1935, Dufferin and Ava Papers, D1071/J/G/3/12, PRONI, no fols.

<sup>137</sup> Lady Dufferin wrote to her publisher: "I see by a Chicago paper that my book is recommended with that of Miss Eden, to all those who are interested in the promotion of an American girl to the throne of India!" Lady Dufferin to John Murray, Sept. 3, 1898, John Murray Archive, MS.40108, NLS, ff123-4.

## **Writing home: George Curzon's viceregal inheritance, 1898-1925**

During their viceregal administration, from 1898 to 1905, Mary and George Curzon worked to cultivate patriotism and support for the empire in both India and Britain by fashioning public personas that espoused a sense of duty to country and to family. Imperial domesticity was central to Curzon's personal and political ideology, and the dominant theme in his history of British Indian governors, which was published in 1925. As a young man, he was drawn to the viceroyalty because he saw it as a family inheritance of sorts, since government house in Calcutta was modelled after his family house in Derbyshire. As a viceroy, he believed England inherited its sovereignty over India from the Mughals, a belief that he demonstrated in his 1903 Durbar, consciously distinguishing the ceremony from his predecessor Viceroy Lytton's 1877 Imperial Assemblage by stressing British modes of fealty and monarchical deference.

Although they shared lofty views of themselves and the viceroyalty with Warren and Marian Hastings, the Curzons benefited from the fact that officially linking the viceroy to the British monarch imbued the office with legitimacy after 1858, which was reinforced by a narrative of duty and domesticity authored by the viceregal couples themselves. Lord and Lady Curzon were mocked for their showy displays, but not impeached or publicly scorned like Warren and Marian were because they understood the importance of perception and reputation. Curzon drew parallels between his and Hastings's experience governing in India, and devoted a significant portion of his history of the governorship to the personal sacrifices each man made for the sake of the office. Curzon, like Hastings, was forced to retire from the position in the midst of scandal, and felt he did not receive the support and recognition he deserved from England. Curzon, along with a growing number of imperial biographers, anachronistically applied Victorian values to Warren Hastings to salvage his reputation and build popular support

for the empire. He positioned himself as a successor to men like Hastings, demonstrating his nostalgia for empire in the 1920s at a moment of significant imperial and domestic changes: the erosion of the empire and the enfranchisement of women in Britain.

The similarities between Warren Hastings's governorship and George Curzon's viceroyalty began with their wives. Marian Hastings and Mary Curzon were both construed as foreigners at the beginning of their husbands' appointments: Mary was American and Marian was French-German. Yet, by the end of their time in office, when both governors were facing public censure, Marian was attacked in the papers while Mary was celebrated for being a dutiful wife. One major difference of course was Mary's health, and it is entirely probable people would have been hesitant to criticize a woman who was chronically ill. However, prior to her illness, Mary demonstrated a much greater concern for public opinion than Marian did. As Nicola Thomas points out, Mary kept a close eye on the papers, including the American ones, and carefully crafted her public appearances.<sup>1</sup> When she returned to England for her health periodically during Curzon's terms, she exchanged information with politicians and relayed requests and gossip back to her husband. I would go further to argue Lady Curzon's attention to the image of the viceroyalty, and her husband's career, reflected the established responsibilities of Victorian vicereines. Mary's conscious attempt to control her image and support her husband allowed her to overcome her American identity and become immortalized as an exemplary servant of the empire.<sup>2</sup> It was not simply her performance that cast her as dutiful wife and

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<sup>1</sup> Nicola Thomas, "Exploring the Boundaries of Biography: the family and friendship networks of Lady Curzon, Vicereine of India, 1898-1905," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 3 (July 2004): 509-12, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/science/article/pii/S0305748803000471?np=y> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Nicola J. Thomas argues Mary felt her duty to her husband and to the empire were one in the same: "Mary Curzon: 'American Queen of India,'" in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careerings in the Long Nineteenth Century*, David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 285-308.

vicereine; her husband actively promoted this image of Mary after her untimely death, alongside his own self-promotion.

By the time the Curzons were in office, Marian and Warren Hastings's reputations had undergone a complete reversal, supported by biographies that focused on their family life. These imperial domestic biographies were a culmination of the conscious appropriation of domestic celebrity, employed to promote the empire and bolster ones' own political clout, which began with Queen Victoria and Charlotte Canning in the wake of the 1857 rebellions. Warren Hastings's return to heroic status in the imperial canon reflects the successful application of celebrity by the Victorian governors and biographers. Following Lady Dufferin's example, Curzon drafted his own history of the governorship in order to address the controversies of his resignation in an attempt to reposition himself within an illustrious lineage of Indian governors. His attention to the personal sacrifices of earlier governors such as Hastings, and his comparisons of these to his own hardships, recalled the Victorian trope of duty common in imperial narratives, and suggest his attempts at cultivating the familial celebrity image at this late stage were verging on the nostalgic.<sup>3</sup>

### **Curzon chooses a career and a wife**

Much like Lord Dufferin, George Curzon led a privileged life prior to his tenure as India's viceroy. Raised in the political circles at Eton and Oxford, he is said to have been inspired to a career in India by James Fitzjames Stephen's visit to Eton, sponsored by the Literary Society while Curzon was president.<sup>4</sup> Stephen was formerly a lawyer on the viceroy's

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<sup>3</sup> For more on the trope of self-sacrifice in Victorian imperial thought, see Francis Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 29.

<sup>4</sup> Earl of Ronaldshay (Lawrence Dundas), *The Life of Lord Curzon: Being the Authorized Biography of George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston*, 3 Vols. (London, UK: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1928), 1:28.

legislative council, from 1869 to 1872. Aside from this meeting, there were lots of reasons for Curzon to be interested in the highly-respected position of Indian viceroy. Curzon had a very personal connection to that part of the empire, a connection which appealed to his romantic spirit. In 1803, Governor Wellesley had a home built in Calcutta specifically for the first family of British India to house and entertain guests of the state. Government House was modelled after Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, England: the ancestral home of the Curzon clan. As Lord Curzon wrote in the introduction of his book: “It was the alleged correspondence between the two houses that first turned my attention, when a boy, to India, and planted in me the ambition...to pass from a Kedleston in Derbyshire to a Kedleston in Bengal.”<sup>5</sup>

George Curzon had a thirst for travel and intended to become an expert on foreign affairs, specifically on the Middle East. Curzon published several books on his adventures—taking time away from his Parliamentary career to tour Europe and write. During an expedition to Afghanistan in 1894, he became a correspondent with *The Times*. Throughout his travels, George grew increasingly assured of his suitability to the Indian viceroyalty, maintaining his conviction that India was the most crucial possession of the empire. In 1898, he remarked: “If this empire lost any other part of our dominions, we could survive, but if we lost India the sun of our empire would be set.”<sup>6</sup>

Curzon’s social calendar was always full, and had a reputation for being a bit of a flirt. At the time of his engagement to Mary, he had established correspondence with a number of women. Many of these relationships were quite serious, and some rather scandalously featured

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<sup>5</sup> George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the viceroys and government houses*, 2 Vols. (London: Cassell and Co., 1925), 1:43.

<sup>6</sup> “Lord Curzon on India,” *The Times*, London: Dec. 3, 1898, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS218686339&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).



married or recently widowed women, including Lady Breadalbane and Lady Grosvenor.<sup>7</sup> However, after they met at a party in London in 1890, Curzon focused his attentions on the young American, Mary Leiter. The Leiters were a wealthy Chicago family who moved to Washington D.C. when Mary was eleven, rubbing elbows with the highest-ranking Americans, including President and Mrs. Cleveland.

At the time Mary was making her entry into society, she and her mother travelled to Europe. Mary Leiter fell for Curzon almost immediately and was devastated when she had to return to America with her mother. He, on the other hand, had a rather tepid response to the affair. He wrote to her, but insisted that he was too busy working on publishing his journal from his Persian travels to meet with her regularly during the remainder of her trip to England. One biographer notes that shortly before their engagement, Curzon was writing fondly of several other women in his diary, and even avoided calling on Mary when he visited Virginia during a trip to the United States. Instead, he stayed with the family of yet another amour, Amélie Rives. The reality of George and Mary's early years as a couple contrasts sharply to the image of their relationship carefully developed by Curzon and others following Mary's death.

The curious circumstances of the Curzons' engagement have since been reworked and revised by successive generations, beginning with Lord Curzon's own destruction following his marriage of any love letters that were not written to Mary while they were courting.<sup>8</sup> The engagement took place three years after Mary met George and happened in secret. He insisted they both keep the knowledge of it to themselves, only telling Mary's parents, and that they

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<sup>7</sup> David Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), 45.

<sup>8</sup> Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 115.

postpone the marriage until he was able to complete some projects that he was working on, including his highly anticipated trip to the Pamir Mountains in central Asia.<sup>9</sup>

Once they made their intentions public knowledge, Curzon was concerned people would gossip about the two year delay, so he chose to remain vague on the subject.<sup>10</sup> Some scholars have suggested that Curzon might have been interested in marrying Mary for her fortune, which seems a distinct possibility. While George's income from the estate totaled £1,000 per year, Mary's dowry included an income of £6,700 per year with an additional million dollars held in trust.<sup>11</sup> One telling hint that Curzon may have been enticed to marry Mary because of the Leiter fortune lies in a letter Mary wrote to her fiancé during their "secret" engagement. The letters from this part of their relationship are filled with longing and sentiment on Mary's side and criticism and even silence on George's. She flattered Curzon and demonstrated her devotion in a declaration to assist him in preserving and protecting the family estate, should anything happen to him on his "dangerous" journey through Asia:

I should love to do for your Kedleston what you and I planned to do together and release it from its debt which is not likely to be done is it George by your brothers...I know you would never agree with me you may even be vexed with me now, but it is a thing, in fact, the only thing I should love doing in case you did not come back for I should feel how great a satisfaction it would have been to you in a way had we done it together.<sup>12</sup>

In this letter, Mary was extremely concerned for George's feelings, and acknowledged the embarrassment of being indebted to his future wife's family. She suggested that she would do all she could so that as few people as possible would know the situation, although the imbalance of

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<sup>9</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 1:222.

<sup>10</sup> Lord Curzon to Mary Leiter, Mar. 4, 1893, Mary Curzon Papers, F306/19, British Library, London, India Office and Private Papers, ff52-3 (hereafter cited as Mary Curzon Papers).

<sup>11</sup> "Curzon Dower: \$1,543,160," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1913, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/97455043?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016); Thomas, "Boundaries of Biography," 500.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Leiter to George Curzon, July 4, 1894, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/14, ff121v-122r.

their family fortunes must have been pretty obvious to anyone in Britain who cared to follow the stories about the aristocracy.<sup>13</sup> The Americans certainly enjoyed gossiping about it.<sup>14</sup>

I believe there is at least one other reason for the union which should be taken into account. Rather than simply being impulsive, or motivated purely by money, it is possible Curzon felt that marrying was a necessary step in furthering his political career.<sup>15</sup> His sights were set on the viceroyalty, and while being a bachelor as an MP was not a problem, the ambassadorial role of viceroy required that he have a wife in order to promote a sense of stability, entertain female guests of the court, lead charitable causes, and provide fodder for gossip with which an increasingly vocal contingent of politically-aware women could engage, in England and North America. Mary Curzon made it her life's work to play the crucial role of loyal wife to her driven, earnest husband and Curzon, ever the showman, clearly saw potential in the young American.<sup>16</sup>

While Curzon aggressively pursued the viceroy position, Prime Minister Salisbury was the one to recommend his former protégé to the Queen when it came time to find a successor to

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<sup>13</sup> Dana Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations, 1865-1945* (OH: Kent State University Press, 2014), 98.

<sup>14</sup> Following the death of the Leiters and Mary herself, Lord Curzon and his daughters remained entangled in the family politics with claims to inherit some of the family fortune. A *Times of India* article contends Lord Curzon was responsible for much of the discord within the family. See "Leiter Millions: Lord Curzon Criticized Lady Suffolk Decides to Appeal," *Times of India*, New Delhi, Oct. 15, 1927, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/501937821?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016). On Americans buying their way into the British aristocracy at the time, see Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1934), 340.

<sup>15</sup> Dana Cooper argues wives of British statesmen wielded "soft power" as "pseudo-diplomats," since they were central players in the informal exchanges at dinner parties and behind-the-scenes, where a good deal of politicking is carried out. Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors*, 14-16. In her chapter on Mary Curzon, she argues George was determined to pick a wife who would support and enhance his diplomatic career. Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors*, 95-6. See also Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), 36-7.

<sup>16</sup> On the sociology of diplomatic, or incorporated wives, and the sense of duty that motivated them, see Hilary Callan, "The Premiss of Dedication: notes towards an ethnography of diplomats' wives," in *Perceiving Women*, ed. Shirley Ardener (London, UK: Malaby Press, 1975), 87-104; Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener, eds. *The Incorporated Wife* (London, UK: Croom Helm, 1984) and Procida, *Married to the Empire*, esp. chap. 1.

Lord Elgin in 1898. If George Curzon was already well known to the reading public prior to his viceroyalty, mainly through his contributions to *The Times*, this only meant there were a wide variety of opinions upon his appointment to the prestigious post. His nomination was considered to be a “great experiment,” according to one paper, because at the age of forty, Curzon was much younger than most viceroys.<sup>17</sup> For such an important position, there were fears that his youth could make him an impetuous ruler. But some argued that his age might be beneficial in such a difficult climate and beyond that, Curzon had his beautiful wife to recommend him: Curzon “has youth, wealth, cleverness, and—as the society of Calcutta and Simla will soon discover—a charming wife. These are no common endowments, which ought to assure success, on the social side, to the new viceroy’s career.”<sup>18</sup>

For all of Mary’s celebrated, ladylike qualities, there were those who were concerned about the possibility of having an American vicereine for the first time in the history of the empire. The Queen herself questioned the suitability of having an American sit as “vice-Queen.”<sup>19</sup> Her attentions in this matter indicate the close relationship between the female monarch and the female representative of the Crown in India, instilled by previous vicereines, Charlotte Canning and Lady Dufferin. Her concerns also reflect how crucial the position of vicereine was within the empire, in terms of reputation and political influence.<sup>20</sup> However, not

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Rose, *Superior Person: a portrait of Curzon and his circle in late Victorian England* (1969; repr., London, UK: Phoenix Press, 2001), 322-3. Of the eight viceroys prior to Curzon (excluding those who stood in office temporarily), Dufferin was the oldest (beginning his term at fifty-eight) and Lord Lansdowne was the youngest, apart from Curzon (at age forty-three). When lobbying for the position, Curzon pointed to his youth as being in his favor.

<sup>18</sup> “Mr. Curzon is the New Viceroy of India,” *The Times*, London, Aug. 11, 1898, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS151446283&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> John Bradley, ed., *Lady Curzon’s India* (NY: Beaufort Books, 1985), vii; Nigel Nicolson, *Mary Curzon* (NY: Harper and Row, 1977), 103.

<sup>20</sup> As an example of British views on American manners and their “outsider” status, the *Pictorial Review* discusses the accusation some American papers received from their British counterparts that they were using the term

everyone was disappointed in the prospect of an American occupying such an illustrious imperial position: some felt the appointment was an opportunity for Britain to maintain friendly relations with the United States.<sup>21</sup>

The traits that made Mary a good wife in the eyes of her contemporaries, her gentle nature, charm, and beauty, were used as evidence that she would make a good vicereine, even in biographies written as late as the 1970s. Nigel Nicolson, for example, writes that Mary “was regarded as Curzon’s perfect partner, more approachable, more tender, fulfilling the public role which a woman can and a man cannot, just as Queen Elizabeth covered up the shyness and softened the asperity of George VI.”<sup>22</sup> These observations, by contemporaries and later scholars, indicate not only that personality was important to a successful viceroyalty, but that a wife had the ability to salvage her husband’s failing reputation both during his career and in posthumous, historical accounts. This also suggests how deeply embedded these Victorian gender norms became in imperial historiography.

### **Paternalism and pageantry**

The Curzons set sail for India in December of 1898. At this stage in the empire, India’s leading British servant was typically a member of the aristocracy, both in terms of his wealth and

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“vicereine” improperly, that Lady Curzon was merely the spouse of the viceroy: “Lady Curzon in India,” *Pictorial Review* 1, no. 4 (Dec. 15, 1899): 22, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/137768973?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> “Throne for Mary Leiter,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 30, 1898, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/172869655?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Nicolson, *Mary Curzon*, 120. In the early days of his parliamentary career, some American reporters hoped that his new wife would be able to impart some of her conversational talents to her husband: “[Curzon] is steadily losing ground on account of his inordinately long and tedious verbosity of speech. . .it may be, after all, that the beautiful young American girl. . .[might] save the day by communicating to her husband some of her own charming vivacity.” “Curzon’s Fatal Verbosity,” *The Washington Post*, Feb. 28, 1897, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/143905727?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

his status. Rather than receive titles in return for service in India, as eighteenth-century Company servants had come to expect, once an individual was chosen to represent the Crown he was granted a title upon appointment “in order that he should uphold the dignity of the Queen-Empress whom he was to represent in India.”<sup>23</sup> Though Curzon’s family was one of the oldest in the country, he did not have a title in his own right while his father was alive. Since he decided to begin his career out in India, rather than work his way up through England’s political ranks, it was necessary for him to be made an Irish peer in order to safeguard a position in the House of Commons upon his return from the viceroyalty. Curzon preferred a career in the Commons to one in the Lords, which is where he would have ended up if he took an English peerage. Mary received the Order of the Crown of India which, as the *Washington Post* reported, was “reserved exclusively for the ladies of the royal family, and for the wives of personages who have held the office of Secretary of State for India, of Governor General of India and of Governors of Madras and Bombay.”<sup>24</sup> Only one other American woman at the time had held such a title, Lady Randolph Churchill, whose husband, Winston, was Secretary of State.

The controversial nomination of Lord Curzon and his foreign wife perhaps made Mary more aware of and concerned about public opinion regarding her performance as vicereine. As an American, she was not used to the formality of the Anglo-Indian lifestyle. Mary’s family, who visited with her occasionally, never quite felt at ease in Anglo-Indian society. When her young sisters came to India early on in the Curzon’s viceroyalty, they were overtly flirtatious and silly and on one occasion, mocked the stark formality of the viceroyalty by bowing ostentatiously at

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<sup>23</sup> Rose, *Superior Person*, 330. See David Cannadine for the significance titles held in imperial society and politics: *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford, UK: University Press, 2001), 94-8. For more on the procedures for granting titles, see Sir Ivan de la Bere, *The Queen’s Orders of Chivalry* (1961; repr., London, UK: Spring Books, 1964).

<sup>24</sup> Marquise De Fontenoy, “George Curzon as India’s Ruler,” *The Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 1898, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/143963376?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 24, 2016).

their brother-in-law during a formal dinner. Mary was shocked and embarrassed but the sisters quickly redeemed themselves. As she reported to her parents: “They are now as anxious as I am to keep up the dignity of this position. I told them we were the first Americans they had ever seen out here and we could just show them how nice and quiet Americans could be.”<sup>25</sup>

Having one of their own as vicereine, American newspapers covered the Curzon viceroyalty even more extensively than they did the Dufferin administration. Unlike Lady Dufferin, Mary was an outsider in British society and consistently worried about how she was being received in the English papers. Mary had to earn the respect of her new British family, and while the American papers were clearly thrilled to have one of their own in faraway India, Lady Curzon feared the embellishments they made in describing her viceregal wardrobe:

I wore a white gown...it was simple but lovely but as the absurd American papers have been printing foolish accounts of imaginary bejeweled dresses covered with real stones...[they] do their best to make me ridiculous...do be very careful never to repeat anything I write about the Queen or anybody. I am so terrified for fear of things coming out in the press in England which make people laugh at me.<sup>26</sup>

Mary also worried about her private letters potentially being made public. She had every reason to fear this—they offered extremely scathing views and vivid descriptions of everyone and everything she encountered. Nicola Thomas further argues Mary’s letters to her family indicate the vicereine’s strong determination to control her public image because they reveal the severity of her illnesses, and occasionally her depression, and the lengths she went to maintain a healthy appearance in public and dispel rumors of her weak state.<sup>27</sup> While in England recovering, Mary received a surprise visit from a newspaper editor, and told her husband: “I am glad he saw

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<sup>25</sup> Mary Curzon to her parents, May 3, 1899, Bradley, *Lady Curzon’s India*, 39.

<sup>26</sup> MC to Papa, Jan. 17, 1899, Bradley, 26.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas, “Boundaries of Biography,” 509-12. Mark Bence-Jones argues, as Thomas does, that Mary was particularly adept at “performing” her role as vicereine. See Bence-Jones, *The Viceroy of India* (NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 180.

me...as such wild lies have gone about and been believed and this prying journalist saw me well and walking!"<sup>28</sup>

While Mary was concerned with protecting her own image, the Leiter family represented another threat to the British—they signaled the increasingly powerful position of America in global politics, particularly as a viable (indeed, successor) imperial power. It was bad enough American money was being used to bail out these once-great families, like the Curzons, who had recently fallen on difficult financial times. Curzon also complained in his book about the personal expenses viceroys incurred on the job, while Mary's letters suggest her father lent them money to allow them to continue hosting lavish parties.<sup>29</sup> George's financial troubles mirrored that of his beloved country and empire; at the time of the famine, Americans were sending donations to India, and their newspapers mocked Lord Curzon for spending as much as he did on his 1905 Coronation Durbar at a time of such hardship.<sup>30</sup> It is entirely possible the encroachment of American money into Britain's and India's economies was another reason many bristled at the idea of an American vicereine.

The viceroyalty had come a long way from the days of the eighteenth-century nabobs, who made significant fortunes while governing in India. Mary wrote to her father about the

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<sup>28</sup> MC to GC, Feb. 7, 1905, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/18, f97r.

<sup>29</sup> For more on these transatlantic marriages, see Marian Fowler, *In the Gilded Cage: From Heiress to Duchess* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994) and Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors*, chap. 7. There were so many wealthy Americans marrying into British families in the late nineteenth century, that some American politicians even suggested imposing a dowry tax on families who married their daughters to British elites. See "Ban on Foreign Marriages," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 14, 1908, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/173315271?accountid=10267> (accessed July 26, 2016).

<sup>30</sup> The term "darbar" refers to a formal Mughal ceremony which, as Bernard Cohn describes, consisted of rulers presenting elite subjects with gifts which united the two in common purpose, ensuring these emissaries and their king would be of one mind. Bernard Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 168.



staggering toll the viceroyalty was taking upon their finances, indicating that Mr. Leiter had already sent some money to the Curzons:

The expenditure which we have been forced to incur in coming out and starting in India...is £9719.4.6 ... To meet these charges we received £3500 from the government and £500 from you—that is £4000 in all—and before we shall have discharged our debt we shall have to find £6700 ourselves of this by forestalling the whole of George's and my joint income up to Nov. next...Neither George nor I have made one single expenditure of a personal nature and the whole of this sum has been the public expense of our coming.<sup>31</sup>

While it is unclear whether this particular gift was part of her dowry or a separate gift, Nicola Thomas argues it was Curzon's settlement with Mr. Leiter that allowed him to pursue the viceroyalty at such a young age.<sup>32</sup>

Although George fell easily into his role as viceroy, Mary Curzon struggled to settle into her role as vicereine. She never felt comfortable in the Anglo-Indian world. It was not simply that the climate disagreed with her, although in the end this would be the cause of her untimely death; it was the isolation and the separation from her loved ones which proved the most difficult aspect of her viceroyalty. In terms of duties, she hosted state dinners and afternoon teas and was expected to attend charity events as well, as her predecessors had done. The Curzons received quite a bit of criticism early in their administration because they were constantly hosting parties, which many felt were overly extravagant and ritualized.<sup>33</sup> There was a growing lobby of anti-imperialists in Britain who felt that the escalating costs of maintaining formal control over colonies might not be worthwhile, and might in fact be diverting funds away from those who

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<sup>31</sup> MC to Papa, June 21, 1899, Bradley, 41. *The Washington Post* reported that the viceregal office took a quarter of a million dollars in allowances and salary. See De Fontenoy, "George Curzon," 6.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas, "Boundaries of Geography," 500. While it is unclear whether this was in addition to the gift mentioned in Mary's letter, *The Washington Post* noted Mr. Leiter's contributions to the magnificent viceregal wardrobe. See "Mr. Leiter Paid the Bill," Dec. 18, 1898, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/143912823?accountid=10267> (accessed May 6, 2016).

<sup>33</sup> Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 210-1.

needed assistance at home.<sup>34</sup> The discrepancy between Curzon's approach to the viceroyalty and growing disaffection towards the empire both in Britain and in India suggest Curzon ruled at a moment of transition in the empire, and that he represented older forms of rule which were becoming increasingly irrelevant in the new order.

Lady Curzon did not develop as fervent an interest in her charity work as did Lady Dufferin. Mary began a scholarship for the education of Indian midwives upon Queen Victoria's passing to commemorate Lady Dufferin's charity work.<sup>35</sup> Beyond this, it does not seem that there was any project that quite caught her attention, but perhaps that was due to her poor health. A letter to her family describing one particularly busy day she had indicates the impatience she often felt: "I went to the women's friendly Society meeting where I bought rubbish and heard a report and a speech then the Dufferin Fund meeting... then a dinner of seventy people in the evening and complete weariness to me of soul and body after it all. My life is real hard work I can tell you."<sup>36</sup> Despite not finding a cause to occupy her time in India, Mary Curzon worked tirelessly in service of her husband's career, managing their public image by befriending reporters, and maintaining crucial political connections in England.<sup>37</sup>

Lady Curzon returned to England twice during her time as vicereine. As Nicola Thomas argues, Mary took the opportunity during these trips to catch up on cabinet gossip and gauge British reactions to her husband's policies.<sup>38</sup> In addition to maintaining important political

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<sup>34</sup> For more on these debates, see Mira Matikkala, *Empire and Imperial Ambition: Liberty, Englishness and Anti-Imperialism in Late Victorian Britain* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2011), chap. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Anonymous, "The viceroy of India and Lady Curzon by 'an Anglo-Indian,'" *The Lady's Realm* 11, 1901, 12.

<sup>36</sup> MC to Mamma, Nancy and Daisy, Feb. 27, 1900, Bradley, *Lady Curzon's India*, 60; Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:84.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas, "Boundaries of Geography," 514.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas, "American Queen," 299-303. Many wives left India to return to England for their health, but it is clear that international transportation had advanced enough at this stage to not only allow Mary to travel back and forth several times, but to also allow her family to visit India from America. Perhaps even more intriguing than Mary's multiple visits to England during her time as vicereine was Lord Curzon's own return to England for a brief holiday

connections for her husband, Lady Curzon also did not shy from offering her own opinions to George on government affairs, especially regarding personnel changes. Her discussions with Curzon's close friend, St John Brodrick (Britain's secretary of state for war), suggest many believed the way to get the viceroy to subscribe to policy changes was through his wife. Brodrick was hoping to replace worn-out troops in South Africa with Indian soldiers, which Mary felt was a testament to the value Britain placed on India. However, Brodrick knew his request was a stretch, as Mary reported back to Curzon: "I said you would I thought go as far as you could to help the Empire—but never endanger the safety of India by too greatly depleting her strength."<sup>39</sup> There were plenty of times in which politicians appealed directly to the vicereine to advocate on their behalf, all the while Mary shared with George her most candid opinions of these requests.<sup>40</sup>

### **Curzon's Tory imperialism**

Curzon was a Victorian Tory in every aristocratic, imperialist sense of the word. He believed in hierarchies of class, gender, and race and above all, in adherence to traditions.<sup>41</sup> He represented an older tradition of conservatism, in the vein of Edmund Burke, and believed Britons were entrusted with the responsibility of ruling Indians for their own sake.<sup>42</sup> Just before

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in 1904, following Mary's delivery of another daughter. Ronaldshay also suggests the visit was a chance for Curzon to repair his relationship with the British government. Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:342. Of course, at that point Curzon had already exceeded the typical five-year term, which might also explain the break he took. I am grateful to Dr. Travers for his suggestion regarding the significance of Mary's multiple visits home.

<sup>39</sup> MC to GC, June 9, 1901, Bradley, *Lady Curzon's India*, 106. These troops would be used in the South African War, a conflict over control of the South African Republic between Dutch (Boer) and British settlers which lasted from 1899 to 1902.

<sup>40</sup> When Lady Curzon heard rumors that Sir Power Palmer, the interim Commander-In-Chief, thought he was sure to get the promotion because his wife was friendly with Mary, she relayed this jokingly to her husband: "Did you ever hear such a ground for being made C.-in-Chief?" See MC to GC, May 18, 1901 and Bradley, *Lady Curzon's India*, 98.

<sup>41</sup> For Tory views of hierarchy and authoritative leadership, see Pat Thane, "Government and Society in England and Wales, 1750-1914," in *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, 3 Vols., ed. F.M.L. Thompson (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3:40-1.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Mandler discusses Tory applications of Burkean philosophies, particularly strong leadership and the concept of deference in *The English National Character: the history of an idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*, (CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 123-4. For Curzon's application of Burke's notion of trusteeship, see Gilmour, *Imperial*

heading off to India in 1899, Curzon told his fellow Etonians that he was ready to “share in that noble work which I firmly believe has been placed by the inscrutable decrees of Providence upon the shoulders of the British race.”<sup>43</sup> Conservative statesmen like Curzon, who valued imperialism as a means to national prestige and self-sufficiency, were increasingly aware of the threats to this institution posed by other powerful states in the late nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> For Curzon, this meant protecting the borderlands surrounding India, especially against Russian influence in Persia and Afghanistan. In the name of self-preservation, men like Curzon and Fitzjames Stephen felt the need to promote aggressive expansion and squash any murmuring of anti-imperial sentiment or lobbying for self-government, whether in their dominions or right at home.<sup>45</sup>

Lord Curzon took a hands-on approach to his viceroyalty. He was constantly touring the country and prided himself on being as visible a leader as possible. During his first years in office, India suffered from one of the worst famines the country had seen in a century, which

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*Statesman*, 165. For Burke’s political views on trust, inheritance and duty, see Frank O’Gorman, *Edmund Burke: His Political Philosophy*, 2 Vols. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1973), 2:59-62. Emily Jones argues Conservative Unionists’ appropriation of Burke in early 20th cen led to the academic turn to Burke as father of modern conservatism in the last decade. Emily Jones, “Conservatism, Edmund Burke, and the Invention of a Political Tradition,” *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (Dec. 2015): 1115-1139, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X14000661> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> Oct. 28, 1898, “Dinner given by old Etonians in London,” in *Lord Curzon in India: being a selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor General of India*, ed. Sir Thomas Raleigh (London, U: Macmillan and Co, 1906), 2.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Porter, *The Lion’s Share: a Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-2004*, 4th ed. (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Ltd, 2004), 132-141.

<sup>45</sup> Karuna Mantena argues that people who subscribed to the self-preservation philosophy of imperialism, like Fitzjames Stephen and Curzon, used empire “to consolidate a growing illiberal or anti-liberal consensus, fueled by domestic fears about the growth of mass democracy.” Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 43. The escalating calls for women’s suffrage in Britain were of particular concern to Curzon. For a history of the women’s suffrage movement in Britain: Harold Smith, *The British Women’s Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928* (NY: Longman, 1998). There was an imperial component to the movement as well; Antoinette Burton argues that British feminists took up women’s reforms in the empire as a means to exercise their own political authority in England while simultaneously solidifying a racial superiority over their Indian “sisters.” See Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), esp. chaps. 3 and 6. For the interconnection between suffrage movements across British colonial and metropolitan lines, see Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, and Philippa Levine, eds., *Women’s Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation, and Race* (London and NY: Routledge, 2000).

resulted in twelve to thirty million deaths from 1870-1900.<sup>46</sup> Visiting the most affected areas in the Western part of the country, Curzon noted his views about leadership and the power of personal interaction in his journal, writing that, over the course of the relief effort, “the mechanism of more than one Local Government has been stimulated by contact with the dynamic personality of the viceroy.”<sup>47</sup> Beyond simply maintaining a visible presence throughout the country, as Dufferin had done, Curzon felt very strongly that engaging with the princes and local administrators as the “Queen’s representative” would go a long way towards boosting the nation’s morale. All types of famine relief, including goods and funds derived from missionary groups, international aid and local charities, and efforts at disease prevention, were sanctioned and overseen by the colonial government as a means for the British to maintain their status as the country’s rulers.<sup>48</sup>

Curzon believed that Indian rulers needed to remain devoted to their “traditional” cultures while also learning from their British mentors, who modeled “superior” forms of governance.<sup>49</sup> His authoritarian paternalism ensured greater government involvement in all aspects of Indian life, including education. While he did not think, as Macaulay had, that English languages and literature should be imposed on students, he did feel that greater government oversight was

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<sup>46</sup> Georgina Brewis, “‘Fill Full the Mouth of Famine’: Voluntary Action in Famine Relief in India, 1896-1901,” *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 4 (July 2010): 887-888, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/356765822?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016); Ira Klein, “When the rains failed: famine, relief, and mortality in British India,” *Indian Economic Social History Review* 21, no. 2 (June 1984): 186, <http://ier.sagepub.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/content/21/2/185> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

<sup>47</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:95.

<sup>48</sup> Brewis, “Mouth of Famine,” 898-903.

<sup>49</sup> Robin J Moore, “Curzon and Indian Reform,” *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 4 (Oct. 1993): 722-24, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/312829> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

necessary to prevent corruption within the universities and to ensure curricula uniformity. His critics argued that these reforms betrayed the viceroy's mistrust of the educated Indian classes.<sup>50</sup>

These accusations were not without foundation. Despite the Indian National Congress's attempts to lobby for greater representation in the civil service and reforms geared toward self-rule, Curzon consistently thwarted these efforts. Curzon helped pass the Calcutta Municipal Bill in 1899, transferring many of its responsibilities for local reforms to the colonial government, which he deemed a more efficient organization.<sup>51</sup> This act sealed Curzon's fate with the Congress and local press: he was attacked repeatedly in the papers for being out of touch with the people of India and for putting Britain's interests first.<sup>52</sup> While Curzon failed to win the minds of Indian elites, he tried to win their hearts through lavish ceremonies that ultimately brought to sharp relief the discrepancies between the colonial government's words and their actions.

In another controversial move, George Curzon set upon reconfiguring the government in Bengal, a territory in India which contained almost double the amount of people in the British Isles.<sup>53</sup> He decided to split the region in two, joining east Bengal to Assam and west Bengal to Bihar and Orissa, arguing that these new, slightly smaller provinces were a more manageable size for the government. The problem was that Bengal had become a breeding ground for nationalist movements, and was the birthplace of the intelligentsia—the same group who felt

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<sup>50</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:190-4.

<sup>51</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:71-5; Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 202-3.

<sup>52</sup> One example of the satirical press which Curzon received during his administration depicted self-government being held hostage by Curzon. As Harischandra Talcherkar explains, Curzon is shown admonishing local administrators and using the promise of self-rule as a privilege just as easily taken as it is given. "A Crisis Feared," Bharata Mitra, Nov. 1899, in *Lord Curzon in Indian Caricature* (Bombay: Babajee Sakharam, & Co., 1903), 23.

<sup>53</sup> David Gilmour, "Curzon, George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859–1925)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: University Press, 2011) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32680> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

targeted by the viceroy's university reforms. The partition also created a Muslim majority in the eastern province of Bengal, taking power away from the Hindu majority that had made up the former Bengal region. Though the partition would be undone in 1911, the animosity between the two constituencies, aggravated by the government's attempts to play one against the other, continued through the transition of independence in the 1940s on. This would be a permanent stain on Curzon's viceroyalty, along with lavish party he threw towards the end of his administration to celebrate the ascension of a new monarch in England, an incredibly disappointing decision considering the Indian economy still suffered from the devastating effects of the late nineteenth century famines.

### **The Durbars of 1877 and 1903**

Viceroy Lytton, in office from 1876 to 1880, first took the Indian durbar ceremony and appropriated it on a large-scale to mark a significant British imperial event. Inspired by this, Curzon later hosted his own durbar in 1903. Lytton came to India when tensions on the Afghan border were running high, and agitations for political participation were brewing among Indian intellectuals. He instituted the Vernacular Press Act in 1878, censoring anti-war protestors and fueling anti-British sentiment, which had climaxed in the wake of a devastating famine that took the lives of roughly five million people and which many blamed on the colonial government's self-centered economic policies.<sup>54</sup> In the face of harsh criticism from both British and Indian pundits, Lytton attempted to reinforce the viceregal connection to the Crown and staged a naming ceremony to acknowledge the Queen's adoption of the title of Empress of India in 1876, in the hopes of cultivating some much-needed imperial patriotism.

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<sup>54</sup> David Washbrook, "Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer (1831-1891)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17315> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

The major challenge to the bill was the lack of support in Britain for the Empress title.<sup>55</sup> The fact that it took nearly two decades following the official transfer of power from the Company to the Crown before the Queen took on the title of Empress suggests the deep concerns audiences in Britain had about changes in their power overseas. They feared these changes would lead to a greater financial investment in the colony, and that the despotism Britons associated with India would continue to pose a threat to English liberty, particularly through the direct linkage of the Crown to an Indian symbol of royalty (as it was construed by the English).

There was also the question of who would pay for the ceremonies. Lytton battled with the home government over the costs of his assemblage, especially in light of the famine India was suffering at the time.<sup>56</sup> Debates about the costs of maintaining the empire in India had long been a source of frustration for imperialists, but something like a grand party on the scale Lytton envisioned was seen as utterly frivolous. Colonial servants were actually hopeful that Indian chiefs would foot most of the bill; officials talked about how much elite Anglo-Indians would have to contribute in order to encourage, out of social obligation, the chiefs to match them.<sup>57</sup>

Lytton led the defense of the Queen's Empress title against the strong objections from British observers, and was cautious to monitor the reception of the discussion and debate in Britain among audiences in India, keenly aware that public opinion in both locations were feeding off of one another.<sup>58</sup> According to Lytton, the naysayers in Britain needed to be aware

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<sup>55</sup> Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 60-1.

<sup>56</sup> Cohn, "Representing Authority," 189.

<sup>57</sup> Stuart Huff to Charles Edward Buckland, Sept. 1876, Sir Richard Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, ff1r-2r (hereafter cited as Temple Papers). These particular subscriptions were intended for lavish fireworks displays, and a portrait of the proceedings to be commissioned for the Queen.

<sup>58</sup> Queen Victoria pursued this title herself for years. See L.A. Knight, "The Royal Titles Act and India," *The Historical Journal* 11, no. 3 (1968): 488-490, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/2638165> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016). "Careful enquiry and observation have convinced me that the results which may be easily and immediately secured by the proclamation of the new title will greatly exceed the most sanguine expectations of her majesty's govt...the only means now in our power of removing from the mind of the native Indian population



that this new title had the potential to help strengthen British legitimacy and power against the Russian threat to the borderlands near Afghanistan.<sup>59</sup> They also needed to be mindful of courting the Chiefs especially, who regarded the new title with skepticism and hoped that they would be getting something out of this plan. Lytton felt this courtship was best pursued through Proclamation ceremonies in which Indians would officially be declared subjects of the empire and India's Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, agreed, declaring to the Viceroy: "India is to receive a nationality by being amalgamated with that of England, under the shield of the august lady who is our Queen and her Empress"<sup>60</sup>

Lytton was convinced that Indians were enthusiastic subjects of Queen Victoria, and believed the Assemblage was necessary to ensure the stability and security of the empire: "[Indians] are easily affected by sentiment, and susceptible to the influence of symbols to which facts inadequately correspond."<sup>61</sup> Lytton argued that one of the main reasons for the Queen to adopt the Empress title was that Indian rulers required a means of addressing her in a way that reflected her status and conformed to their manner of addressing individuals in her position. A lack of uniformity and clarity in the colonial government on the transition to Crown rule had frustrated many of the elites whose loyalty, Lytton assured his British counterparts, was the key

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the prejudicial effects of the vehement opposition which the Royal Titles Bill has so unexpectedly, and so unfortunately, encountered in its passage through Parliament. It is useless to disguise from ourselves that the grace and value of the new title have been seriously diminished in the minds of those to whose sympathies it was intended to appeal, by the criticism of opposition orators which the press has now circulated throughout the whole of India." Lytton, "Memo by the Viceroy with marginal modifications made in Special Council," July and Aug. 1876, Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, ff129-131. Lytton was equally concerned that negative press in India would adversely affect Parliamentary debates. See O. T. Burne to Richard Temple, Aug. 18, 1876, Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, ff94-7.

<sup>59</sup> "We can...permanently identify the crown of England...with the hopes, the aspirations, the sympathies and interests of a powerful native aristocracy. And if we do all this, we shall thereby have done more than would otherwise be possible, without a great expenditure of force and treasure, to diminish the indisputable dangers with which we are now threatened by the condition of affairs in Central Asia." Lytton, "Memo by the Viceroy," Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, f133.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Knight, "Royal Titles Act," 499; Lytton, "Memo by the Viceroy," Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, ff131-3.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), 110.

to maintaining power in India. He therefore felt it important to reassure elites of India's unique and privileged position within the empire. The acceptance of the title, timed with the Prince of Wales's visit to the colony, would signal to Her Majesty's Indian subjects that their interests would be represented in under the new Raj.<sup>62</sup>

Several elite residents of Calcutta took advantage of the unprecedented attention their monarch was giving India to remind the British and colonial government of their desire for a greater share in running the country: "The hopes, and aspirations, naturally excited by your majesty's gracious recognition of India, impel the undersigned to regard this as an auspicious omen of more important franchises reserved for the future of India."<sup>63</sup> That the state and Crown ignored these appeals to the liberal ideology espoused in the 1858 Proclamation highlights the sharp division between rhetoric and policies at the center of British imperialism.<sup>64</sup>

Interestingly, Alan Trevithick argues that Indian newspapers made references to the 1858 Proclamation in documenting their reactions to both the 1877 and 1903 durbars, holding it up as, Trevithick writes, a sort of "Magna Carta" against which progress should be measured. They felt, at both stages, the colonial government had yet to live up to its promises.<sup>65</sup> More than elaborate ceremonies, Indian subjects hoped for the changes promised by the Queen in 1858: that they "may be... impartially admitted to Offices in Our Service," and that the "Rights, Dignity, and

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<sup>62</sup> Lytton, "Memo by the Viceroy, ff128-9. The residents of Calcutta wrote in their formal address to the Queen following the passing of the Titles Bill: "Although for more than a century, India had enjoyed the protection of the august throne now happily occupied, under the good providence of God, by your Royal and Imperial majesty, yet it was for a long time like an unseen power... This gracious act of your majesty formally defines the exact position of India in the body politic of the British empire, and at once incorporates her with her princes, chiefs, and people, as an integral member of that empire." "Printed copy of address from Calcutta inhabitants to the Queen," Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, no fos.

<sup>63</sup> "Calcutta inhabitants to the Queen," Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, no fos.

<sup>64</sup> Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 199-205. C.A. Bayly linked Lytton's and Curzon's Tory approaches to rule in India which, he argued, emphasized "coercion" instead of "liberty and education." *Recovering Liberties*, 203.

<sup>65</sup> Alan Trevithick, "Some Structural and Sequential Aspects of the British Imperial Assemblages at Delhi: 1877-1911," *Modern Asian Studies* 24:3 (July 1990): 564, 569, 577, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/312699> (accessed Oct. 20, 2016).

Honour of the Native Princes” shall be “respect[ed].”<sup>66</sup> Although the number of locally-elected political positions had grown since Viceroy Ripon’s 1882 resolution, Indians were still only relegated to municipal and not national government. Even this “progress” concerned some in the colonial government, including Curzon. Along with the passage of the Calcutta Municipal Bill, which ended the native majority in that political body, Curzon also restricted the travel of India’s princes during his administration, because he felt they were spending too much time away in Britain, alienating their subjects and becoming too Anglicized.<sup>67</sup> Both Curzon’s and Lytton’s viceroalties demonstrated their stark paternalism and refusal to work towards a transition to responsible government. Instead, they each relied on ceremony and spectacle in an attempt to cultivate patriotism and loyalty.

Like many of his predecessors, Lytton made sweeping assumptions about Indian history, culture, and political thought, and then used these assumptions to defend policies or traditions he wished to impose on the colony. In this vein, the durbar was intended to proclaim the British Crown as the rightful successor to the Mughal throne through a series of feudal symbols.<sup>68</sup> The granting of crests and banners to Indian rajahs during the ceremony symbolized this historical succession.<sup>69</sup> Curzon dismissed these ceremonies as a form of showmanship, and pointed to the embarrassing fact that the medals were left to “collect dust” after the festivities were through.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> “Proclamation of the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1858),” in *East India Proclamations* (London, UK: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1908): 2, <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers/Queen'sProclamation.pdf> (accessed Oct. 10, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> Chris Furedy, “Lord Curzon and the Reform of the Calcutta Corporation, 1899. A Case Study in Imperial Decision Making,” *Bulletin of the Victoria Memorial* 11 (1977): 17, [www.yorku.ca/furedy/papers/ko/curzon.doc](http://www.yorku.ca/furedy/papers/ko/curzon.doc) (accessed Sept. 26, 2016). For more on the reforming of the Calcutta Corporation, see Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 145.

<sup>68</sup> David Cannadine sees the British Indian durbars as part of an empire-wide celebration of status, ceremony and monarchy in the late Victorian period: *Ornamentalism*, esp. 46-54.

<sup>69</sup> Charles W. Nuckolls, “The Durbar Incident,” *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 3 (July 1990), 532, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/312698> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016); Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 75-6 and Cohn, “Representing Authority,” 191.

<sup>70</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:228.

The connection between Britain and India's pasts in this understanding was that of vassal to lord, in which Britain secured the obedience of her subjects by bestowing honors upon them. To further reinforce the supremacy of the British, they chose to hold the 1877 Assemblage on the site of a brutal battle fought during the 1857 rebellions. Hosting the durbar there proved a devastating reminder of the lengths the British would go to maintain their authority in India.

During the ceremony, the Lytton family was greeted by a collection of princes before parading through Delhi atop elephants.<sup>71</sup> The durbar lasted several days, over the course of which Indian chiefs met with the viceroy and received their honors, overseen by the Queen, whose portrait sat above the throne in the viceroy's tent.<sup>72</sup> The festivities included shooting competitions, for which Lady Lytton distributed prizes, dinner parties, fireworks, and a public reading of the titles proclamation.<sup>73</sup> Lytton also insisted on granting pardons and increasing the pensions of loyal servants to the empire, all in the Empress's name. Lytton was careful to include in his letters to the Queen reports that chiefs were intending to reciprocate by bestowing gifts on Queen and building monuments in her honor.<sup>74</sup> Pursuant to his attempts to control press coverage of his administration, he invited a select group of reporters from Indian papers (English and vernacular) to the assemblage, in order to maintain control over his message, which Lady Curzon would also do for the 1903 Durbar.<sup>75</sup>

Curzon shared the belief with Lytton that pageantry enhanced the prestige of the empire, and that appealing to the feelings of Indian subjects was the key to earning their trust and loyalty. He defended Lytton's Assemblage in his history of the governorship, but while he believed the

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<sup>71</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, 116-7.

<sup>72</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, 119.

<sup>73</sup> "Camp Notices," Dec. 28, 1876, Temple Papers, MSS F86/166, ff198-9.

<sup>74</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, 125.

<sup>75</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, 114.

idea of creating an “Indian peerage” was good in theory, he felt that Lytton had failed in the execution, as these symbols and trophies meant absolutely nothing to Indian elites.<sup>76</sup> For these reasons, Lord Curzon made a concerted effort to deviate from Viceroy Lytton’s 1877 Assemblage in significant ways, the most crucial change being his insistence on accentuating the “Indian” aspects of the ceremony over the English traditions, beginning with his choice of location. Many of the festivities centered on the Red Fort at Delhi, previously the palace of the Mughal emperor. The 1903 Durbar was in the Indo-Saracenic style, and emphasized Mughal artistic and ritualistic elements. Curzon intended to draw Indian princes into recognizing Britain’s inheritance of rule in India through the act of participating in the ceremony as opposed to being passive observers, as he felt they were in 1877.<sup>77</sup>

The 1903 Durbar, a celebration of Edward VII’s coronation, was a chance for Lord Curzon to both demonstrate the wealth and power of the British empire to the world and to cultivate imperial patriotism among the Indian population. Rather than simply impress upon the people of India the might of British imperial power, Curzon believed it was important to draw them in as subjects, not through a liberal language of universal rights, but through a conservative notion of duty. Curzon felt visual displays of British rule, which privileged Indian traditions, were the key to developing lasting sense of imperial patriotism in India.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:241.

<sup>77</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:225. For Curzon’s emphasis on “Indian” symbolism in his durbar, see Metcalf, *Ideologies*, 197. On the importance of participation: Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 202; Cohn, “Representing Authority,” 208.

<sup>78</sup> David Gilmour, “The Ends of Empire,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1997): 36, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/40259445> (accessed May 5, 2015). Curzon believed this patriotism should develop through commiseration: “You will never rule the East except through the heart, and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay.” “Presentation of Freedom of City of London,” July 20, 1904, Raleigh, *Curzon in India*, 41. Burke’s discussion of virtual representation is very similar to what I understand to be Curzon’s development of imperial patriotism: “A communion of interests, and a sympathy of feelings and desires between those who act in the name of any

When Curzon applied to the home government to fund the durbar, he met with much rejection. He was hoping to reduce taxes in India to celebrate the ascension of a new monarch, as was customary in England. He also wanted Parliament to foot the bill for most of the entertainment. Eventually, they gave in the viceroy's demands after he appealed directly to the king, but Curzon still contributed some of his own money.<sup>79</sup> Lord Curzon was furious that the MPs could not see reason:

The one thing most needed in India is the sense of common participation in a great political situation and of fellow citizenship of the British Empire. The opportunities that exist of creating or fostering this feeling are few and rare, and...justify an expenditure greatly in excess of any we are likely to incur.<sup>80</sup>

“Gifting” this great celebration to the people of India, Curzon believed Britain could expect loyalty in return. He had hoped the durbar would teach the individuals who attended a valuable lesson, essential in fashioning obedient subjects: “Participation in so great a conception carried with it responsibility as well as pride, and that [each subject] owed something in return for whatever of dignity or security or opportunity the empire had given him.”<sup>81</sup> Trevithick notes that Curzon also wanted to widen the sphere of participation beyond India's elites by introducing festivals to provide food to the poor. He hoped these would be paid for by local officials keen on “demonstrat[ing] their loyalty.”<sup>82</sup>

For all the importance Curzon placed on the Durbar, it is truly significant that Mary herself was the center of attention. From the opening ceremony procession atop elephants to the state dinners, garden parties, polo matches and military reviews, Lady Curzon constantly

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description of people and the people in whose name they act, though the trustees are not chosen by them.” Quoted in O’Gorman, *Edmund Burke*, 62.

<sup>79</sup> Bence-Jones, *Viceroy of India*, 183-4.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:231.

<sup>81</sup> “Extract from Budget Speech,” March 25, 1903, Raleigh, *Curzon in India*, 309.

<sup>82</sup> Trevithick, “British Imperial Assemblages,” 568-9.

outshone everyone else. Mary, alongside her mother and sister, entertained a large number of elite British families who had come to witness the spectacle. Her now infamous peacock dress was the subject of much conversation among attendees and her image was splashed across dozens of newspapers. The dress was designed by the Frenchman Jean-Phillippe Worth and was comprised of metal threads and blue-green beetle wings that were farmed in India. As Nicola Thomas points out, the peacock throne on which the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan once sat was now personified by the vice-queen; on Mary's American shoulders lay Britain's imperial inheritance.<sup>83</sup> One need look no further than the overwhelming compliments Mary received to see that the official image of the vicereine had changed dramatically from Marian Hastings's day to Mary's. While Marian was scorned for her taste in lavish jewelry, Mary was permitted a government allowance for her finery, including her peacock dress, which was essential to the symbolic fashioning of the durbar.<sup>84</sup>

Though there was much praise for Lady Curzon's dress, described by one reporter as "the zenith of the sheer beauty of the whole time," the reviews of the durbar were generally mixed.<sup>85</sup> Many observers were skeptical about Curzon's intentions to celebrate India and not himself. A bit of controversy stirred around Curzon's outranking the Duke of Connaught (King Edward VII's brother) in the ceremonies, but this was deliberate, as the viceroy was the King's own representative in India.<sup>86</sup> The American press tended either to celebrate the central role their

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<sup>83</sup> Nicola Thomas, "Embodying Imperial Spectacle: dressing Lady Curzon, Vicereine of India, 1899-1905," *Cultural Geographies* 14, no. 3 (July 2007): 391-3, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/200863154?accountid=10267> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

<sup>84</sup> For more on the Curzons' fashion expenses, see Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 209 and Thomas, "Embodying Imperial Spectacle," 384.

<sup>85</sup> Perceval Landen to MC, Jan. 13, 1903, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/36A, ff68-69.

<sup>86</sup> Nicolson, *Mary Curzon*, 161.

daughter played in the ceremonies or rather darkly hinted at Britain's failures as rulers of India.<sup>87</sup> Several papers pointed to American contributions to the famine relief effort as being of greater service to India than Curzon's durbar pageantry: "The British feed India on this sort of thing and when the people there get hungry Kansas sends them donations of corn."<sup>88</sup> This was a crucial moment in which Curzon's American in-laws threatened to crack the foundations of British paternalism by calling into question their benevolence and capacity to rule autonomously.<sup>89</sup>

### **Preserving monuments, preserving empire**

During his tenure as viceroy, Curzon poured his energy into preserving India's ancient buildings. His crowning achievements were the major restoration of the Taj Mahal, as well as the renovations that resulted from his Ancient Monuments Bill, passed in 1904. Despite the heavy criticism he faced in the local press and the enemies he made in the Congress, Curzon believed ceremonies and monuments helped build a common past, and cultivated patriotic feelings in India which would provide the empire unparalleled security.<sup>90</sup> He commissioned a memorial to Queen Victoria in 1901, and insisted that the funds come not just from a few wealthy Indian collaborators, but from a broad national sampling, in order to demonstrate to Britain India's commitment to the empire.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> One Illinois paper shows the pride Americans felt in Mary Curzon: "As they had a Chicago woman to head the procession at the Delhi Durbar no one missed King Edward." Quoted from *Chicago Daily News*, in "The Durbar at Delhi," *The Plain Dealer*, Ohio, Jan. 5, 1903, <http://docs.newsbank.com/s/HistArchive/ahnpdoc/EANX/1381C7FA9F6F6C93/0D0CB4F0E6B93180> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> The quote first appeared in the *Toledo Times*: see "The Durbar at Delhi." Over the course of the 1890s, Americans gave over one million dollars in cash and supplies to famine relief. Brewis, "Mouth of Famine," 899-900.

<sup>89</sup> "No doubt Viceroy Curzon, in the midst of the magnificent mummery attending the proclaiming of Edward of England as emperor of India, retains a lively appreciation of the fact that corn is king, and that its throne is located in Chicago, where his vicereine came from." Quoted from *The Boston Herald*, in "The Durbar at Delhi." The famine was an especially contentious issue because, as Georgina Brewis argues, nationalists used British failures in the relief effort as support for the cause of independence. Brewis, "Mouth of Famine," 898, 913.

<sup>90</sup> Metcalf, *Imperial Vision*, 210.

<sup>91</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1:185.



While the museum combined Indian and British artifacts, there was a distinct imperial bent to the collection in which even the inclusion of Indian historical figures served to bolster British patriotism.<sup>92</sup> When questioned about including some controversial Indian figures in the museum, and whether this could backfire and ignite nationalist sentiments, Curzon replied: ““If I put Sivaji into the same fabric as Warren Hastings, I do not injure the fame of Warren Hastings but I take the sting out of Sivaji.””<sup>93</sup> In the viceroy’s mind, British imperialism was indestructible; he believed its icons had the power to inspire patriotism strong enough to counter the disaffection growing among Indian subjects. Curzon believed that monuments like the Victoria Memorial provided crucial demonstrations of monarchical deference at a time of growing nationalist activity. To reinforce the impression of longevity of the empire, this monument to British rule differed from Curzon’s durbar in the sense that the style was classical, which Thomas Metcalf argues impressed upon audiences Britain’s continuity with ancient Rome.<sup>94</sup> In the face of heavy skepticism from American audiences, these monuments appear to be a final, ultimately futile attempt on Curzon’s part, to cling to a British empire in India.

The viceregal appointment was supposed to last only five years. Curzon felt, despite the growing animosity towards him among Indian and British politicians, he had not yet accomplished all that he set out to do. He asked the Prime Minister to extend his appointment, despite the wishes of his friends and family, which Balfour eventually agreed to. This proved to be a disaster for Lord Curzon, who faced his greatest conflict with the home government toward the end of his administration. Part of his egotistical ideology rested on his belief that he was the

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<sup>92</sup> For the combination of Indian and British architectural influences, see Metcalf, *Imperial Vision*, chap. 6.

<sup>93</sup> Sivaji was a seventeenth-century Maratha insurgent who fought against Mughal rule. He was celebrated by turn-of-the-century nationalists seeking to overthrow British rule. See Thomas Metcalf and Barbara Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed. (2001; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 24, 150. Quoted in Metcalf, *Imperial Vision*, 204.

<sup>94</sup> Metcalf, *Imperial Vision*, 209.

best man for the job—that he should be able to run India with minimal interference from Parliament and the Cabinet, much as Warren Hastings felt.

Curzon's tendency toward arrogance and control eventually got him into trouble with the home government. Horatio Kitchener became Commander-in-Chief in India in 1902. In that capacity, he sat on the Viceroy's Council but was required to go through the Military Member of Council when providing advice to the viceroy. While it may appear a formality, Curzon felt this was essential in order to keep the military branch subordinate to the civil government. Kitchener, however, believed he should be able to act autonomously, in the name of efficiency. He also claimed that his position as an outsider appointed from England enabled him to hold the viceroy's advisors accountable.<sup>95</sup> He had lots of support from British politicians, coming off his success as military commander and governor in the Sudan.<sup>96</sup> In the end, faced with mounting opposition in Britain, including among people he formerly counted as allies, Curzon resigned over the matter, fuming over the interference of English politicians in colonial affairs.

### **The nostalgia of imperial biography**

In the midst of the Kitchener conflict, Mary was concerned her illness might be blamed if her husband resigned from office. Despite her weakened condition following a miscarriage in 1904, Mary returned to her Curzon's side in India for the tail end of his administration, in the ultimate demonstration of wifely devotion. George did resign in 1905, and the Curzons encountered a completely different political landscape from the one they had left once they

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<sup>95</sup> Stephen Cohen, "Issue, Role and Personality: the Kitchener-Curzon Dispute," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10, no. 3 (Apr. 1968): 345, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/177807> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

<sup>96</sup> Keith Neilson, "Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, Earl Kitchener of Khartoum (1850–1916)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34341> (accessed May 6, 2016).

returned to England. The greeting party at the train station was smaller than Curzon expected it to be, and notably absent were the Prime Minister and Secretary of State, with whom George had publicly conflicted. The Liberal Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman denied Curzon an Earldom, and the King requested that George not run for public office in the 1906 election in order to keep the peace within government following his conflict with Kitchener. Biographer David Gilmour argues the King was intent upon bestowing honors on the returning viceroy, as was customary, but that he kept meeting with resistance from Brodrick and Balfour, who were concerned Curzon would speak out against the government and blame them for his early resignation. They felt monarchical recognition would send the wrong message, as it suggested official support of Curzon's insubordination.<sup>97</sup> Curzon believed his public censure was a personal attack and poor repayment for his sacrifices to the empire.

In July of that year, Mary succumbed to an infection that had lingered from her miscarriage. While Curzon's character and legacy were being debated among the countless enemies he had made, the public grief for his wife was tremendous. The obituary in *The Times* led with observations of Mary's "queenly figure" and kind spirit and then turned to the supporting role she played alongside her husband: "Deeply interested in her husband's work, she was his constant and devoted helpmeet. Only those who have been in India know how invaluable to the ruler of India is help of that kind."<sup>98</sup> Sir Andrew Wingate, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, also remarked on the devotion Mary showed her husband:

The magnificent courage with which, after her illness, she returned to India and took her position by the Viceroy's side has appealed to the hearts of all men and women in the

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<sup>97</sup> Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 347-9.

<sup>98</sup> "Obituary: Lady Curzon of Kedleston," *The Times*, London, July 19, 1906, <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/dvnw/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=DVNW&userGroupName=cornell&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=CS87225075&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0> (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

East, whom, whatever their views as to the place which women ought to occupy, have never failed to do homage to a noble woman.<sup>99</sup>

So ingrained was domesticity in British imperial thought that a former servant of the empire espoused the belief that it was Mary's devotion to her husband which resonated the most with Indian subjects. They mourned Mary's death, according to the secretary of India's Sunday School Union, as they had mourned the death of Queen Victoria just five years prior: "In 1901 your Lordship, as Viceroy of India, moved among the multitude which gathered...to express their profound grief at the death of our beloved Queen Victoria...Now the heart of India is again torn by another sorrow of the same kind."<sup>100</sup> The editor of a Sikh Punjabi newspaper wrote to Lord Curzon and, speaking on behalf of the women in his community, told him that Mary was loved for her efforts to help Indian women through her Victoria Memorial Scholarship. But it was Mary's role in the durbar that truly struck a chord with audiences, for "any wife who had seen her by your lordships side in the... procession actually wept and was much afflicted on hearing the sad news."<sup>101</sup> The dutiful wife image, linked by Mary's supporters to the late Queen, followed the American vicereine to her grave, and served as a means for Curzon to rehabilitate his own reputation in the wake of his resignation.

Curzon eventually received a marquissate and became a member of the House of Lords. He later worked as Foreign Secretary and served on various boards, including appointments as President of both the Royal Geographical Society and the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage. His paternalist views on empire and gender were linked, as a common refrain among opponents to suffrage (antis, as they were known) was that in the face of global

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<sup>99</sup> Sir Andrew Wingate to Lord Curzon, July 22, 1906, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/38B, ff137-8.

<sup>100</sup> Telegram from Richard Buryes, Gen Secretary of India Sunday School Union, to Lord Curzon, Jul. 27, 1906, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/38B, ff208-9.

<sup>101</sup> Raj Indra Singh editor Khalsa Bahadur and Lt Seey Khalsa Dewan Lahore, Lahore Chemk Matti, to Lord Curzon, Aug. 2, 1906, Mary Curzon Papers, MSS EUR F306/38B, ff228-9.

security crises, it would be dangerous to give women a voice in these matters because Britain had successfully maintained control over India by keeping men in charge.<sup>102</sup> For Curzon, the suffrage movement merely revived concerns about women moving beyond the boundaries of social and political decorum, just as the nabobinas and memsahibs had signaled decades prior.

The crumbling of Curzon's Victorian imperialist world escalated following World War One. The colonial government made promises to transition India to responsible self-government but quickly reverted to authoritarian measures in the face of growing public dissatisfaction with both the pace and scope of reform.<sup>103</sup> In fact, cracks in the foundations of British government in India had appeared through several scandals over the course of the Curzon viceroyalty, including American intervention in famine relief (infiltrating even the viceroyalty itself through Mr. Leiter's loans) and protests against Curzon's reforms. A number of stalwart imperial defenders, including Curzon, began nostalgically turning back to the early days of British Indian rule and, in some cases, set on the task of reviving the damaged reputations of these once-"great men."

Curzon's own idol, Fitzjames Stephen, offered a critique of Macaulay's writings on the Hastings Impeachment in a book, published in 1885, which focused on one particular corruption charge against Chief Justice Elijah Impey.<sup>104</sup> Stephen approached the trial as a legal expert, and argued that the case presented against Impey by Macaulay was heavily biased.<sup>105</sup> Biographers condemned Macaulay's treatment of Hastings as political diatribe, and worked to revive the reputation of the old governor-general. These writers tended to focus on the private side of

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<sup>102</sup> Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of Women's Suffrage, 1866-1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 54. See also: Herbert Hart, *Women's Suffrage and National Danger: A Plea for the Ascendancy of Man* (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1889), 36; Gilmour, *Imperial Statesman*, 401-2 and Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 3:190-3.

<sup>103</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, 165-6.

<sup>104</sup> James Fitzjames Stephen, *The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*, 2 Vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1885).

<sup>105</sup> Mantena, *Alibis of Empire*, 45.

Warren Hastings's life, providing testimony of his virtuous character in order to improve his reputation from the political scandal he suffered at the end of his career. This trend followed Lady Dufferin's own efforts in the 1880s, and suggests domesticity had become a popular means by which imperial sympathizers hoped to revive interest in and gain support for the empire, as well as reinforce Victorian gender norms, which were being steadily challenged by suffragists.

In 1877, Henry Beveridge wrote an article for the *Calcutta Review* in which he pointed to the dearth of biographies on British India's founders, particularly Warren Hastings.<sup>106</sup> He notes that 1872 brought a new collection of Hastings letters to the archives at the British Museum, gifted by Marian's niece, Marian Winter (whom Beveridge incorrectly refers to as "Ms. Kinter").<sup>107</sup> Henry Busteed was the next to mention these letters in the second edition of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (1888). He attempted to reconstruct the passage of these private letters following Warren Hastings's death, noting that they were first in the hands of Hastings's attempted-biographer, Mr. Southey. Next, Elijah Impey's son took them, yet he also was unable to finish drafting a memoir of the former governor. They then passed into Robert Gleig's hands, though both he and Macaulay made only brief mention of them in their works, which were published in 1841. Busteed published a selection from these letters, including passages from letters written by Marian herself, in order to establish the "inner life" of such a historically significant individual, and to begin to develop the character of his wife.<sup>108</sup>

While Busteed's chapter was more descriptive than analytical, his acknowledgment of the historical significance of these letters led biographers sympathetic to Hastings to apply them for

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<sup>106</sup> Henry Beveridge, "Warren Hastings in Lower Bengal," *Calcutta Review* 65, no. 130 (1877): 265, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044105340533;view=1up;seq=9> (accessed Oct. 21, 2016).

<sup>107</sup> Beveridge, "Hastings in Lower Bengal," 206-7.

<sup>108</sup> H.E. Busteed, "Chapter 9: Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife," in *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, and Co. 1888), 287-9.

their own political purposes. In 1895, Charles Lawson, editor of the *Madras Mail*, wrote *The Private Life of Warren Hastings*, deciding to devote an entire book to more fully explore Warren Hastings's family life by making use of the family papers as well as conducting interviews with Hastings's relatives. Lawson wrote an entire chapter of his book about Mrs. Hastings, giving a short biography of her life prior to marrying Warren and describing the work she did to ensure her husband was properly honored after his death. And while Busted made brief reference to the scandalous terms of Marian and Warren's courtship, Lawson actually defended the couple, claiming that the governor "cherished a high ideal of public duty and private responsibility which would have been outraged had he afforded ground for the moralist's censure."<sup>109</sup> The reversal of Hastings's reputation, by drawing attention to his virtuous private life, had officially begun.

The most substantial work on Marian Hastings was completed by Hilda Gregg, writing under the pseudonym "Sydney Grier." She led the Hastings revival with her two studies of the former governor's private life, including *The Great Proconsul* (1904) and *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (1905). Grier wrote to support herself and her widowed mother.<sup>110</sup>

*Proconsul* is best described as historical fiction, centered on imaginary dialogue for Marian and Warren Hastings and told through the memoirs of Hester Ward, who went to live at government house as a widow. Ward was likely an imaginary character; the letters which form the narrative of the story were fashioned by the author to give readers both a general survey of historical events at the time as well as to further develop the character of famous individuals, such as the

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<sup>109</sup> Sir Charles Allen Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 52.

<sup>110</sup> David Finkelstein, "Gregg, Hilda Caroline (1868-1933)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; repr., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38927> (accessed Oct. 21, 2016).

Impeys, Philip Francis, and of course, Marian and Warren Hastings.<sup>111</sup> Grier included several appendices at the end of the book, one of which provided a brief history of Marian Hastings's life, and referenced several works including Lawson's biography, Busted's novel, and some archival material.

It was Grier's next publication, *The Letters of Warren Hastings*, which outlined all of the Marian and Warren Hastings's private letters in full and used them to counter the arguments made about the couple by previous historians, including Macaulay and Gleig. Grier organized the correspondence between the governor and his wife from their archival disarray and presented them all, in full, with introductions providing background information at the beginning of each series of letters. In this book, Grier sought to give a better account of the character of Warren Hastings than her predecessors had done, by examining this largely-ignored, private correspondence. She indicated in her introduction that Marian was a difficult person to assess historically, since men and women were sharply divided on their opinions towards her.<sup>112</sup> In the end, Grier claimed that both Marian and Warren Hastings had trouble connecting with their audience; that they simply appear to have been out of sync with the times, and this was why they faced such harsh censure on their return to England.<sup>113</sup> Throughout, Grier emphasized Hastings's devotion to his wife, his generosity to his family, his hard work, and his intelligence.

The final personal biography of the governor and lady governor, *Beloved Marian*, was written by Kathleen Lucy Elliott in 1938. She presented Hastings's familial side in order to intentionally contrast with the negative reputation he developed over the course of his

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<sup>111</sup> This review claimed Ward was a fictional character: "The Great Proconsul," *The Bookman* 26, no. 154 (July 1904): 142, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/docview/3185273?accountid=10267> (accessed October 10, 2016).

<sup>112</sup> Sydney Grier, ed., *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (Edinburgh, UK: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), 28.

<sup>113</sup> Grier, *Letters*, 33.



impeachment, and specifically compared his callous treatment of the Begums with his affectionate love letters to Marian.<sup>114</sup> It is clear that a significant shift occurred regarding women and politics in Britain by the time Elliott was writing, as compared to when Marian was lady governor. Elliott provided evidence that Mrs. Hastings discussed political events with her husband and some of his colleagues, and used this to suggest she was an independent, successful woman.<sup>115</sup> In a post-enfranchised Britain, narratives of strong-willed women might have resonated more with the public than they had before. Perhaps also the danger wives were believed to pose to imperial stability was also negated at this time by the fact that the empire in India was nearly at an end.

This trend of late Victorian imperial domestic biography brings to light a significant contingent of female historians. Women had been helping to compile family papers and donate them to archives, as well as commissioning monuments and overseeing the publication of biographies of their male relatives, as far back at least as Marian Hastings's own work commemorating her husband. In the late nineteenth-century, this process continued, yet at this point more women were taking on the task of researching and writing these biographies. In addition to the works by Grier and Elliott mentioned above, Lady Balfour published a history of her father's (Lord Lytton) viceroyalty in 1899, at the urging of her mother, after Sir John Strachey was unable to complete the task.<sup>116</sup> Though Lady Balfour avowed she focused more on her father's administration than his family life in the text, she emphasized this was still "personal" and offered a "true inner history," in the hopes of dispelling some of the controversy

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<sup>114</sup> Kathleen Lucy Elliott, *Beloved Marian: the social history of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hastings* (London, UK: Jarrolds Ltd., 1938), 138.

<sup>115</sup> "Few women have exerted more influence over their husbands than did this German-born divorcee." Elliott, *Beloved Marian*, 284.

<sup>116</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, v-vi.

surrounding her father's viceroyalty.<sup>117</sup> Her reference to letters her father wrote to her mother in the history attest to the role these female historians played in bringing attention to these often-ignored sources. At the turn of the twentieth century, women were continuing to write the history of the empire in India, while also shedding light on the involvement of elite women in imperial administration.

Lord Curzon's appropriation of domesticity in his own book signaled a transition in narratives of imperial domestic biography. His book, along with the biographies of vicereines which began to appear in the 1980s, was tinged with nostalgia. Curzon began to write his history of the governors of India towards the end of his life, as the empire was showing signs of fading and anti-colonial movements were strengthening, in Britain and overseas.<sup>118</sup> This durbar-on-paper served as one final attempt to manufacture imperial patriotism through historical biography. He felt there were not enough history books devoted to the evolution of British government in India, and that "the lack of this historical sense—the surest spring of nation self-respect—was injurious in its effect both upon English and Indian interests."<sup>119</sup> History was the foundation of the nation, according to Curzon; in cultivating respect for the past, individuals gained respect for their leaders today. Curzon positioned himself as a central figure in this history, linking his personal sacrifices to what he considered to be the noble cause of British imperialism.

Lord Curzon's history combined his two loves of architecture and empire, and was published shortly after his death in 1925. In two volumes, *British Government in India* gave a

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<sup>117</sup> Balfour, *Lytton's Administration*, vi-viii.

<sup>118</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, chap. 6; Anthony Clayton, "'Deceptive Might': Imperial Defense and Security, 1900-1968," in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV, ed. Judith Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 287-293 and Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: the Left and the End of Empire, 1918-1964* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), chap. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1:179.

sense of what life in India was like for the families that had ruled over the last century and a half, and focused on the formalities which George so enjoyed such as the dinner parties and other recreational activities, including hunting. His story centered on the home which first brought him to India, Calcutta's Government House, modelled after Curzon's ancestral home. In his final act, publishing his history of the governorship, Lord Curzon preserved his personal sense of inheritance and forever linked it to Britain's own imperial inheritance.

His history is rich in artifacts, as if he were putting the finishing touches on an exhibition hall in a museum. He explained the framing of the book in his introduction, comparing it to a row of portraits in a gallery or a great hall in a family estate: "tracing the points of difference or resemblance between them, and seeking to arrive at some final conclusions concerning the part which individually or collectively they had played in the progressive evolution of the whole."<sup>120</sup> It is an example of imperial domestic biography, distinguished by the fact that it was written by a former governor. He wrote with a warm respect and admiration for his predecessors and often compared his own experience to theirs. He was especially proud of the expansion of the size of the official celebrations over the years, writing that the number of guests at Government House had gone from five hundred in Wellesley's day to two thousand in his own time.<sup>121</sup> To Curzon, this was an indication of the success of the empire as well as a testament to governors such as himself, who invested in the spectacle of the viceroyalty and recognized the importance of demonstrating the power of the regime. Curzon believed that emphasizing the regality of the viceroyalty was crucial to successful rule in India because he saw it as befitting of an "Asiatic" political culture. He claimed that those governors "who have ostentatiously risen above [lavish

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<sup>120</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1: vii.

<sup>121</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1:232.

ceremony] have excited good-humoured criticism, those who have fallen below it have been severely condemned.”<sup>122</sup> His history was the product of an incredibly selective memory.

Curzon spent a great deal of time in his book on Warren and Marian Hastings. He praised Marian’s elegance and formality, as well as her managerial talents, and celebrated her as a “capable financier and an excellent woman of business.”<sup>123</sup> Her reputation certainly had come a long way from the satires of the eighteenth-century. He of course took the opportunity to weigh in on the scandal of her divorce, arguing that from the evidence he examined that it appeared the time the Hastings spent in Calcutta awaiting the German court’s ruling held up against even the strictest scrutiny.<sup>124</sup> But Curzon was also intrigued by their love affair, and contributed to the growing list of writers who relished in drawing out the romantic side of the formidable governor-general.

It is easy to draw the lines connecting Governor Hastings to Governor Curzon—both men were determined to restore their family name and fortune; both ended their Indian careers controversially and were shunned upon their return to England. As Curzon’s biographer pointed out, the viceroy’s attention to Warren and Marian’s relationship showed he felt there were many similarities in his own marriage to Mary.<sup>125</sup> Curzon offered Hastings’s life narrative as the primary example for demonstrating the personal sacrifices the governorship required of its officers. He was “the greatest man who ever filled the office,” in Curzon’s mind, and yet he was denied a peerage because the King would not formally reverse the impeachment following the acquittal.<sup>126</sup> Though Curzon was ultimately granted a title, it seems possible he empathized with

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<sup>122</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1:202.

<sup>123</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:149.

<sup>124</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:149-151.

<sup>125</sup> Ronaldshay, *Life of Curzon*, 2:53.

<sup>126</sup> Quote: Curzon, *British Government*, 2:66, 2:163.

the governor about his poor reception in England following his resignation. He felt that viceroys were disproportionately blamed when things went wrong because they occupied a more visible position than most other officials.<sup>127</sup>

Curzon's book focused on the human side of the governorship and the personal lives of the governors; as he wrote in the preface: "The story of the men is also the story of the office."<sup>128</sup> Beyond Hastings, Curzon spent a great deal of time on the relationships governors had with their wives, noting the importance of the support these women provided and the challenges of being separated from a spouse. He argued that women helped to promote the empire in India both through the devotion they showed their husbands as well as by softening the harsh realities of imperialism with their feminine virtue and grace. He wrote that Queen Victoria's gender was one of the things that "endeared her to the Indian people," and suggested Governor Wellesley could have benefitted from being married, that a wife would perhaps have made him more tactful and approachable. Curzon believed a governor's private life had a direct impact on his public career, and he lamented the fact that Wellesley's biographers overlooked the governor's personal defects because he felt they spoke directly to professional ones.<sup>129</sup> Upon this "altar of sacrifice," both the husbands and wives of British India have given their lives, as Curzon was only too aware.<sup>130</sup>

Curzon's efforts at celebrating the governorship, and by extension his own vicerealty, represent a conscious appropriation of viceregal celebrity, hinging on domestic themes, in order to strengthen his struggling reputation. George's emphasis on domesticity affected the construction of his archival papers: he collected, collated and presented his wife's letters to the

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<sup>127</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:109-111.

<sup>128</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 1:vii.

<sup>129</sup> "The irregularity of his private life affords, I think, a partial explanation of some of the disappointments of his career." Curzon, *British Government*, 2:174-5.

<sup>130</sup> Curzon, *British Government*, 2:252.

libraries, despite her desire to keep her letters out of public view.<sup>131</sup> As Nicola Thomas points out, his selectivity demonstrates both the emphasis he placed on his career in his structuring of his family archive, and that he saw his letters with his wife as a crucial component in establishing his political legacy.<sup>132</sup> Though Thomas argues it was an oversight on the part of Curzon that the very emotional letters between George and Mary were included, I argue that it corroborates his intention of fashioning his loving marriage as a crucial component to his imperial career.

Curzon's book came shortly after women achieved the right to vote in Britain (limited suffrage began in 1918 and full suffrage was achieved in 1928). Anti-imperial agitations grew exponentially in India after 1919, as did the rioting, non-violent protests, and aggressive government retaliation. Just as Curzon's politics were becoming unpopular, so too was the genre of imperial domestic biography, perhaps because there was no longer a market for imperial propaganda as decolonization marched on in the 1940s through the 1960s. However, the familial themes which Curzon applied to his viceroyalty would resurface in nostalgic twentieth-century imperial histories. The political appropriation of domesticity in imperial history indicates how crucial it is for this underserved subject to receive the attention of historians beyond the fields of gender and family studies.

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<sup>131</sup> Thomas, "Boundaries of Biography," 503-4.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas writes: "There is a feeling within this archive of that it was always designed to illuminate George's career, rather than Mary's life," and references George's introductory letter in which he explains he destroyed many of Mary's private letters save for the ones which "relate[d]...to public events and to my travels, before we were married and to our joint public life after we were married." Ibid.

## Epilogue

Lord Curzon's decision to publish a history of British India's governors that focused on the homes which they built and ruled from, was about impressing on his audiences the longevity of the British imperialism, and forging a personal connection between these governors and audiences generations later. The home was personified, for Curzon; as it observed the coming and going of its occupants, he wrote that "the walls are left to tell with silent eloquence the tale."<sup>1</sup> The permanence of the home was a point of solace for George when he mourned the death of his mother in 1875. He expressed his grief in a poem, called "Kedleston":

Still as ever, proud thou standest  
Green thy meadows as of yore,  
But a chill of desolation  
Mid the sunbeams clouds thee o'er.<sup>2</sup>

He was not the first governor to connect family and empire through the ancestral home. Warren Hastings composed a poem about his own estate, Daylesford, and carried its personification even further, linking the fate of his house to his own life narrative. After a particularly harsh storm destroyed half of Hastings's beech trees in 1810, he took pen to paper and wrote an elegy with a ferocity which recalled the personal attacks he faced during his impeachment:

When principalities and empires fell,  
A mingled wreck before thy baleful spell;  
And one alone (for there a mightier will  
Rebuk'd the tempest, and the sea was still)  
Britain unhurt, the land of Goshen stood,  
While all around was darkness, death and blood.  
And still it stands: and still the threaten'd state,  
Its sins though many, and corruption great,  
Though expiatory clouds oppress the throne,  
And for the people's guilt their king atone;

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<sup>1</sup> George Curzon, *British Government in India: the story of the viceroys and government houses*, 2 Vols. (London: Cassell and Co., 1925), 1:xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in David Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), 18.

In greater glory than the past shall stand,  
And a new daystar brighten all the land.<sup>3</sup>

For Hastings and Curzon, estates represented a permanent inheritance, a straight line to the past and into the future, providing immortality for the empire and the individuals who helped run it. Writing provided a space for them to construct their own version of history and continue promoting the empire from beyond the grave.

The appropriation of familial narratives by British India's governing elites and their biographers, linking the personal sacrifices of individuals to the empire's proliferation, served as a central means by which Britons engaged with the empire in India. Whether donating clothes to the Mutiny relief effort, visiting Lady Canning's Tomb, reading Emily Eden's and Lady Dufferin's journals, or mourning Lady Curzon's death, Britons were repeatedly reminded throughout the Victorian period of the familial elements of imperialism.

Lady governors played a pivotal role in forging this personal connection between Britons and their empire, fashioning a celebrity around the governorship and vicereignty and elevating their position within imperial politics and culture as governors' wives. These women managed their husband's reputations during their administrations, commemorated their careers after their deaths, and maintained strong connections between the British monarchy and the vicereignty, all of which were crucial to reinforcing British sovereignty in India and ensuring positive press about the empire at home.

Despite the fact that these wives were involved, to varying degrees, in imperial politics, and were crucial ceremonial figureheads, they promoted an ideology which reinforced patriarchal Victorian gender norms. This has perhaps led gender historians to steer clear of the

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<sup>3</sup> Warren Hastings, "Daylesford grove: an elegy," *Warren Hastings Papers*, Add MS 39872, f75v.



vicereines; however it is important to excavate their story because it is one which is intimately linked to imperial politics, culture, and history writing.

Women were at the center of representing, promoting, and commemorating the British Indian empire throughout the long nineteenth century. Their participation in the empire sparked debates about women and power, and the contestation over popular representations of female political elites reveals just as much about Victorian gender politics as it does about imperial historiography. On the one hand, careful attention to the sources produced directly by these wives indicates the extent to which they helped fashion and reinforce imperial ideologies. On the other hand, the tendency of feminist historians to emphasize agency leads us to narrow definitions of power. The representation of these women by other individuals was a highly political process, producing propaganda which survived in the imperial historiography well into the 1980s.<sup>4</sup> As Indira Ghose writes: “What needs to be looked at in more depth is how notions of gender were bound up with hegemonic ideologies, and how women were both made an instrument of, and were complicitous with, the politics of imperialism.”<sup>5</sup> The relationship between agency and representation, gender and imperial history, have been central concerns of this dissertation.

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A copper bust of the man himself greets you upon entering the main house on Daylesford estate. Down the narrow corridor to the right is a yellow hallway devoted to Hastings memorabilia, collected over the years by Sir Anthony Bamford: ivory miniatures, personal

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<sup>4</sup> Lata Mani has shown contestation over representations of Indian women committing sati was a highly political process, arguing that these women had rhetorical power aside from their agency. See *Contentious Traditions: the debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Indira Ghose, *Women travelers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4.

letters, and an entire wall of Gillrays. Every room in the house contains allusions to India, with hundreds of figurines and paintings of seaports, villages, government buildings, images of elephants (an entire bathroom on the elephant theme, in fact) and other wildlife. The estate manager, Bryan Hendersen, tells me that a path was made extending from the house out to the middle of the lawn not long ago. At the center of the path is a row of four enormous wicker elephants.

Down the corridor we enter a sitting room divided by columns at either end and supported by a lush Persian carpet. Plain Warren Hastings meets our gaze as we examine a patch of original wallpaper set behind Plexiglas. From there, we circle back down the drive, past Daylesford Organic, and head toward the Parish on the left. Walking up the silent, shaded path and through the ancient gate, we approach the stone church and Warren's and Marian's final resting place. Mr. Hastings's grave is marked by a yellowing urn surrounded by a wrought iron fence; Mrs. Hastings rests inside the chapel itself, which is closed for repairs. After the majestic splendor of the house, the grave site is understated, peaceful and hidden.

The Bamfords have made their fortune building excavation equipment but recently, Lady Bamford decided to tap into the expanding market for organic produce and farm to fork dining. She built Daylesford Organic on the estate in 2002, which houses a café, a grocery, and a wellness retreat, and has since opened additional stores in London. The Bamfords have owned the estate since 1988, and have hosted over-the-top celebrations there, including an India-themed event in which Sir Anthony and Lady Carole made their entrance atop a pair of elephants (in the manner of the Curzons).<sup>6</sup> They have cultivated their connection to Daylesford's past in their

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<sup>6</sup> James Reginato, "Lady Bountiful," *W Magazine* (Dec. 2007), [http://www.wmagazine.com/people/2007/12/lady\\_bamford/](http://www.wmagazine.com/people/2007/12/lady_bamford/) (accessed Oct. 25, 2016).

home and in their work: Lady Bamford's charity was first established in 2001 in India, which is also where one of their subsidiary companies is located.<sup>7</sup> These homages to British India's first governor-general serve as a reminder that the past is not so far behind us. The personal stories of the past, emblematic of the biographical genre, permeate national histories more than our academic imperial historiography suggests. The process of unearthing these connections also allows us to recognize that women helped to write these histories well before their names appeared on the book covers.

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<sup>7</sup> "Carole Bamford," *Daylesford Organic* (2016), <http://daylesford.com/our-story/our-people/carole-bamford/> (accessed Oct. 25, 2016).

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