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MILITARISTIC MASCULINITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE ARMIES IN INDIA, 1840-1900

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores Anglo-Indian military men's engagement with 'militaristic masculinity', a form of masculinity identified by imperial historians as hegemonic in Britain and India from the mid-nineteenth century. Associated with traits like bravery, daring, and militarism, physicality, resourcefulness and authority, militaristic masculinity was seen to be exemplified by soldiers adventuring and conquering in colonial contexts. Existing literature on militaristic masculinity has focused overwhelmingly on its representation in nineteenth century periodicals and adventure novels. However, there has been very little examination of militaristic masculinity outside of the pages of adventure fiction. This reflects the dominance of cultural histories in masculinity studies, and is also due to a mutual 'lack of interest' between military and imperial historians.

This thesis, in contrast, integrates imperial and military history to study how Anglo-Indian men subjectively experienced and embodied this masculine identity. It shows how the militaristic masculine ideal identified in cultural histories was negotiated, constructed, and performed by those who were thought to be its exemplars: soldiers. Specifically, it focuses on the lives of British men, hereafter referred to as Anglo-Indian men who served in the army that was known as the East India Company army (prior to 1861) and thereafter as the Indian Army (1861-1957). By focussing on these men as gendered subjects, whose identities were forged in the messy realities of colonial life, my thesis adds a vital social history dimension to the existing cultural history research on militaristic masculinity. Historians of masculinity have called for greater focus on how masculinities are 'inhabited by individuals'. This thesis explores this by showing how men articulated militaristic masculine identities in the context of colonial India.

I engage with Anglo-Indian men's experience with militaristic masculinity through a focus on material culture: the objects, clothing, weapons and equipment that men used and surrounded themselves with during their military service. Material culture methodologies have become popular tools for historians seeking insight into the lived experience of people in the past. Engaging with the material world of Anglo-Indian soldiers provides insight into a militaristic masculinity rooted in everyday interactions and experiences.

Through three main chapters that explore Anglo-Indian looting, domestic management, and army uniforms, my research contributes new depth to the study of militaristic masculinity not only by providing insight into how the ideal was interpreted and negotiated by military men in India, but also by demonstrating how men's subjective experiences of the identity often departed significantly from its popular representations. I also show the importance of interactions with women and men from groups identified as the 'martial races' in shaping the articulation of this masculine identity. In doing so, my work embeds the construction of this identity firmly within the power structures and ideologies of an imperial setting, and, specifically, a military setting. It therefore provides a counter-point to existing metropolitan-centred analyses of the ideal.

By demonstrating how analysis of military men can enrich our understandings of gender in colonial India, my thesis demonstrates the value and necessity of integrating imperial and military methodologies in order to understand the dynamics of colonial identities and societies.

CHAPTER 1

An Introduction to Militaristic Masculinity and its Historiography

Militaristic masculinity is the term I use to describe a form of masculinity that became hegemonic in Britain and India (as well as other parts of the empire) in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The term 'militaristic masculinity' was used by Angela Woollacott to reflect the close connection between this identity and imperial adventuring and war.[1] Other historians have referred to this identity as 'new imperialist masculinity', 'military masculinity, 'martial masculinity', or the ideal of the 'martial male'.[2] I will use the term militaristic masculinity in this thesis because of its capacity to neatly convey the primary trait associated with the identity: militarism.

In this thesis I explore militaristic masculinity as it relates to Anglo-Indian men. I am using the term Anglo-Indian in its historical sense; from roughly the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, the term referred specifically to British people working in India. It was not until the Indian census of 1911 that the term was used a category denoting persons of mixed ethnicity, and it was in the Government of India Act of 1935 that Anglo-Indian was formally identified as someone of mixed heritage.[3] Until then, the term was used in relation to those who

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[1] Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire,* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 59-81.

[2] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire,* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 192-209; J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' The Martial Male,* (London, 2010)*,* p. 59; 193; Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities,* (London, 1994), p. 2; Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914,* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 2-3. Michael Brown and Joanne Begiato, 'Introduction', in Michael Brown et al. (eds), *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 2019), pp. 2-3.

[3] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Anglo-Indian', 5 February 2015. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Anglo-Indian (10 April 2017).

were of British descent but living in India (and had sometimes been born and raised there) because they, or someone in their family, were serving in the armed forces or British run civilian administrations.[4]

Militaristic masculinity was associated with traits including courage, bravery, resourcefulness, practicality, physicality, and authority, specifically, colonial authority. It has also been linked by scholars to late nineteenth century racist, jingoistic, and violent imperial ideology and rhetoric.[5] The identity is considered to stand in stark contrast to the form of masculinity that was dominant in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief value in early Victorian manliness was self-discipline: the ability to resist temptation and channel male energy into laudable ends.[6] Bradley Deane argues that this 'inward drama was popularly staged as a narrative of moral maturation whereby the natural impulses of boyhood are steered into a carefully regulated manliness'.[7] This code of masculinity had grown out of a Georgian framework, in which politeness and gentlemanliness were defining attributes.[8]

Historians have argued that the comprehension of masculinity underwent a 'metamorphosis' in the second half of the nineteenth century; 'to the early Victorian it represented a concern with a successful transition from Christian immaturity to maturity, demonstrated by earnestness, selflessness and integrity; to the late Victorian it stood for neo-Spartan virility as exemplified by stoicism, hardiness and endurance'.[9] Bradley Deane argues that paragons of early-nineteenth century

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[4] Ralph Crane and Radhika Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora: Race, Sexuality, and History in Anglo-India,* (Liverpool. 2013), pp. 10-11.
[5] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 15.
[6] Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa, 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies,* 44:2, (2005), p. 308.
[7] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 4.
[8] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* pp. 86-87; 91.
[9] Crane and Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora,* p. 38.

manliness, such as the entrepreneur, the missionary, and the affectionate family man, had been elbowed aside by the untamed frontiersman, the impetuous boy, and the unapologetically violent soldier.[10]

Rather than being associated with civility and politeness, masculinity became associated with a competitive spirit, demonstrated by aggressive assertions of national prestige against threats from rivals.[11] Manhood necessitated a 'militant readiness to defend or expand' this national prestige through defending imperial interests.[12] This fixation on national prestige made this form of masculinity attentive to appearances, attracted to performative and even theatrical displays of power, enamoured by spectacle, and the bold symbolic stroke.[13]

The concern with prestige operated on a personal, as well as national level; the prospect of personal authority also became an important part of masculinity. In common understanding, the degree of mastery exercised over others—within or outside the home—was a key measure of manliness.[14] This included personal authority underpinned by violence. Within the Anglo-Indian community, this also manifested a concern with legacy; families valued inter-generational continuity of power, and the genealogy of imperial service was very important to many Anglo-Indians in locating their own identities within the family of the Raj.[15] As well as being concerned with establishing authority and reputation in life, the Anglo-Indian community was keen to enhance (or establish) dynastic pride that continued after death.

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[10] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, p. 4.
[11] Ibid., p. 9.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, pp. 200-201.
[15] Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947*, (Manchester, 2002), pp. 29, 37.

The preoccupation with authority also extended to racial authority; militaristic masculinity valorised whiteness, and ideas of racial superiority were intertwined with this masculine identity.[16] This has been explored by Mangan and McKenzie in their work on hunting; they argue that ritualistic demonstrations of militaristic masculinity through big game hunting were used to establish, consolidate and disseminate beliefs about the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.[17] Within this hegemonic masculine ideal, Anglo-Indian men claimed 'legitimate' superiority and natural superiority by virtue of their race and their power over others, culminating in 'justifiable' military and economic exploitation.[18]

Ideas about discipline in relation to masculinity changed too; discipline turned outward, from the internal struggle for self-mastery to a collective mode of discipline epitomised by the military, or to the individual resistance to external hardships prized by the growing emphasis on masculine endurance.[19]

Most of the research on the reasons why this form of masculinity developed has focussed on social, political, and cultural developments within metropolitan Britain. In particular, juvenile adventure fiction and educational ideology from the early 1880s have been identified by cultural historians as being crucial to the development of militaristic masculinity. I will consider these cultural productions at length in the following section, as the literature is extensive enough to merit individual consideration. Here it is important to note that alongside popular literature and educational ideology, a 'crisis' of gender relations in Britain, and metropolitan concern over the stability of empire are also said to have influenced the

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[16] Crane and Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora,* pp. 43-48.
[17] Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* pp. 4; 85-86.
[18] Ibid., p. 12.
[19] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 7.

development of this masculine identity.[20] These metropolitan factors tend to be emphasised by historians, with little consideration of political, military, and cultural developments within the empire.

Indeed, despite the fact that historians are clear that in this era 'manliness and empire confirmed one another, guaranteed one another, enhanced one another', there has been less scholarly emphasis on the conditions within empire that contributed to the development of this identity.[21] There are some notable exceptions. Mrinalini Sinha's *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century*, for example, looks at the operation of colonial masculinity within colonial politics and spaces. The book foregrounds the oppositional figures of the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' and explores the processes and practices through which these two groups of elites were designated. Sinha's analysis is focused on the 'material, historical specificity of colonial masculinity'[22] and foregrounds the intersection of imperial and metropolitan politics in articulating its development and consequences. The book therefore moves away from the common focus on metropolitan developments to demonstrate that the figures of the 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' were produced by, and helped to shape, the shifts in the political economy of colonialism in the late nineteenth century.[23] Sinha argues that the two masculine stereotypes were tied to an entire 'ensemble of political, economic and administrative imperatives that underpinned the strategies of colonial rule in the late nineteenth century'.[24]

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[20] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England,* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 145-170; Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* pp. 204-205.
[21] Joanna de Groot, 'Sex and Race: The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century', in Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (eds.), *Sexuality and Subordination,* (London, 1989), p. 122.
[22] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 1995), p. 7.
[23] Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity,* p. 3.
[24] Ibid., p. 3.

Heather Streets similarly integrates Anglo-Indian masculinity with colonial politics in, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914.* Martial race theory was a racist recruiting doctrine-cum-political theory that held that some races were biologically or culturally disposed to the arts of war. (There is an extended discussion of this theory in chapter 5 of this thesis.) In *Martial Races,* Streets' primary aim is to use this ideology to explore how and why groups such as Punjabi Sikhs and Nepalese Gurkhas became linked in military and popular discourse as the British Empire's fiercest, most manly soldiers.

Streets notes that the particular masculinity envisioned by martial race ideology also played a role in helping to shape late Victorian masculine ideals. She argues, for example, that high-profile military officers such as Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army (1885-1893), used their command of martial race soldiers to signal their military skill as commanders, and thereby enhance masculine prestige. Streets argues that Lord Roberts represented Highlanders, Sikhs, and Gurkhas in his military reports as ultra-masculine warriors who were a 'cut above' most other men in terms of their physical prowess and ferocity.[25] Streets argues that if Roberts was able to command such men- as he made clear in his reports that he could- then those reports implicitly suggest Robert's own ultra-masculine prowess. She argues that, put simply, Robert's tales implied that it took a manly man to know, command, and command respect from other manly men. Roberts' 'martial' soldiers may thus have functioned as an exotic and appealing foil to enhance his own masculine prestige as an able commander.[26]

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[25] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914,* (Manchester and New York, 2004), pp. 138-139.
[26] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 139.

Streets is also clear that the Indian Rebellion (1857-1858) was a defining moment in the development of masculine identities within colonial India. She argues that the rebellion was framed as a savage attack on British women and children, which had consequences not only for British women (who were imagined and represented as saintly white angels of middle-class respectability), but also for Anglo-Indian and Indian men. As the supposed aggressors, Indian men were represented as 'black, lustful, uncontrolled and deceitful'. Their supposed transgression of the rules of decency (by raping and murdering British women) de-legitimised, in British Anglo-Indian eyes, their claims to manliness and their right to self-determination while 'proving' their racial inferiority.[27] At the same time, Streets argues that the theme of endangered white womanhood also transformed attitudes to soldiers; 'in contrast to the unmanly rebels, British and loyal native soldiers were represented as ultra-masculine saviours'.[28]

This view is shared by other historians. Ralph Crane and Radhika Mohanram, for example, have argued that the valorisation of militaristic qualities associated with masculinity in the late nineteenth century came about as a response to the rebellion. The shock of the wide-spread uprising against British rule, they argue, hastened a 'new cult of white masculinity' that valorised qualities deemed necessary to produce the ideal soldier for the Empire: youthfulness, decisiveness, determination, and whiteness.[29]

Crane and Mohanram argue that Mutiny fiction-- literature that drew on the events of the 1857 uprising-- reflected the discursive shift to more militaristic forms of masculinity in the aftermath of the Mutiny. In *Love Besieged*, a novel that follows

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[27] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 19.
[28] Ibid., p. 20.
[29] Crane and Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora,* p. 44.

two different types of masculine characters, "Leonard", is a representative of the gentlemanly masculinity more associated with the early nineteenth century, and Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havelock are representative of militaristic masculinity. Crane and Mohanram argue that Leonard's early death in the book demonstrates the outdated nature of his masculinity, and that the concurrent positioning of Lawrence and Havelock as the novel's heroes reflected the triumph of the youthful, vigorous and militaristic form of masculinity.[30] Mutiny fiction, therefore, reflected the Anglo-Indian and British belief after the Mutiny that 'in a future Indian Mutiny, the scholar would be little use; it was the man of nerve, high courage, and animal spirits who would make the difference'.[31]

According to these scholars, it was specifically after the Indian Rebellion that the national hero became a warrior and that a patriotic death in battle became the finest national virtue.[32] The figure of the soldier became synonymous with militaristic masculinity. The bodies and deeds of soldiers- nearly always pictured fighting on the imperial frontier- were used to convey the desirable masculine virtues of loyalty, reckless bravery, strength, and willingness to fight.[33] Courage was taken for granted as the essential characteristic of British imperial soldiers.[34] Indeed, such was the social desirability of soldiers that in addition to their societal and military roles, military men often became celebrities in their own right.[35] Because of the close connections between empire, militarism, and masculinity, men who chose colonial careers were making a statement about their masculinity. Successfully pursuing a military career conferred not only respect, but the promise of 'manliness'. The close association between militaristic masculinity and military service determined my

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[30] Ibid.,pp. 22-55
[31] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* p. 198.
[32] Mangan and McKenzie, p. 37
[33] Heather Streets, *Marital Races*, p. 13.
[34] Michael Lieven, 'Heroism, Heroics and the Making of Heroes: The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 30:3, (1998), p. 419.
[35] Streets, *Marital Races*, p. 119.

focus on Anglo-Indian military men; I will investigate the identity among the men who were considered its exemplars.

Having provided a basic outline of militaristic masculinity and the historical context of its development, this thesis will move on to consider the cultural histories of militaristic masculinity. This discussion will illustrate how historians have engaged with the ideal, while simultaneously providing a deeper insight into its nature.

Cultural Histories of Militaristic Masculinity

The main body of work by cultural historians in relation to militaristic masculinity has been focussed on reconstructing this militaristic masculine ideal and tracking its construction within, and dissemination through, cultural productions. A key focus of this scholarship has been children's literature of the late nineteenth century. This adventure literature has been identified as 'arguably the most powerful cultural vehicle for inculcating ideas about imperial mission and purpose, boyhood and manhood.'[36] Historians have explored the connections between imperialism and manliness in children's literature, and have demonstrated how these connections were embodied in idealized manly characters (often soldiers) who had a profound impact on shaping public perceptions of masculinity, at home and within empire.

The perceived importance of juvenile literature in shaping later-nineteenth century masculine identities is reflected in the number of historical studies that explore the link between boy's adventure literature, popular imperialism, and masculinity.[37] Martin Green has shown that from the time of Defoe's publication of

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[36] Woollacott, *Gender and Empire*, p. 60.
[37] Both Patrick Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', *Victorian Studies,* 24:1, (1980), p. 106, and Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940,* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 123-4, refer to the well-established nature of this scholarship. See

Robinson Crusoe in 1719, there was a close relationship between adventure

narratives and the British empire[38]. This connection became stronger in the

nineteenth century, when hundreds of juvenile adventure novels were published that

romanticized and glorified the exploits of British Empire builders. Dozens of

illustrated periodicals, too, provided readers with an enticing array of imperialistic

articles and tales[39]. Boys' adventure novels sold in their thousands, the penny

weeklies in their millions.[40] Those who have looked at these publications have found

that they were committed, almost without exception, to the imperial ideal and that

the empire was presented in such a way as to inspire confidence and devotion

among the adolescent reading public.[41] Historians have studied this body of

literature as a key vehicle for the transmission of the imperial, bellicose form of

masculinity I am referring to as militaristic masculinity.

In *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain,* for example, Kelly Boyd

argues that boys' story papers (magazines containing juvenile fiction) employed

empire in the task of constructing model British men, and that manliness and

imperialism were integrally bound up with one another in boys' adventure papers.[42]

She argues that boys' papers promoted as heroes those who helped create and

maintain empire; the characters boys sought to emulate were the brave soldiers and

adventurers who 'glowed with the characteristics of manliness central to the needs

of imperial society'[43]. The heroes represented in these periodicals were brave,

stalwart and crafty in their dealings with both new terrain and native peoples.[44] They

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also Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines,* (Manchester, 1996); Patrick Howarth, *Play Up and Play The Game: The Heroes of Popular Fiction,* (London, 1973).

[38] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire,* (London, 1980), p. 37-8.

[39] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', pp. 105-6.

[40] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 106.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper,* pp. 123-5.

[43] Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper,* p. 125.

[44] Ibid.

exuded a sense of superiority (if not arrogance) which confirmed England or Britain as the most successful and virile society in the world. Boyd argues that the period between 1855 and 1890 was filled with stories of young adventurers moving around unexplored lands demonstrating their authority by imposing their whims on native peoples; rather than converting those they met to their way of thinking, they preferred to exploit them to gain riches or control.[45] These kinds of characters reflected (and constructed) the masculine preoccupation with personal authority underpinned with violence that, as we have seen, was a defining characteristic of militaristic masculinity.

As well as mastery over others, Boyd also identifies the trope of middle or upperclass boys becoming men through their experiences in empire: 'here they had been burnished into manhood by confronting the elements and taming them'.[46] Boyd argues that the process of making men became a central theme in imperial literature, in which young men were successfully forged into the 'hard, fair, and resourceful men' who succeeded in empire.[47]

Patrick Dunae has also explored the militaristic masculinity present in boys' periodicals. He argues that the genre reflected various phases of British imperialism, including the militarism of the mid/late nineteenth century.[48] As well as being a 'mirror of imperial thought', the literature played an important role in promoting an interest in empire among young men, and encouraged young men to aspire to military service.[49] Dunae argues that the so-called 'penny dreadfuls' -- 'rumbunctious' and 'sensational' weekly periodicals like *Boys of England*—starred

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 120
[49] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

fictitious characters who were 'boisterous, free-booting individuals' who defied

conventional authority and 'revelled in bloodshed'.[50] These characters, according to

Louis James, reflected 'the violence and brutality of an expanding empire'.[51] The

magazine *Chums* was another paper that had an 'effusive and muscular' spirit.

Chums published adventure serials, which appeared weekly with titles like 'Through

Fire for the Flag!'.[52] This magazine celebrated the guts of military men over the

civilian; the heroes of stories in *Chums* often took matters into their own hands

when the government was reluctant to annex new territories.[53] Stories saw them

'forestall foreign rivals', secure imperial territories, and then 'patriotically present the

property to a grateful Britannia'.[54] These adventure tales were mixed in with reports

from real-life military arenas; when the Second Anglo-Boer War broke out in 1898,

Chums ran a number of up-to-date military stories and published patriotic reports of

individual heroism in the field. A column entitled 'flashes from the front', provided

boys with campaign gossip and news.[55] These articles further raised awareness of,

and admiration for, soldiers.

Historians have also traced the prominence of the militaristic masculine ideal

in adventure novels. G.A. Henty's historical adventure tales are considered the

exemplar of the genre and have been examined by a number of historians, all of

whom agree that his books reflected and reinforced imperial sentiments.[56] In Henty's

books, entrepreneurs, civil servants and military officials take the lead roles, but,

Dunae argues, of the three groups military men have the highest profile.[57] Many of

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[50] Ibid., p. 107.
[51] Louis James, 'Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons', *Victorian Studies,* 17:1, (1973), pp. 89-99.
[52] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 112.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., pp. 111-112.
[55] Ibid., p. 114.
[56] See for example, Robert Huttenback, 'G.A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 29:1, (1965), pp. 65-75.
[57] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 120

the novels concerned the empire's engagements and battles from the mid-nineteenth century, and many focused on real imperial heroes; *With Clive in India,* (1884), for example, is based around the life of Major General Lord Clive, the man credited with laying the foundations for British rule in India via his victory at the Battle of Plassey.[58] Tosh describes these novels as 'exciting, full of action, and bracingly masculine'.[59] Their heroes were extrovert, achieving, and self-reliant, and they plundered and conquered in various imperial settings (including imaginary ones).[60] Angela Woollacott argues that Henty's novels presented a particular class-based definition of British masculinity which valued physical hardiness and bravery over classical education.[61] She argues this is most apparent in his novel *Jack Arthur: A Tale of the Crimea* , written in the 1880s. Woollacott describes how in this novel, Jack's father assures his Lieutenant that Jack is 'active and intelligent', despite having 'not shone greatly at school'.[62] The Lieutenant laughs and responds that it will not affect his career. The book's plot confirms that the Lieutenant's prediction, and Jack's courage, physical strength and quick-wittedness ensure his survival and fortune.[63] Woollacott argues that 'the youthful readers of *Jack Arthur* thus learnt that classical education did not count as much as bravery, honour, and national and imperial service.[64] As Tosh put it, in this kind of adventure fiction 'pluck and guts always wins through'.[65]

Dunae has demonstrated that this bravery, physicality and militarism was also celebrated in the novels of Dr Gordon Stables, one of the best-known writers at the end of the nineteenth century.[66] Like Henty's, Stables' adventure tales focused

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[58] Woollacott, *Gender and Empire,* p. 61.
[59] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* p. 206.
[60] Ibid*.,* p. 206.
[61] Woollacott, *Gender and Empire,* p. 62.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 199.
[66] Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire', p. 110.

on incidents relating to the history and development of empire. Within these narratives, Dunae argues, Stables depicted Empire building as a military exercise, while the empire itself acted for those engaged with it as a symbol of martial prowess- a symbol that, Stables said, should elicit a 'cold thrill of excitement in every true Briton'.[67] Within these stories, Dunae argues, Stables glorified the physicality of British soldier-heroes; in *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1896), for example, Stables extolled the warlike character of the British 'race'.[68]

In juvenile literature, then, 'the domination of force reigned supreme'.[69] Angela Woollacott summarises the conclusions of this body of scholarship succinctly in her statement that 'boys' adventure novels put imperial wars and territorial annexations at the heart of domestic and empire-wide culture, with the result that forms of boyhood and manhood that supported imperial annexation, expansion, aggressive posturing and outright warfare became dominant'.[70]

Children's literature was not the only source of this imperial education for young men. A second body of scholarship on militaristic masculinity explores the formation of this ideal within the British public school system. The ideal of militaristic masculinity crossed class boundaries; as well as being associated with the working-class and middle-class boys who bought the 'penny dreadfuls', it was closely associated with the upper class boys who attended fee-paying schools. The public school system in England had an extremely close relationship with the British Empire. A large majority of British men who served in India in the political classes (or in the higher ranks of the army) attended public schools like Eton, Marlborough and Harrow. As J.A. Mangan puts it, 'the English public schoolboy ran the British

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[67] Ibid., p. 111.
[68] Ibid., p. 111.
[69] Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* p. 15.
[70] Woollacott, *Gender and Empire,* pp. 59-60.

Empire'; he was its ruler and guardian, and was intrinsically linked to the strident

imperialism of the nineteenth century.[71] Historians have therefore looked to public

schools and shown that the militaristic masculinity found in nineteenth-century India

was, partly, crafted in the literature and ethos of public schools. A considerable body

of research into militaristic masculinities thus relates to this educational ideology,

and specifically to the model of masculinity it promoted and the ways in which it was

connected to empire.

According to John Tosh, imperial training for boys had been present in public

schools since the 1830s, but by the 1880s the schools vigorously recruited boys for

colonial careers.[72] Tosh argues public schools specialised in 'manliness' and prided

themselves on toughening pupils up to make 'men out of boys'.[73] Tutors within

public schools articulated a very particular understanding of manly character. Tosh

argues this set a high value on energy, resolute action and self-control.[74] Militarism

was central to shaping these desired characteristics. Michael Howard argues that

an, 'epidemic of martial feeling' spread among the young inside the public schools.[75]

J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie have argued that public schools 'created and

consolidated…a middle-class martial mentality'.[76] Mangan and McKenzie have

explored in particular depth the jingoistic rhetoric in poetry, prose and printing that

acted as imperial propaganda aimed at schoolboys. In their book that foregrounds

the imperial 'martial male', the first chapter concentrates on the 'cultural creation of

a self-sacrificial warriorhood- an imperial elite- and the conditioning of this elite via

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[71] J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal,* Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 44.
[72] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* p. 197.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Michael Howard, 'Race, Empire and War in pre-1914 Britain', *History Today,* 31:12, (1981) p. 352. See also Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School', in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (eds.), *The Victorian Public School,* (Dublin, 1975).
[76] Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* p. 128.

images transmitted to boys in school.[77] They emphasise, for example, the work of Henry Newbolt, the most famous public school versifier. They argue that poems such as Newbolt's 'Vitai Lampada', 'The School at War' and 'The best school of All' were sustained paeans to the public school boy as an imperial subaltern.[78]

Physical health and athleticism were particularly important. Mangan argues that Newbolt, alongside authors such as Warren Bell, R.A.H. Goodyear and P.G. Wodehouse, provided a plentiful supply of literature for public schools in which 'decent, straight-backed schoolboys performed sterling athletic deeds, as part of their preparation for shouldering the imperial burden'[79]. Mangan and McKenzie identify these texts as being essential to the development of marital masculinity. Historians have demonstrated that militaristic masculine identities were forged not just on the pages of school books, but also on the sports fields of public schools. From the mid-nineteenth century, schools began to invest heavily in gymnasia and employ physical education instructors. Tosh argues that this physical education prepared boys for military service and inculcated militaristic masculine ideals; boys acquired training in survival skills and military skills, as well as personal fitness.[80] Team sports also began to be introduced onto the curriculum in the 1860s. Tosh argues that these team sports trained boys to obey (and later to give) orders; they subordinated the individual to team effort; and they instilled stoicism in the face of pain and discomfort.[81] Mangan and McKenzie argue that promotion of the 'martial male' was particularly evident in public schools' promotion of hunting, which was regarded as 'the best possible guarantee for the development of those manly attribute of body and mind'.[82] Mangan argues that through the proportion of field

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[77] Ibid., pp. 30-56.
[78] Ibid., p. 38.
[79] Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism,* p. 47.
[80] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 197.
[81] Ibid., p. 198.
[82] Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* p. 119.

sports and hunting in public schools, and the games ethic associated with it, the

public schools inculcated a militaristic, Darwinist form of masculinity. Like Tosh, he

identifies this as having been developed and performed, in part, through team

sports; he argues that competence at team games for many became the supreme

expression of masculine moral excellence.[83]

The work of scholars such as Tosh, Mangan, and Callum McKenzie shows

that the imperial warrior was constructed as the 'beau ideal' in public schools'

ideology, literature and emphasis on athleticism. The English public school was a

vehicle promoting 'unremitting and unswerving loyalty to the concept of imperialism',

which was inextricably tied with perceptions of good character and manliness.[84] In

short, the work of cultural historians on adventure literature and public school

ideology has provided thorough reconstructions of the militaristic masculine ideal

presented to young men (across social classes) from the mid-nineteenth century.

Through this scholarship, it is possible to identify key traits associated with

militaristic masculinity, which we will revisit throughout the thesis. The most

important of these traits are:

- Bravery, courage, daring, and 'pluck'

- Resourcefulness, practicality, self-reliance, and initiative

- Physicality and athleticism

- Authority and mastery over others (particularly colonial subjects)

- Militarism, military capability, and military success

- Commitment to imperialism

As we have seen, these traits were seen to be embodied in explorers, hunters, and

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[83] Ibid., p. 61.
[84] Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, p. 69.

most of all in soldiers. It was the military man who was most frequently the hero of juvenile adventure stories, and it was the military man who was the focus of public school educational endeavours.

Limitations of the 'cultural' approach to understanding militaristic masculinity

As a result of the work of cultural historians, we have a clear idea of the vigorous athletic ideal promoted by public school educational ideology, and of image of the adventurous young soldier 'confronting and taming the unexplored lands of empire' envisioned in children's literature. We know less about how these ideals were subjectively entered into and negotiated. This lack of scholarship has been noted by Bradley Deane; he argues that 'outside of the relatively few studies that have taken it as their particular focus, the conventional scholarly wisdom about imperial manliness has been content to point to a few of its most conspicuous traits- its militarism, its hostility to feminine influence, and its fascination with the powerful male body- and declare the period to be an age of hypermasculinity'.[85]

The historiographical focus on cultural representations of militaristic masculinity reflects the so-called cultural turn within histories of masculinity. Despite the fact that historians have agreed that masculinity is the 'product of both lived experience and fantasy', and that studies are needed to 'explore how cultural representations became part of subjective identity', historians in the 1990s agreed these studies have not been undertaken.[86] Tosh, for example, that the history of masculinity was already 'becoming subsumed in the cultural turn'.[87] Tosh and Roper

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[85] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 7.
[86] Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800',* (London, 1991), pp. 14-15.
[87] John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in John Arnold and Sean Brady (ed.), *What Is Masculinity*?, (Basingstoke 2011), pp. 17-18; 22.

argue that the influence of Joan Scott is particularly important in this regard. Scott placed power relations at the very heart of gender, but, in defining power largely in cultural terms, as symbol and metaphor, she in their view severed the connection between studies of gender and power, and actual social relations.[88] Histories of masculinity, profoundly influenced by the cultural turn, increasingly came to be about the study of norms and stereotypes, and, Tosh argues, stand as a historical practice dominated by questions of meaning and representation.[89]

Most research on masculinity, therefore, has been concerned with identifying ideological codes, and studying them through representations such as political tracts, enlightenment philosophy, art, conduct books, poetry, religious discourse and propaganda.[90] Subjective experience is placed at the edge of historical analysis, with less emphasis on narratives of action and events than on the normative codes which underpinned them.[91] The lack of study of the lived experience of militaristic masculinity is partly as a result of the direction of research in masculinity studies.

An exception to this assessment is the recent volume on martial masculinities edited by Michael Brown et al.: *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century.* Michael Brown et al. dedicate half of their volume to works that examine the subjective experience of militaristic masculinity, while the other half is dedicated to the kinds of cultural productions that are more traditionally examined in studies of militaristic masculinity (for example

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[88] Roper and Tosh, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800',* pp. 14-15.
[89] John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?'*,* p. 18; See also: Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa. 1500-1950', *The Journal of British Studies,* 44:2, (2005), pp. 276-277.
[90] Michael Roper, 'Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', *History Workshop Journal,* 59, (2005), p. 58.
[91] John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?'*,* p. 22.

novels). [92] Authors focussing on the experience of militaristic masculinity in this volume cover subjects including: amputation, disability, domesticity, familial life and veteran identities. The authors do not artificially separate lived experience from cultural constructs; they emphasise in the opening of the volume that experience and imagination are not distinct categories of analysis, and that they are intimately intertwined and mutually constitutive. [93] However, their insistence that equal weight is given to historical analysis of men's experiences of militaristic masculinity, and analysis of how martial masculinities served as 'meditation and metaphor' for nineteenth century writers, demonstrates the increasing dissatisfaction among historians with the over-emphasis on cultural studies of masculinity alone. *Martial Masculinities* therefore makes an important contribution to scholarship on militaristic masculinity by moving the field towards a more holistic understanding of this identity. There remains, however, considerable historiographical gaps in relation to how this operated outside of Europe. Michael Brown et al.'s volume is rather Eurocentric in focus; of the five chapters in the first part of the volume that focuses on 'experiencing martial masculinities', three chapters focus on soldiers' experiences in Britain and Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, one focuses on soldiers who served in Portugal during the Peninsular War (1807-1814) and one on Britain in the latter nineteenth century. In the second part of the volume, one chapter focuses on empire and imperialism in children's literature. This focus on the experiences of men in Europe in the early nineteenth century in *Martial Masculinities* means that there is an absence of work on how militaristic masculinity operated in men's lives outside of Europe in the latter nineteenth century; a significant omission when so many scholars have highlighted the importance of empire for this masculine identity.

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[92] Michael Brown and Joanne Begiato, 'Introduction', in Michael Brown et al. (eds), *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 8.
[93] Brown and Begiato, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9.

Within the context of empire, the limited number of historical enquiries into subjective experiences of militaristic masculinity are focussed primarily on hunting. J.A. Mangan's work on hunting, militarism, and empire, for example, illustrates how militaristic masculinity was constructed and performed in everyday life through the ritual of the hunt. Mangan, together with Callum McKenzie, explored the connection between hunting and martial masculinity in various articles, and co-authored *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male*. In *Militarism, Hunting and Imperialism*, Mangan and McKenzie demonstrate how public school literature, hunting manuals and adventure novels designated the imperial hunt as a way to build a manly character, prepare for war and crucially to display a stirring martial masculinity.[94] Where other authors stop at a discussion of the representation of a masculine ideal, Mangan and McKenzie explore how men engaged in hunting to demonstrate a Darwinian masculinity, using extracts from the writing of 'officer-hunters'. Mangan and MacKenzie argue that the 'hundreds' of nineteenth century hunting narratives published by Anglo-Indian officers (for example Major A Brinckmann's *The Rifle in Cashmere,* 1863) illustrate that the reputation of an officer was best enhanced by his predilection for, and success at, killing big game.[95] They argue that the majority of men in the army 'embraced the pursuit of big-game hunting as a fundamental manifestation of…martial masculinity'.[96] Specifically, Mangan and McKenzie argue men used the sport to illustrate desirable traits; 'calm indifference to the dangers of hunting and war demonstrated mandatory military qualities'.[97] Mangan and McKenzie have also demonstrated how militaristic masculinity was 'institutionalised' through the big-game hunting club known as the Shikar Club, founded in the 1870s.[98] This organisation symbolised the 'virility' of big

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[94] Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* p. 118
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid*.,* p. 119.
[98] Ibid., p. 168.

game hunting, and was populated by middle class military men who enjoyed the opportunities of 'fraternal bonding' that it offered.[99]

Other sports historians have explored— in a more limited way-- the gendered dynamics of imperial hunting; Joseph Sramek, for example, has argued that tiger hunting in colonial India was perceived as a manly diversion that helped develop character.[100] This scholarship provides the only exploration of how men performed the masculinities promoted by public school ideology and adventure stories within imperial settings.[101] However, this work remains limited. Mangan and McKenzie's work, for example, is an excellent exploration of militaristic masculinity 'in action', and provides an essential starting point for other scholars to build from. However, because it focuses on a single scenario (big game hunting) in which militaristic masculinity as an ideal was translated—fairly seamlessly-- into ordinary life, we do not gain insight into the complexities and contradictions that were brought to the fore when the realities of life meant that the actions of cultural heroes could not be copied. Moreover, because big game hunts were indulged in relatively infrequently (generally during periods of leave), and were very particular 'performances' of masculinity, this scholarship inevitably provides only a partial insight into how the dynamics of this masculine identity played out in imperial life.

The consequence of this limited engagement with men's subjective experiences of militaristic masculinity within the context of empire is that it can appear as if

[99] Ibid., p. 168.
[100] Joseph Sramek, '"Face Him Like a Briton": Tiger Hunting, Imperialism and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875', *Victorian Studies,* 48:4, (2006), p. 665.
[101] John Mackenzie recognised the connection between masculinity and imperial hunting, however he did not explore this in detail. See John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism,* (Manchester, 1997). For other discussions of imperialism and hunting see: W.K. Storey, 'Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930', *Journal of World History,* 2:2, (1991), pp. 135-73; James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire,* (London, 1997).

militaristic masculinity lived only on the pages of adventure novels, on sports fields and in hunts, and as if the identity was constructed primarily by British writers in England. The scholarship on militaristic masculinity does not reflect the fact that the identity was forged and inhabited in part by men who lived and worked in empire.

'Consciously Uncoupled': Imperial and Military History

The lack of studies on men's subjective experiences of militaristic masculinity is also the result of imperial historians' reticence about engaging with military history, and a concurrent reluctance on the part of military historians to engage with imperial history.

In her book exploring martial race ideology in colonial India, Heather Streets argued that there has been a mutual 'lack of interest' between military and imperial historians regarding the other discipline's subjects, themes, and methodologies.[102] She argues that conventional military history has been primarily concerned with military structures, tactics, strategy, battles, and individuals.[103] According to Streets, military historians generally rely on sources generated by branches of the military, and have 'tenaciously held onto the maxim that the army was both apolitical and marginal to Victorian culture'.[104] Moreover, she argues that despite the fact that Britain maintained a vast army in India and garrisoned a wide variety of colonial stations, military historians have traditionally focussed their attentions on the structure of its army within the UK, and on its relationship to—and competition with—European armies, rather than empire.[105]

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[102] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 5.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

At the same time, Streets argues, 'new imperial historians' have tended- like many of their colleagues in other fields- to write off military history as a 'hopeless backwater', uninformed by theoretical considerations of race, gender, or relations of power.[106] Streets defines new imperial historians as researchers who have sought to demonstrate the significance of Empire in nineteenth-century British popular, cultural, and political life.[107] Using sources previously ignored in histories of empire—including art, music, advertisement, popular journalism and school textbooks-- 'new imperial' history has focussed on the values and ideologies that sustained the imperial project as well as on the language and texts that conveyed them.[108] Streets argues that despite recognising that public esteem for the army and colonial warfare rose dramatically in this era, and tales of army adventures 'abounded' in a varied and expanding media culture, new imperial historians have seldom ventured into the traditional archival domains of military historians to explore possible connections between the 'real' army and its popular representations.[109] This, she argues, is the result of the fact that 'new imperial' historians generally hold the field of military history in disdain.[110]

The antagonism between military and imperial history has broken down somewhat in recent years in research on the empire in India. Much of this has originated from the field of military history. Military historians have more readily embraced a more integrated approach than imperial historians and there is a growing body of work that blends considerations of race, class, gender and relations of power with studies of the Indian army. Much of this scholarship rescues military

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., p. 4.
[108] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[109] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[110] Ibid., p. 6.

history from its preoccupation with hagiographies of 'great white men' and instead focuses on the histories of the Indian soldiers and officers of the Company and Crown, the people referred to by the Persian idiom as *'siyāhī-e-lashkar',* the anonymous masses of history, figures lost in the 'blackness of the army.'[111] The military scholarship on the army in colonial India neglected to consider in any depth who these soldiers were, how they were raised and disciplined, and how their presence was reconciled with colonial ideology. The perceptions, hopes and protests of the sepoys, David Omissi argued, were not subjected to any rigorous scrutiny, and the Indian soldiers remained at the margins of scholarship, providing an 'exotic' backdrop to Euro-centric stories.[112]

Since the mid-1990s, identifying precisely who served in the colonial armies has become a significant focus of research. Seema Alavi, for example, has looked at the East India Company's army in Bengal between 1770 and 1830 and explored the recruitment of peasants from rural societies in Bengal.[113] Douglas Peers has studied the recruiting patterns of the three presidency armies in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and demonstrated that each of the armies had a different 'ideal recruit', and differed considerably in terms of ethnic makeup.[114] Tan Tai Yong, along with other historians such as Streets and Kaushik Roy, has looked at how these recruiting preferences shifted in the aftermath of the 1857 sepoy rebellion to focus on the recently conquered and demilitarised Punjab.[115]

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[111] Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire,* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 4-5.
[112] David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: Indian Army, 1860-1940,* (London, 1994), p. xix.
[113] Seema Alavi, *The Sepoy and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India, 1770-1830,* (Delhi and Oxford, 1995).
[114] Peers, *Between Mars and Mammon*, pp. 88-94.
[115] Tan Tai Yong, 'Sepoys and the Colonial State: Punjab and the Military Base of the Indian Army, 1849-1900', in Partha Sarathi Gupta and Anirudh Deshpande (eds), *The British Raj and its Indian Armed Forces,* 1857-1939, (Oxford, 2002), pp.18. See also: Kaushik Roy, *Brown Warriors of the Raj: Recruitment and the Mechanics of Command in the Sepoy Army, 1859-1913,* (Delhi, 2008); Gavin Rand and Kim A. Wagner, 'Recruiting the 'Marital Races': Identities and Military Service in Colonial India', *Patterns of Prejudice,* 43: 3-4, (2012) pp. 251-252. See also Streets, *Martial Races,* pp. 190-225.

The second major set of questions that have occupied the new military histories of colonial India have to do with the motivations behind Indian soldiers' enlistment in the Indian army, and the mechanisms by which their discipline and loyalty were maintained. David Omissi in *The Sepoy and the Raj* has argued that competitive and regular pay, as well as attractive conditions of work (generous leave, smart uniforms and plentiful food) and status encouraged men to join up.[116] For some, like the Rajputs, joining the army was also an assertion of identity; martial-self image or a community tradition of military service guided many into serving with the British.[117] Kaushik Roy has examined the construction of loyalty, drawing on what he terms a 'welfare package' for soldiers-- a series of incentives with which the imperialists purchased the soldiers' loyalty.[118] Alongside these examinations of constructions of loyalty, historians such as Douglas Peers, Saul David and Chandar Sundaram have examined discipline and dissent in the Indian army.[119] A third of Roy's edited collection *War and Society in Colonial India* is dedicated to detailing the discipline structures and exploring instances where they failed, and Peers' work on discipline in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* historicises such instances of indiscipline, tracing them back to divergences between Indian and European military culture.[120]

Finally, there has been a recent growth in academic and popular histories of the First and Second World Wars that recognises the contribution of soldiers from

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[116] Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj,* pp. 47-74.

[117] Ibid., p. 52-53.

[118] Kaushik Roy, 'Logistics and the Construction of Loyalty: The Welfare Mechanism in the Indian Army, 1859-1913', in Partha Sarathi Gupta and Anirudh Deshpande (eds), *The British Raj and its Indian Armed Forces,* 1857-1939, (Oxford, 2002), pp. 98-125.

[119] Other contributions to the debate over the construction of loyalty have come from Amiya Barat, *The Bengal Native Infantry: Its Organisation and Discipline, 1796-1852,* (Calcutta, 1962); Stephen Cohen, *The Indian Army, Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation,* (Delhi, 1971); Rudrangshu Mukherjee, 'The Sepoy Mutinities Revisited', in Mushirul Hasan and Narayani Gupta, (eds), *India's Colonial Encounters: Essays in Memory of Eric Stokes,* (Delhi, 1993), pp. 121-32.

[120] Douglas Peers, 'Sepoys, Soliders and the Lash: Race, Caste and Army Discipline in India, 1820-1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 23:2, (1995), pp. 211-47.

the Indian Subcontinent. As with work on the nineteenth-century Indian armies, much of this work is reparative, and seeks to reconstruct the lives and motivations of people whose lives and wartime contribution has been erased from national narratives.[121] Much of this work also situates the wars in the context of empire, and is informed by post-colonial perspectives. Ashutosh Kumar and Claude Markovits' edited volume *Indian Soldiers in the First World War: Re-Visiting a Global Conflict,* for example, explores the lives and social histories of Indian soldiers who fought in the First World War, including their recruitment and deployment. Kumar and Markovits incorporate insights from imperial and global history (a field which studies the history of global connections) by also exploring the encounters of travelling Indian soldiers with other societies, and the contributions of returned soldiers in Indian society.[122] Gajendra Singh similarly combines military and imperial history methodologies in his study of the testimonies of Indian combatants in the First and Second World Wars. As well as exploring the mobilisation, recruitment, and shipping of Indian soldiers overseas, Singh also traces the evolution of their military identities, and considers how the soldiers' testimonies reflected their own fragmented identities as colonial subjects and also imperial policemen.[123] Military historian Kaushik Roy has pushed the scholarship further still by exploring the consequences of the mass-mobilisation of a colony for war during World War Two; specifically, he focuses on understanding the impact of large-scale mobilisation of manpower and resources on India's society and economy.[124]

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[121] See for example: Ghee Bowman, *The Indian Contingent: The Forgotten Muslim Soldiers of Dunkirk,* (Cheltenham 2020); Mohindra S. Chowdry, *The Defence of Europe by Sikh Soldiers in the World Wars, (*Kibworth Beauchamp, 2018).
[122] Ashutosh Kumar and Claude Markovits (eds), *Indian Soldiers in the First World War: Re-Visiting a Global Conflict,* (New Delhi, 2020). See also Tarak Barkawi, *Soldiers of Empire: Indian and British Armies of World War II,* (Cambridge and New York, 2017) for an example of a transnational perspective on the Indian Army during WW2.
[123] Gajendra Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers and the Two World Wars: Between Self and Sepoy,* (London, 2014).
[124] Kaushik Roy, *India and World War II: War, Armed Forces, and Society, 1939-45,* (Oxford, 2016).

The shift away from battle narratives and hagiographies of British generals has provided essential insights into the lives of Indian soldiers and the social, political and racial structures that they operated within. These efforts have not been uncontested and there are many within the military history community who have rejected the critical engagement with colonial history.[125] Despite this, the shift in military histories of empire has reached through into popular history publications aimed a general readership. In *The British Empire and the Second World War*, Ashley Jackson for example argues that the war should be viewed as an imperial one, stressing that it was fought in imperial theatres and that 'every campaign that the British fought was fought alongside imperial allies for imperial reasons'.[126]

Within the new military histories, however, there has not been comparable critical analysis of the Anglo-Indian men who served in India. This is understandable, because much of the scholarship is compensating for the fact that white soldiers were the only individuals written about in traditional, parochial military history. However understandable, this continuing lack of engagement with military men means that there is little scholarship that critically analyses Anglo-Indian men, their place within colonial ideology, and their significant contribution to colonial rule in India. This has been exacerbated by the fact that imperial histories, and indeed historians from the field of global history, have generally remained reluctant to engage with colonial military subjects and sources. Streets' assessment that 'new imperial historians have seldom ventured into the traditional archival domains of military historians to explore possible connections between the 'real' army and its popular representations' remains true, fifteen years after her book was published.[127]

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[125] For a discussion of this in a national military museum see: Geraldine Kendall Adams, 'The Right Balance', *Museums Journal,* 121:6, (2021), pp. 4-5.
[126] Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War,* (London, 2006), p.1.
[127] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 5-6.

Imperial and global historian, Kim Wagner notes that colonial military history is 'largely eschewed by most imperial and global historians'.[128]

Kim Wagner is one of a few exceptions. He and scholars like Gavin Rand have bridged the gap between imperial and military history in their work, which examines connections between culture, violence and colonial rule in South Asia. For example, he has utilised methods and sources associated with post-colonial history to re-examine the actions of British officers at seminal events such as the 1857 Mutiny and the 1919 Amritsar massacre.[129] The way in which his research combines military and imperial history is perhaps most clearly illustrated in his work on British counter-insurgency doctrine; combining post-colonial analysis with knowledge of military weaponry and tactics, he demonstrates that colonial military violence and the development of new technologies, such as the expanding Dum-Dum bullet, were based on deeply encoded racialised assumptions concerning the inherent difference of local opponents, which were underwritten by both imperial ideologies and colonial military doctrine.[130]

The engagement of historians of imperialism in India with military history, has, however, generally been limited to histories of colonial violence. Gavin Rand, for example, has written extensively on warfare and counterinsurgency on the North-West Frontier in India. This work fuses social, imperial, cultural and military perspectives; Rand emphasises the vital role of culture in shaping imperial military practice and the multiple cultural effects of colonial military service and

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[128] Kim Wagner, 'Savage Warfare: Violence and the Rule of Colonial Difference in Early British Counterinsurgency', *History Workshop Journal,* 85:1, (2018), p. 218.
[129] See: Wagner, Kim, *The Skull of Alum Bheg: The Life and Death of a Rebel of 1857,* (London, 2017); Kim Wagner, *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the making of a Massacre,* (New Haven, 2019).
[130] Wagner, 'Savage Warfare', pp. 217-237.

engagements.[131] His and Heather Street's work on martial race ideology (to be explored further in chapters 2 and 5) remain among the few works that incorporate the military into a social and cultural history of colonial India, rather than interpreting military history through a cultural/ imperial history lens.

Outside of the work of Streets, imperial historians interested in the lives and experiences of the Anglo-Indian community have tended to neglect military men and their families. Lizzie Collingham's explanation for her focus on the civil service in *Imperial Bodies* is a good example of this. In the introduction she writes: 'evidence from the other sections of the British community such as the military, planters, and businessmen has not been ignored, but the lower orders of British society play a lesser part in the analysis due to their more shadowy role in the expression of British power'.[132] This is a considerable omission, given that Anglo-Indian military men were both the physical enforcers of colonial rule, and also, as we have seen, valorised as exemplars of manliness.

Collingham's statement reflects the lack of engagement with military themes in social histories of colonial India more broadly. Indeed, when imperial historians have engaged with the lives of military men, their lives and distinct experiences—often wildly different from those of civilian men—are generally flattened, and they are considered alongside civilian men, as if there were no difference between them. In such studies, civilian men generally make up the bulk of individuals considered, with just a handful of military men included. Mary Procida's *Married to the Empire*, which focussed on the contribution of Anglo-Indian women to Indian imperialism, is an example of a work that flattens the experience of military men by grouping them

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[131] See for example: Kaushik Roy and Gavin Rand (eds.), *Culture, Conflict and the Military in Colonial South Asia,* (Abindon and New York, 2018).
[132] E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*, (Cambridge, 2001), p. 6.

(and their families) with civilian men, who form the main subject of her work. She for example considers the homelife of military men, without recognising the distinctive challenges and disruptions to their homelife as a result of military service.

Exploring the Lived Experience of Militaristic Masculinity

This thesis contributes to the study of militaristic masculinity by examining how Anglo-Indian men subjectively experienced and embodied this masculine identity in the context of the armies in India. My work examines how the militaristic masculine ideal identified in cultural histories was negotiated, constructed, and performed by those who were thought to be exemplars of this masculine ideal: soldiers. Specifically, it focuses on the lives of Anglo-Indian men who served in the army that was known as the East India Company army (prior to 1861) and thereafter as the Indian Army. By focussing on these men as gendered subjects, whose identities were forged in the messy realities of colonial life, my thesis adds a vital social history dimension to the existing cultural history research on militaristic masculinity. Historians of masculinity have called for greater focus on how masculinities are 'inhabited by individuals'.[133] This thesis explores exactly this: how men articulated militaristic masculine identities in the context of colonial India. My thesis therefore contributes to moving the scholarship on militaristic masculinity on from the overwhelming focus on Victorian imaginative fiction.

I engage with Anglo-Indian men's experience with militaristic masculinity through a focus on material culture: the objects, clothing, weapons and equipment

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[133] Roper and Tosh, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800,* pp. 14-15; Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', p. 31; Harvey and Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done With Masculinity?', p. 277.

that men used and surrounded themselves with during their military service. This methodology is particularly appropriate for an engagement with militaristic masculinity because recent historical scholarship has underscored the importance of material culture for martial masculinity in the nineteenth century. Joanne Begiato's work is particularly influential in this regard. She argues that objects bearing martial connotations and representations of idealised military men functioned as disseminators of martial masculinity in nineteenth century print culture.[134] Begiato identifies three specific types of material culture which inspired feelings that reinforced ideas about idealised manliness in various forms of print media: artefacts of war and the military (including uniforms, weapons, medals); domestic objects that depicted martial manliness (for example toys, ceramics, and textiles); and material culture associated with celebrity military heroes, ranging from consumable products that deployed their names and images, to monuments that memorialised them.[135] She argues that these objects not only extended the reach of this form of manliness, but also that these objects acted as catalysts for discussions of ideal manliness, acting as entry points into wider imaginings of military men's admirable characters and qualities.[136] Toy soldiers, for example, were gendered as the archetypal little boy's toy in visual and print culture, symbolising the masculine qualities of boyhood.[137] They were, according to Begiato, deployed to express qualities associated with the idealisation of martial manliness; in Hans Christian Andersons 'The Brave Tin Soldier' (1838), for example, the tin soldier embodied bravery, determination, fortitude and steadfastness.[138] Representations of toy soldiers were also used to explore anxieties around martial masculinity; the lone toy soldier could represent the vulnerability of masculinity, as well as the boy in danger,

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[134] Joanne Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, Emotion, and Material Culture*, (Manchester, 2020), p. 128.
[135] Begiato, *Manliness in Britain,* pp. 101-136.
[136] Ibid,*,* p. 21; 102.
[137] Ibid., p. 109.
[138] Ibid.*,* p. 109.

missing, or dead.[139] Although Begiato's approach focuses on the gendered impact

of material culture in print media, rather than individuals' direct engagements with

objects, her work highlights the fact that martial material culture was 'emotionally

dense and played a vital part in constructing manliness'.[140] My thesis' focus on

men's material engagement with military objects in relation to the formation of

militaristic masculine identities therefore builds on Begiato's work, bringing the

connections between military material culture and subjective experiences of

masculinity into view.

A material culture methodology is also appropriate for this thesis precisely

because of its emphasis on men's lived experiences of militaristic masculinity.

Material culture methodologies have become increasingly popular tools for

historians seeking insight into the lived experience of people in the past. Sarah

Pennell, for example, has emphasised that material culture sources hold insights

into past practices and beliefs, and can illuminate histories of the mundane, or,

'everyday life'.[141] Material culture is also deeply implicated in the psycho-social

activity of gaining an understanding of one's 'self' and expressing this to others.[142]

Objects have therefore also been used by historians to understand historical

processes of identity construction. Indeed, material culture methodologies have

frequently been employed by historians of the 'new' social histories of empire to

engage with questions of identity and power in the imperial context.[143] Objects are

used by people as aids to developing, presenting and managing their identities; this

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[139] Begiato, *Manliness in Britain,* p. 111.
[140] Ibid*., pp. 20-21.
[141] Sarah Pennell, 'Mundane Materiality, or, should small things still be forgotten? Material culture, micro-histories, and the problem of scale', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources,* (Oxon, 2009), pp. 174-175.
[142] Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture,* (London, 2007), p. 133.
[143] See for example Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857,* (London, 2018).

and the fact that everyday life is rooted in the experience of materiality makes a material culture methodology suitable for this exploration of militaristic masculinity.

The body of this thesis (chapters three, four, and five) explores different material practices through which Anglo-Indian men sought to construct militaristic masculine identities. Each chapter considers material practices at a different level; chapter three explores the material practices at the level of colonial society, chapter four at the level of the home, and chapter five at the level of the body. This approach is designed to reflect how militaristic masculinity was forged through interactions with objects in multiple spheres and social contexts. Indeed, many of the Anglo-Indian men studied in this thesis feature in multiple chapters. This is intended to reflect the variety of ways Anglo-Indian men constructed, and engaged with, this hegemonic masculine ideal in their lives, and to provide a more holistic insight into the construction of this identity.

After presenting a brief chronology of key conflicts in colonial India between 1840 and 1900 in Chapter 2, the third chapter of the thesis focuses on the gendered nature of colonial looting. It considers how Anglo-Indian men used inscriptions on looted objects to communicate their masculine authority and place in colonial history, as well as to authenticate their experience in war. It also shows how the language used by Anglo-Indian men to describe their looting activities was sexualised and linked with the performance of an aggressive, virile masculinity. The chapter ends with a discussion of how Anglo-Indian men used loot to demonstrate their collective militaristic masculinity through the designs on campaign medals and displays of captured heavy artillery. Drawing on the work of Angela Woollacott, who has stressed that the militaristic masculinity provoked aggressive forms of warfare and attitudes, this chapter demonstrates the very real links between acts of colonial looting and militaristic masculinity. I provide an insight that cultural histories of

militaristic masculinity often overlook into the gendered violence that was associated with this hegemonic masculinity.

Chapter 4 focuses on the production of militaristic masculinity in the Anglo-Indian home. I demonstrate that, contrary to historiographical representations of militaristic masculinity, this masculine ideal was compatible with domesticity. I show how-- within domestic advice literature and military regulations—a successful military career was linked with a strong command of 'economy' developed in home. The Anglo-Indian military community linked successful management of the home with success as an officer; accordingly, men used the management of the home as a way to construct and perform traits and skills associated with military success (and thereby masculinity), including: economy, organisation, management ability, authority, and resourcefulness. I also demonstrate that contrary to existing historiographical interpretations, in this process Anglo-Indian women were not maligned as unwelcome feminising influences, but rather worked in an 'imperial partnership' with their husbands to aid their constructions of militaristic masculinity.

Chapter 5 focuses on the production of militaristic masculinity at the bodily level via army uniforms. I demonstrate that the Indian Army uniforms of Anglo-Indian soldiers after 1857 incorporated aesthetics associated with martial race soldiers. Martial race soldiers were locally raised troops- such as Sikhs- who were identified by Anglo-Indian soldiers as 'inherently' hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic.[144] I argue that the uniforms of Anglo-Indian soldiers strategically embraced aesthetics associated with colonial fantasies of these 'hyper-masculine' and 'hyper-militarised' groups in order to enhance the militarism and masculinity of the wearer. This chapter demonstrates that Anglo-Indian officers embraced these garments in

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[144] See chapter three for an extended discussion of martial race theory.

strategic displays of 'barbarism' that were designed to indicate their possession of traits associated with the martial races *and* with militaristic masculinity, including militarism, bravery, and physicality. The chapter demonstrates that although militaristic masculinity has been associated with the hardening of racial taxonomies and racist attitudes towards South Asian people, the material language that Anglo-Indian officers used to communicate that racial 'superiority' was not simply that of the white, British metropolitan elite.

Through these chapters my research contributes new depth to the study of militaristic masculinity, not only by exploring how the ideal was interpreted and negotiated by men, but also by demonstrating how men's lived experiences constructing and expressing the identity often departed significantly from its popular representations. Chapter 4 shows that men constructed militaristic masculinity in a sphere that was portrayed in popular literature as being antithetical to militaristic masculinity. Chapter 5 shows how the 'imperial and racial superiority' associated with late nineteenth century masculinity was not materially demonstrated by clothing that replicated metropolitan fashions in the military community, as was the case for the better-studied civilian population. Both sections therefore enrich understandings of militaristic masculinity in the late nineteenth century by demonstrating the complex and sometimes counter-intuitive ways in which men departed from the ideal representations of the ideal, in order to fulfil it. It was of course not possible for men to prove their manliness simply by aping idealised representations in adventure literature; they could not be a tiger-slaying soldier-hero every day. My thesis provides insight into some of the ways military men sought to construct militaristic masculine identities within the boundaries of their own lives.

My research also makes a contribution to the scholarship on militaristic masculinity by demonstrating the inherently relational character of the identity. Thus

far historians have nominally pointed out that this 'hypermasculine' identity was constructed against the counterpoint of British, metropolitan femininity.[145] Mrinalini Sinha and other post-colonial scholars have explored in depth how this masculine ideal was constructed against the ideal of the 'effeminate Bengali', but there has been little discussion of other colonial groups' relationships to late nineteenth century masculinity. This thesis makes a contribution to literature by exploring how the ideal operated among, and was negotiated by, Anglo-Indian officers who lived in India with their wives and female relatives, and not in the fantastical bachelor paradises of adventure fiction. The thesis also provides an original contribution by examining the relationship between the militaristic masculine ideal and martial race ideology. It demonstrates that militaristic masculinity was not simply constructed against the counterpoint of the 'effeminate Bengali' (a preoccupation of civilian society), but also within the world of the army and the ideology/ recruiting doctrine of martial race theory where gendered and racialised attitudes to the Punjabi Sikh, Jat, and Pathan groups had real ideological, social, and military significance.

In considering the relationship of Anglo-Indian women to militaristic masculinity, as well as the relationship between the ideal and groups who were identified as martial race soldiers, my work embeds the construction of this identity firmly within the power structures and ideologies of an imperial setting, and, specifically, a military setting. It therefore provides a counter-point to existing metropolitan-centred analyses of the ideal; as we have seen, there is currently an over-reliance on cultural developments in metropolitan Britain to explain the ideal's construction and projection. Mine is an important contribution, because although existing studies have highlighted the strong connection between militaristic masculinity and imperialism, there have been few studies that embed militaristic

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[145] See for example Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 91.

masculinity in a colonial setting.[146] As Mary Procida has argued, metropolitan Britain was not imperial India, and femininity and masculinity acquired different meanings and expressions in the Anglo-Indian community.[147]

Finally, in foregrounding military men and considering them as gendered subjects, my research helps unite the new social histories of empire and military histories. It introduces questions of gender and provides a critical analysis of white soldiers, which remain almost entirely absent from the 'new' military histories of India, and contributes to bringing the soldier and the military into imperial histories. My source base ensures a thoroughly integrated approach; I consider objects associated with the 'territory' of military historians – including campaign medals, heavy artillery, military uniforms, military regulations, weapons, and regimental photographs-- alongside objects associated with social and imperial history like looted objects, diaries, domestic advice manuals, cartes de visite, watercolours, and portraiture. By demonstrating how the lives of Anglo-Indian military officers can enrich our understandings of militaristic masculinity, my thesis demonstrates the value of imperial historians engaging with military history outside of histories of violence.

Parameters of the Project

In this thesis I focus on Anglo-Indian soldiers who served in India between 1830-1900 in the army that was known as the East India Company army until 1857, and then as the Indian Army after the 1857 Indian Rebellion. I have focused on men who

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[146] Sinha as exception
[147] Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947, (Manchester, 2002),* p. 17.

served in these armies (rather than the British army) because the central aim of this thesis is to explore how Anglo-Indian men engaged with militaristic masculinity in the specific context of colonial India. Soldiers of the British Army have been excluded from this study as their presence in India was often brief or sporadic, and their identities informed by other social and military contexts. In this thesis I sometimes refer to the forces that made up the East India Company army and the Indian Army as the 'imperial troops' or imperial forces'. This is for brevity and allows me to avoid repeating both names of the force (which was the same but for a name change). The collective term 'imperial troops' is also used rather than 'British forces' to avoid confusion with the British metropolitan army.

My desire to capture the everyday, mundane ways in which Anglo-Indian soldiers engaged with militaristic masculinity means this thesis focuses on middle-ranking officers of the East India Company and Indian armies. I have omitted the study of the lowest ranks of Anglo-Indian soldiers because of a lack of sources—and in particular material culture—that relate to their experiences. I have chosen to omit famous, high- ranking soldiers like Sir Colin Campbell (Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army during the 1857 rebellion) and heroes of the North-West frontier like Lieutenant Harry Lumsden and Lieutenant William Hodson from this study because these men already feature considerably in existing historiography. From the old hagiographies of military historians, to cultural historians' analyses of fictionalised accounts of the lives of soldier-heroes, the same individuals seem to be considered again and again.[148] Focusing on fairly anonymous middle-ranking officers enables me to move the field forwards, while also gaining a more 'everyday' insight into constructions of militaristic masculinity.

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[148] See for example: Charles Allen, *Soldier Sahibs: The Men Who Made the North-West Frontier,* (London, 2020); Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence,* (Oxford, 2002); John Lawrence, *Lawrence of Lucknow: A Biography,* (London, 1990). These titles all focus on Sir Henry Lawrence.

My focus on the period 1840-1900 is based on historians' existing periodisation of militaristic masculinity, as well as developments in colonial and military history relevant to the study. Historians who have studied militaristic masculinity in an imperial setting have identified the Indian Rebellion of 1857 as a crucial date in the development of this identity. I have chosen to include material from seventeen years prior—1840— for two reasons. The first of these is a scepticism about a concrete 'turning-point' in the development of this identity; the Indian Rebellion was undoubtedly a significant moment in militarising Anglo-Indian identities and the hardening of understandings of racial difference, but it is not convincing that the event ushered in an entirely new identity that did not have roots in previous ways of being. Indeed, looking at the archival and material record, the 1840s appears a more natural starting point as there is considerable evidence of Anglo-Indian men acting in line with militaristic masculinity in this era. This is supported by the work of Douglas Peers. He has shown that by the 1840s Anglo-Indian society was thoroughly militarised, with the military making up the majority of the Anglo-Indian population, and public sentiments being deeply militaristic. It is not the intention of this thesis to date the development of this masculine identity, and selecting the 1840s as a starting point is an attempt to avoid restrictive periodisations, rather than begin new ones.

The second reason for beginning my study in the 1840s is because this decade saw the beginnings of a particular phase of military action which focused on the north of the subcontinent, and the boundaries and territories around it. This is described in greater depth in the subsequent chapter, but the 1840s saw the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842), as well as the First and Second Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845-46 and 1848-49 respectively), which was the 'start' of major wars being concentrated in the North of India. These wars were fundamental to understanding

military life, politics, and ideology in the late nineteenth century. For example, the Anglo-Sikh Wars were inextricably tied to the development of martial race theory, which will feature heavily in chapter 5 as crucial to Anglo-Indian masculine identities. The wars beginning in the 1840s had military ramifications throughout the rest of the century; The Anglo-Sikh Wars were also crucial to shaping the history of the Indian Rebellion (as described in chapter 5) and the Anglo-Afghan war of the early 1840s was followed by another in the 1890s. Beginning the thesis in 1857, or, perhaps the 1860s, would be an artificial separation of a particular era of military and colonial history. The 1840s therefore appear as a natural starting point for this thesis, making sense in relation to the history of militaristic masculinity, as well as in the context of military developments in colonial India.

As a result of the focus in my thesis on the lived experiences of Anglo-Indian officers, the geographical spread of my research is dictated by where Anglo-Indian officers went in the course of their military service. Because of the concentration of military action in the North of the subcontinent in the nineteenth century, my research is mainly focussed on northern India, the Punjab, and the North-West Frontier provinces, and Afghanistan. The Anglo-Burmese wars of 1852 to 1853, and 1885 were also a focus of much military attention during this era, and have been included as service in these wars formed the experience of many Anglo-Indian men who served between 1840-1900.

Having laid out the theoretical framework of this chapter, I will move on to discuss the historical context in which this thesis is set.

CHAPTER 2

A Military History of Colonial India, 1840-1900

This chapter will provide a brief introduction to the military developments in colonial India, between 1840 and 1900. The intricacies of the wars, the details of the battles, and the personalities of army leaders cannot be adequately sketched in this chapter, which provides only enough historical context to allow readers to understand references to specific wars in the chapters that follow. This chapter will, however, briefly introduce themes that will be picked up in latter chapters, such as martial race ideology.

First Anglo-Afghan War

Afghanistan occupied an important strategic position between India and the Russian empire. Fearful of a Russian invasion of India via the Khyber and Bolan passes, the British were keen to ensure that the Afghan Emir was pro-East India Company (EIC).[1] In 1837, the EIC sent an envoy to Kabul to try to establish an alliance with Dost Mohammed Khan against Russia, seeing him as the key to stability on this frontier.[2] Initially, the Emir was in favour of this alliance. However, when the EIC refused to help him regain Peshawar- territory seized by the Sikh empire in 1834- he refused to co-operate.[3] Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, subsequently heard that Dost Mohammed Khan was hosting a Russian envoy (by

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[1] Robert Wilkinson-Latham, *North-West Frontier, 1837-1947,* 6th ed. (Oxford, 2005), pp. 3-4.
[2] Antoinette Burton, 'On the First Anglo-Afghan War, 1839-42: Spectacle of Disaster', 2012. https://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=antoinette-burton-on-the-first-anglo-afghan-war-1839-42-spectacle-of-disaster (10 December 2021).
[3] Victoria Schofield, *Afghan Frontier: Feuding and Fighting in Central Asia*, (London, 2003), p. 65.

advisers who had exaggerated the threat of this meeting) and concluded that Dost Mohammed was anti-British, and a threat.[4] In response, the East India Company decided to replace Dost Mohammed with a former ruler, Shah Shuja, whom they perceived to be more malleable. In Spring 1839, a 20,000 strong East India Company force, known as 'The Army of the Indus', marched into Afghanistan and captured Kandahar, before moving on to Kabul and installing Emir Shah Shuja on the throne.[5] With Dost Mohammed Khan having fled, and Emir Shah Shuja on the throne, the majority of the Army of the Indus returned to India, leaving behind political envoys and a small garrison in Kabul.[6]

By 1840, there was significant popular opposition to Shah Shuka and great resentment of the Anglo-Indian community who made up the occupying force.[7] Unrest in Kabul soon escalated into an insurrection led by Dost Mohammad's son, beginning on 1st November 1841. Prominent Company diplomats were murdered in December 1841, and the Afghan forces surrounded the cantonment and captured the commissariat (supply store).[8] The garrison was eventually forced to surrender as a result of the threat of imminent starvation. In her acclaimed account of the war, *A Journal of the disasters in Afghanistan, 1841-2,* Lady Florentina Sale (wife of army officer Sir Robert Henry Sale) described the Anglo-Indian starvation being so severe that 'some of the gentlemen ate camel's flesh'. [9]

Having been promised safe passage out of the city by the tribal leaders of the anti-occupation insurrection—rebel leaders to whom guns and treasure had

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[4] John Keay, *India: A History,* (New York, 2010), pp. 418-19.
[5] National Army Museum, 'First Afghan War', https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/first-afghan-war (10 December 2021).
[6] National Army Museum, 'First Afghan War'.
[7] For further discussion of this see James Perry, *Arrogant Armies: Great Military Disasters and the Generals Behind Them,* (Edison, 2005), pp. 120-121.
[8] Lady Florentia Sale, *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan, 1841-42*. (Lahore, 1843), p. 12.
[9] Sale, *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan,* p. 30.

been handed over—the EIC military personnel and some 12,000 camp followers were ambushed and massacred on their way to map Jalalabad in January 1842.[10] This was the iconic incident of the First-Anglo Afghan War. As the EIC soldiers and civilians left the cantonment, hill tribesmen fired on them and captured 'nearly all the baggage, and the greater part of the commissariat stores'.[11] The result was that the majority of the force had no tents, and suffered from both starvation and the extreme low temperatures.[12] Sale recorded that many men were found frozen to death after the first night.[13] Those who did not freeze to death were massacred, and aside from a group of high-profile individuals (including Sale) who were held as hostages (and Sepoys who were sold into Kabul's slave markets), only one soldier survived.

The imperial troops eventually returned to re-take the city, via the 'Army of Retribution'. This culminated in the burning of the bazaar in Kabul, a pointless act of revenge designed to leave a 'lasting mark of retribution'.[14] After retrieving remaining hostages, and relieving troops that had been besieged elsewhere (i.e. not in the Kabul garrison), the EIC decided that occupying Afghanistan would cost too much, in men and money, and withdrew.[15] Antoinette Burton argues that though the British officially won the war, Afghanistan was hardly secure either during the occupation or in the decades that followed.[16] In that sense, she argues, the first Anglo-Afghan war presaged a century of precarious imperial power on the frontier of the Raj.

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[10] J.A. Norris, *The First Afghan War, 1838-1842,* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 378.
[11] Sale, *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan*, p. 44.
[12] For descriptions of this see Sale, *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan,* p. 44- 50.
[13] Ibid., p. 48.
[14] National Army Museum, 'First Afghan War'.
[15] National Army Museum, 'First Afghan War'.
[16] Burton, 'On the First Anglo-Afghan War, 1839-42: Spectacle of Disaster'.

Anglo-Sikh Wars

The Anglo-Sikh wars were fought between the Sikh Empire and the East India Company through a number of battles leading to the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The First Anglo-Sikh War began in 1845 and ended in 1846 and the Second Anglo-Sikh War was fought between 1848 and 1849.[17]

The Sikh army, the Khalsa (literally 'the pure'), was probably the most formidable opponent the British faced on the Indian subcontinent.[18] This was largely due to the leadership of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh had declared himself the Maharajah of the Punjab in 1801, after having built up—through military conquest-- the *Khalsa Raj,* or, Sikh Kingdoms.[19] This territory included the Punjab and neighbouring regions in North India.[20] During the century's early decades, Ranjit was cognisant of EIC expansion moving northwards towards his domain and orchestrated in response a rapid change in the Sikh army to face this threat; first importing and imitating western military tactics and weapons, then developing his own.[21] Ranjit Singh employed British generals in the army in order to incorporate European military tactics into his military strategy, and viewed these white generals also as lucky talisman.[22]

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[17] Sikh Museum Initiative, 'Anglo Sikh Wars: Battles, Treaties and Relics, 1845-1849', https://www.sikhmuseum.org.uk/events/anglo-sikh-wars-battles-treaties-and-relics-1845-149-exhibition/ (13 December 2021).

[18] National Army Museum, 'The First Sikh War', https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/first-sikh-war (12 December 2021).

[19] Harold E. Raugh, Jr., *The Victorians at War, 1815-1914: An Encyclopaedia of British Military History,* (Santa Barbara, 2004), p. 298.

[20] Khushwant Singh, 'Ranjit Singh', Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ranjit-Singh-Sikh-maharaja (2 January 2022).

[21] Harinda Singh, Savinder Pal Singh, Sitaram Kohli (eds.) *Guns of Glory: Sikh Guns and Inscriptions* (Chandigarh, 2018), pp. 11-14.

[22] William Dalrymple and Anita Anand, *Koh-i-Noor: The History of the World's Most Infamous Diamond,* (London, 2017), p. 145.

In 1839, the Maharajah, a strong unifying factor for the Sikhs, died, and the Punjab 'tumbled into chaos' with various factions fighting for control of the state.[23] Shortly after, in 1843, the EIC annexed Sindh which cut off the Sikh route to the sea via the Indus and encircled the Punjab. The Sikh army, the Khalsa became increasingly anti-British in sentiment, and there was considerable tension between the army and the Royal court. After a succession of weak and short-lived rulers- some of whom were assassinated- the infant Duleep Singh was installed as Maharaja, with his mother Regent.[24]

The EIC, noting the disorder in the Punjab and the Khalsa's increasingly anti-British position, quietly made preparations for a Sikh attack.[25] Garrisons near the Punjab, including Ferozepore, Ludhiana, Ambala, and Meerut were reinforced with 22,911 soldiers and 28 guns, from a total of 17,612 men and 66 guns, to a total of 40,253 men and 94 guns.[26] The Sikh Khalsa, reportedly concerned about EIC troop movements, and emboldened by the British defeat in the first Anglo-Afghan war, crossed the Sutlej River on 11th December 1845, and the British declared war two days later.

The ensuing war saw the battles of Mudkhi, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraron. The Khalsa army famously inflicted great harm on the imperial forces at the battle of Ferozeshah (which the British 'barely won'), and put up fierce resistance to the colonial force at Sobraron.[27] During this battle, the Sikhs fought with their backs to the River Sutlej, refusing to surrender. As a result, casualties on

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[23] Susan Stronge, 'The Sikh Treasury: The Sikh Kingdom and the British Raj', in Kerry Brown, ed., *Sikh Art and Literature*, (New York, 1999), p. 91-92.
[24] National Army Museum, 'The First Sikh War'.
[25] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 298.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

both sides were high. British losses were more than 2000, the Sikhs sustained

perhaps as many as 10,000.[28]

The victory at Sobraon led to the Treaty of Lahore that brought an end to the

war. The Sikhs conceded large tracts of the Punjab to the EIC, including the

Jullundur Doab and Hazara, along with several important forts and towns. The

treaty also led to Jammu and Kashmir becoming a separate princely state under

British control.[29] The East India Company appointed Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence as

a Resident at Lahore to oversee the royal court, the young Maharaja Duleep Singh,

and to influence policy. A large British garrison was also stationed in the capital. [30]

The Second Anglo-Sikh war began in 1848 with a large-scale rebellion in the

city of Multan in the Punjab.[31] This rebellion was triggered by anger at EIC

interference in government; specifically, Henry Lawrence's position as Resident and

his decision to exile Maharani Jind Kaur, the mother of Duleep Singh, after she tried

to retain some of her position as Regent.[32] The Council of Regency appointed by the

British had had continuous problems maintaining control in the region, and the Sikh

army still felt that it could defeat the British.[33] The East India Company army

marched into Multan to quash the rebellion, and this signalled the start of the war.

The most famous battle of the Second Anglo-Sikh War was the battle of

Chillianwalla (January 1849). The East India Company cavalry had failed to

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[28] Anglo-Sikh Wars Project, 'Battle of Sobraon- 10 Feb 1846', http://www.anglosikhwars.com/battle-of-sobroan-10-feb-1846/ (15 May 2021).

[29] Sikh Museum Initiative, 'The Anglo Sikh Treaties, 1806-1846', http://www.sikhmuseum.org.uk/portfolio/the-anglo-sikh-treaties-1806-1846/ (10 May 2021).

[30] National Army Museum, 'Second Sikh War', https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/second-sikh-war (7 May 2021).

[31] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 300.

[32] Ian Hernon, *Britain's Forgotten Wars: Colonial Campaigns of the Nineteenth Century,* (2002), p. 576.

[33] Boris Mollo, *The Indian Army,* (Dorset, 1981), p.50; Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 300.

reconnoiter the area, and the British forces walked into a carefully organised trap.[34]

After the first day of ferocious fighting, the poorly commanded East India Company

cavalry withdrew, leaving to the Sikhs a number of guns and three British regimental

colours (symbolic flags).[35] The imperial troops suffered heavy casualties, and

though the Khalsa army was driven out of its positions, it was not decisively

beaten.[36] The outrage generated in Anglo-India and Britain by the defeat caused the

military authorities to take steps to remove Sir Hugh Gough from command.

However, before his replacement (General Sir Charles J. Napier) could reach the

Punjab, the British forces had won the Battle of Gujarat, which ended the Second

Sikh War.[37] The Khalsa surrendered to the British and its soldiers were disarmed.

The EIC annexed the Punjab, and the territory (and riches) became incorporated

into the Indian empire. Recognising the quality of their adversaries, the EIC

immediately began forming regiments comprised of Sikh soldiers in the territory (this

became the Punjab Frontier Force).[38]

The Anglo-Sikh wars were defined by the skill of the Khalsa army, both

militarily, and in the minds of the British. Newspaper reporting and individual Anglo-

Indian soldiers publicly recognised the skill of the Sikh soldiers, and the narrative

around the wars was that this had been the toughest fight the East India Company

army had faced. N.W. Bancroft, for example, wrote in 1849:

'We had to face men who could give and take as lustily as their opponents; and who

'proved their position' as the logicians say, in this campaign, in fair stand-up fights,

in which, although beaten, they were never conquered'.[39]

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[34] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 300.
[35] Ibid*.,* p. 301.
[36] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 50.
[37] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 301.
[38] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 50.
[39] N.W. Bancroft, *From Recruit to Staff Sergeant,* 3rd ed, (London, 1979), p. 39.

In describing the Siege of Multan (Second Anglo-Sikh War), Sir Henry Daly wrote in strikingly positive terms about the ability of the Khalsa army: 'the Sikhs are beautiful shots, and scarce a yard have we gained unpeppered or a shot have we fired which has not been returned with wondrous precision'.[40] In recognising the Khalsa army's skill, Anglo-Indian soldiers also recognised the threat that the Sikh army had posed to the British empire; James Coley wrote that they could have 'gone quite far enough to give a terrible blow to the prestige of the British name in Asia, if not Europe'.[41]

The beginnings of the mythology surrounding the bravery and appearance of the Sikh soldiers—an important part of later martial race ideology—also started to develop in the aftermath of these wars. In 1856, reflecting on his experience of the First Anglo-Sikh war, James Coley commented of the Sikhs: 'their long black beards give them an imposing appearance and some of the soldiers are remarkably fine looking men'.[42] Later he repeated that the Sikh men were 'remarkably fine looking', adding 'most, if not all of them six feet high, and some more…the bazaar people describe them being very independent and violent'.[43] Linking the supposedly 'imposing' and 'violent' nature of the Sikhs to their appearances (i.e. beards and height) was something that would accelerate in the aftermath of the Indian Rebellion, and will be explored at length in chapter 5. It is important to note here that these kinds of attitudes originated in the Anglo-Sikh wars.

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[40] Major Hugh Daly (ed.), *The Memoirs of General Sir Henry Dermot Daly,* (London, 1905), p. 28.
[41] James Coley, *Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-6, and also of Lord Hardinge's Tour in the Following Winter,* (London, 1856), p. 37.
[42] Coley, *Journal of the Sutlej Campaign,* p. 85.
[43] Coley, *Journal of the Sutlej Campaign,* p. 121.

Anglo-Burmese Wars

In the nineteenth century Burma (now Myanmar) was located to the immediate east of British India, bordering eastern Bengal and Assam. This location brought it into conflict with the expanding East India Company in its quest for new markets. [44] The Burmese had also been expanding their territory, through for example, their conquests of Siam (1766), the Kingdom of Arakan (1784) and Manipur (1813).[45] As a result, the frontier between India and Burma was a hotly contested area.

The First Burma War (1824-26) falls outside of the period of this thesis, but a brief description of events is necessary to give context to the later wars in the 1850s and 1880s. The First Burma war was triggered by a Burmese attack on a British detachment on the Chittagong frontier in 1823.[46] In 1824, two Burmese armies entered Cachar, an area under EIC protection, and the East India Company declared war. A British joint navy-army expeditionary force attacked and defeated Burmese forces at cities up the entered Irrawaddy River, but before the force attacked the Burmese capital at Ava, the Burmese surrendered.[47] The Treaty of Yandanbo awarded territory previously conquered by Burma (Assam, Manipur, and Arakan) to the Company. Arakan was considered a particularly valuable acquisition because it gave considerable control over the Bay of Bengal.[48] However, the treaty was problematic because the Burmese were forced to accept its terms without negotiation.[49]

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[44] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 66.
[45] Ibid., p. 66.
[46] See also: G.P. Ramachandra, 'The Outbreak of the First Anglo-Burmese War', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 51:2, (1978), pp. 69-99.
[47] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 66.
[48] Oliver B. Pollak, 'The Origins of the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-53), *Modern Asian Studies,* 12:2, (1978), p. 484.
[49] Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma,* 2nd ed., (London, 1967), p. 237.

In 1852, Commodore George Lambert was dispatched to Burma by the Governor General of India to address various minor issues in relation to the treaty, including a dispute between the EIC and the governor of Rangoon.[50] The Burmese immediately made concessions, including removing the governor in question. However, Lambert overstepped his orders, intimidated and humiliated compliant Burmese officials, and illegally seized the King's royal yacht and began a blockade of the Rangoon River.[51] The EIC then provoked the Burmese to open fire on the blockading ships. Events spiralled, and the Second Anglo-Burma war broke out in April 1852. By December 1852 the EIC had annexed Rangoon and the province of Pegu. The British made Rangoon their administrative capitol and named their newly acquired territories 'Lower Burma'.[52]

The Indian Rebellion, 1857-1859

By 1857, the British East India Company controlled more than 1.6 million square miles of territory on the subcontinent. This vast area was annexed, controlled and maintained by a large military force. This was comprised of three distinct presidency armies; Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. These were comprised of regular regiments; regiments that were formally raised as part of a national force. The presidency armies also had 'irregular' cavalry regiments attached to them. These irregular regiments tended to be cavalry regiments, and were, in India, raised under the silladar system. This meant that the Indian troops of these regiments provided their

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[50] Donald M. Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon,* (Place of publication not identified, 2014), p. 29
[51] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 66.
[52] Seekins, *State and Society in Modern Rangoon,* p. 29.

own horses and uniforms.[53] Irregular regiments tended to be raised by- and associated with- individual officers, for example James Skinner of Skinner's horse. The majority of irregular cavalry regiments in this period were associated with the Bengal army, and comprised the Bengal Irregular Cavalry.

By 1857 the Bengal Army was considered to be the showpiece of the East India Company Army.[54] Its Anglo-Indian officers made much of the character of the Bengal Army's recruits, who were drawn from the higher Brahmin and Rajput castes of north-central India, in particular Oudh.[55] However, by the mid-nineteenth century the Bengal Army was riven with discontent.[56] This was generated by factors including: the decrease in Sepoy wages relative to the cost of living; a lack of respect and communication between British officers and South Asian troops; the annexation of Awadh and the disrespect of the King of Awadh; fears of forced conversions to Christianity, and specifically anger at the perceived reversal of religious tolerance traditionally allowed to them by British officers.[57] Crucially, the 'native' officers were positioned within the regimental structure in such a way that their rank carried little authority with their British officers; the highest ranking South Asian soldier could never outrank even the lowest ranking British officer.[58] This generated resentment and contributed to communication failures within the army.

The introduction of the new Enfield rifle to the native regiments of the East India Company's army in 1857 was the immediate cause of the uprising. The cartridge for the new rifle required heavy greasing to enable loading, and rumours

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[53] Lord Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816- 1919,* Vol.2: 1851-1871, (London, 1983), p. 240.
[54] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914,* (Manchester and New York, 2004), p. 24.
[55] Ibid., p. 24.
[56] Ibid., p. 24.
[57] Rudrangshu Mukherjee, '"Satan Let Loose Upon Earth": The Kanpur massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857', *Past & Present,* 128, (1990), p. 95.
[58] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 27.

quickly spread that the grease was made from cow tallow and pig lard.[59] Since the

drill required the cartridge to be torn open with the teeth, this would be ritually

polluting and highly offensive to both Hindus and Muslims- the cow being sacred to

the former, and the pig forbidden to the latter.[60] The Indian Rebellion was historically

referred to as the Indian Mutiny because of it began in the Bengal Army as a result

of this issue; the uprising began on 10 May 1857 when the Sepoys (locally recruited

soldiers) murdered their officers and all the British civilians in the area.[61] The

mutineers then proceeded to Delhi where the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah,

was proclaimed king and the city became the symbolic centre of the uprising.[62] The

unrest spread across Northern India, and a heterogeneous cross-section of the

North Indian population became involved in the popular rebellion.[63] Indian rulers

who had been dispossessed by the EIC, reclaimed their thrones, most notably at

Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore.[64] With the assistance of British regiments diverted to

India, and thousands of Indian troops who remained loyal, the Uprising was

eventually suppressed, albeit with considerable losses on both sides, both military

and civilian.[65] The military campaigns lasted until 1859, when the last rebels were

defeated and British authority was re-established.

The 1857 rebellion was a military crisis of enormous proportions, and, as we

have seen, is considered by historians as a pivotal moment in the redefinition of

attitudes- both public and official- about the military, empire, race, and masculinity.[66]

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[59] Christopher Wilkinson-Lathan and G.A. Embleton, *The Indian Mutiny,* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 4-5.
[60] Kim Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising*, (Oxford, 2010), p. 1.
[61] Lathan and Embleton, *The Indian Mutiny,* pp. 6-8.
[62] Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857,* p. 1.
[63] For discussion of the heterogeneity of the rebellion see Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny (1857-59),* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 1.
[64] Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857,* p. 1.
[65] Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857,* p. 1.
[66] Streets, *Martial Races,* pp. 138-139; Ralph Crane and Radhika Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora: Race, Sexuality, and History in Anglo-India,* (Liverpool. 2013), p. 44.

The colonial psyche was particularly scarred by the massacre at Cawnpore. In Cawnpore, Hindu rebel leader Nana Sahib ordered that two hundred hostages, all of whom were Anglo-Indian women and children, should be executed prior to his retreat from advancing British forces.[67] These Anglo-Indian civilians were all murdered, and the British army subsequently preserved the Bibighar (the house in which the women were killed) with its dried blood as a memorial to the dead.[68] Hairs from the dead women's heads were carried off as mementos, and passed from hand to hand. The British press wrote sensationalised accounts of the murderers, inventing mythic stories of the dying women's torments which drew on a stockpile of horrors drawn from the Bible, Virgil, Dante, and Shakespeare.[69] These accounts, Jenny Sharpe argues, all centred around the 'unspeakable' crime said to have been inflicted on Anglo-Indian women: rape.

The Anglo-Indian and British narrative of the Siege of Lucknow was also shaped by the politics of gender; the protracted Siege was cast as 'Anglo-Indian womanhood' under threat as the majority of those sheltering in the Residency (that building that formed the focus of the siege) were women and children. The sanctity of white Victorian womanhood was, again, presented as being under threat from savage, lascivious, brown men.[70] In reality, the majority of women and children who died in the uprising were killed by bullets or died of diseases contracted during protracted sieges.[71] However, the British renderings of the rebellion framed it in terms of a savage attack on Anglo-Indian and British women and children, who were being murdered and allegedly raped by fanatic soldiers in alarming numbers.[72] This

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[67] Jenny Sharpe, 'The Unspeakable Limits of Rape: Colonial Violence and Counter-Insurgency', *Genders*, 10, (1991), p. 31.
[68] Sharpe, 'The Unspeakable Limits of Rape', p. 31.
[69] Ibid., p. 31.
[70] See Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 24:2, (1999), pp. 421-440.
[71] Sharpe, 'The Unspeakable Limits of Rape', p. 31.
[72] Streets, *Martial Races*, p. 19.

framing simultaneously 'proved' the racial inferiority of rebellious Indians (their 'brutish' nature revealed by their alleged sexual crimes), and entrenched ideas of racial superiority among Anglo-Indians.[73]

The imperial troops' response to the rebellion was intensely violent, and Anglo-Indian and British soldiers (drafted in to quell the disorder) committed atrocities against rebels and civilians alike. The uprising and the subsequent re-establishment of British power were marked by scenes of violence unparalleled in the history of British rule in India.[74] This was partly spurred by the gender-dimension of the war, but also was as a response to the fact that indigenous violence of the colonised shattered the monopoly of violence that British rule in India had meticulously constructed, and on which colonial rule depended.[75] Famously, British forces executed some mutineers by lashing the mutineer to the mouth of a cannon, firing the cannon, and blowing the body of the man to pieces.[76] Few in the Anglo-Indian community opposed this, with the majority agreeing this was just retributive violence. Gunner Patrick Green, for example, wrote to his sister describing the punishments imposed by imperial troops. He wrote that they were 'hung by dozens and roasted alive and…all sorts of torture to them and I fancy the brutes must be very sorry for what they have done'.[77]

Imperial forces targeted rebels and those who harboured them with similar severity. Entire villages were routinely scorched as punishment for hiding or aiding rebels. Major-General Archdale Wilson, for example, described:

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[73] Streets, *Martial Races*, p. 21.
[74] Rudrangshu Mukherjee, '"The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857', pp. 93-94.
[75] Ibid., p. 93.
[76] Ibid., p. 94.
[77] National Army Museum, Green Papers, NAM.1999-05-34. Letter from Patrick Green to Mary Green, 26 July 1858.

'*we are ordered to act energetically in hunting and punishing all the late mutineers…after what has occurred here, you may well suppose we shall not be backward in carrying out these orders. I burnt a large village last night for harbouring plunderers, and send a party to-morrow on a similar duty'.*[78]

During the rebellion (and its aftermath) rebels were stripped of their humanity rhetorically, as well as physically, and described as animals. This is evident in the language of Green and Wilson who wrote of 'brutes' and 'hunting', and also in the language of Captain John Blick Spurgin of the Madras Army who wrote to his colleague, 'what is to be done with all these loose animals I know not. I have offered 16 Rs for each man they catch in this district'.[79] The extreme British violence in the rebellion was therefore inextricably tied up with racism.

As well as fundamentally changing ideology and politics within colonial India, the Rebellion necessitated the entire re-structuring of the army. After the conclusion of the war the crown replaced the East India Company in the administration of India and the control of its armies. The army that had previously been known as the East India Company Army was now known as the Indian Army.

The Indian Army was also reorganised internally. This was most profound in the Bengal army, as it had virtually ceased to exist in its pre-Rebellion form; all of the regular cavalry regiments in existence prior to the rebellion either mutinied or were disbanded (in anticipation of Mutiny)—none survived to be re-established into the post-Rebellion army. [80] Had the irregular cavalry units not remained loyal, the

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[78] National Army Museum, Wilson Papers, NAM.1968-07-483. Letter from Major-General Archdale Wilson to his wife, 16 May 1857.
[79] National Army Museum, Sourgin Papers, NAM. 1956-07-75-97. Letter from Captain John Blick Spurgin to Captain Simpson, 31 July 1857.
[80] Mollo, *The Indian Army*, p. 91; T.A. Heathcote, *The Military in British India: The Development of British Land Forces in South Asia, 1600-1947,* (Barnsley, 2013), p. 382.

Bengal Army would have been entirely without a cavalry. [81] Consequently, in the post-rebellion period some of the irregular cavalry regiments that remained were re-numbered and converted into the main cavalry.[82] The 1st Irregular Cavalry (previously Skinner's Horse), became the 1st Cavalry; the 2nd Irregular Cavalry (previously Gardner's Horse) became the 2nd Cavalry; 1st Hodson's Horse, the 9th Bengal Cavalry, etc.[83] These irregular cavalry regiments that became the first eight regiments of the new cavalry were seen as particularly distinguished and were privileged with a special dress, as will be discussed later.

The infantry regiments of the Bengal army that did not mutiny continued in service, but were re-numbered in order of seniority. The infantries of Madras and Bombay remained broadly the same as they were prior to the rebellion. Indeed, it should be remembered that the general rebellion discussed here refers only to the Bengal army (i.e. north of India). The Bombay and Madras armies, with very little exception, remained quiet during the uprising.[84]

Perhaps the most significant change that took place in the army was the makeup of the troops. The sepoys of the Bengal army, who had previously been favoured, were now disgraced as unmanly cowards. Instead, the men who filled the regiments were from the newly annexed Punjab.[85] At the outbreak of the rebellion, John Lawrence moved quickly to quell mutiny in the regiments of the Bengal Army stationed in the Punjab, and immediately began raising local troops to fight the rebels.[86] By the end of 1858 the number of Punjabis serving in the Indian Army

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[81] W.Y Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms Under the British from the 18th Century to 1947: Cavalry*, (London, 1968), p. 49.
[82] Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p. 120.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 48.
[85] Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj,* p. 9.
[86] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 31.

increased from 30,000 to 75,000.[87] This was as a result of the fact that Sikh troops

recruited from the Punjab were considered instrumental in re-taking control from the

rebels in 1857. From the Mutiny onwards, martial race ideology really took hold; the

bravery and loyalty of the so-called martial race soldiers was mythologised, and

Punjabi Sikhs and Gurkhas were cast as the 'partners' of the British. This change,

and the ideology associated with it will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

The Northwest Frontier, the Third Anglo-Burmese War, and the Second Anglo-Afghan War

The Northwest Frontier, or 'the Grim' was it was called by generations of British

soldiers, stretched along the borders of Afghanistan and included Chitral, Kohistan,

Bajaur, Khyper, Tira, Waziristan, and Baluchistan.[88] The frontier became part of

British India with the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

Pathans constituted the largest ethnic group along the frontier. They were

divided into several tribes, frequently at war with one another. The largest tribes, like

the Afridi or the Waziris, were also split into different clans. All of the tribes were

Muslim and had strong codes of honour and hospitality.[89] The region was extremely

mountainous with harsh terrain, so the tribes often supplemented their living by

raiding the more prosperous settled areas to the east. Some tribes also controlled

important mountain passes and either levied a charge on those who travelled to and

from Afghanistan, or looted them if they refused to pay.[90]

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[87] Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj,* pp. 5,6.
[88] Robert Wilkinson-Latham and Angus McBride, *North-West Frontier, 1837-1947,* (Oxford, 1977), p. 3.
[89] National Army Museum, 'The North-West Frontier', https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/north-west-frontier-india (17 December, 2021).
[90] National Army Museum, 'The North-West Frontier'.

Between 1849 and 1914, imperial troops launched more than sixty punitive expeditions (known as 'Butcher and Bolt' expeditions) against the Indus tribes.[91] The aim of these campaigns was primarily to prevent (or punish) raids by the tribes, and ensure the security of the North-West Frontier against potential Russian encroachment. As the term 'butcher and bolt' suggests, the British forces used brutal tactics against their adversaries in the North-West Frontier. The hill tribes of the North-West Frontier were deemed uncivilised savages by the British, who argued that war against the 'savages' demanded different tactics from war against civilised people.[92] As a result they used weapons like the DumDum bullet (designed to maximise the damage of injury by expanding on impact) in campaigns on the North-West Frontier, including the Tirah Campaign of 1897-8.[93] The guiding principle of these campaigns was 'that of overawing the enemy by bold initiative and resolute action'.[94]

As well as brutality, the wars on the North-West Frontier were also marked by the guerrilla tactics used by the hill tribes. As a result, rather than prolonged campaigns, the British forces relied heavily on skirmishing-- soldiers operating individually, seeking cover and using aimed fire—to avoid ambush by the tribesmen.[95] As the large number of expeditions on the North-West Frontier indicates, the imperial troops were unable to pacify the region, and military operations were more or less continuous in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[96]

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[91] Kaushik Roy, *The Army in British India: From Colonial Warfare to Total War, 1857-1947,* (London and New York, 2013), p. 107; Gavin Rand, 'From the Black Mountain to Waziristan': Culture and Combat on the North-West Frontier', in Kaushik Roy and Gavin Rand (eds.), *Culture and Conflict and the Military in Colonial South Asia,* (Oxon and New York, 2017), p. 189.
[92] Roy, *The Army in British India,* p. 110-11.
[93] Ibid., p. 110.
[94] Rand, 'From the Black Mountain to Waziristan', p. 190-191.
[95] Roy, *The Army in British India,* p. 107.
[96] Rand, 'From the Black Mountain to Waziristan', p. 190.

The wars on the Northwest frontier in this era were punctuated by two major wars; the Third Anglo-Burmese War and the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880).The Third Anglo-Burmese war broke out in November 1885. Relations between the British and Burmese had been tense since the late 1870s. The Burmese resented British occupation and in 1879, following a Burmese succession crisis, the British Resident had been expelled. During the early 1880s, the British were further angered by a high-level Burmese delegation travelling to France to attempt to negotiate an alliance, and tensions were raised further in 1885 when a French consul moved to Mandalay. [97]

The war was triggered by a dispute between the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation (sic) and Burmese officials in October 1885. Britain issued an ultimatum demanding that a new British envoy should be installed in Mandalay and that Burmese foreign relations should be handled by Britain.[98] The terms of this ultimatum would have ended Burmese independence, and when Burma did not acquiesce the East India Company decided to dethrone the Burmese King, Thibaw and occupy Mandalay. The war was brief (7-29 November 1885) and Burma was annexed by the British on 1 January 1886. Sporadic resistance and insurgencies flared up into 1887.[99] Following the annexation, the British seized valuable possessions of the Burmese government, with some being presented as gifts to the British Royal family, and others being auctioned.[100]

The Second Anglo-Afghan war broke out in 1878. Like the First Anglo-Afghan War, this was triggered by fears of Russian expansion. In 1876, the Emir of Afghanistan, Emir Sher Ali, was visited by a Russian diplomatic mission. The British

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[97] Raugh, *The Victorians at War,* p. 66.
[98] Ibid.
[99] S.R. Chakravarty, 'British Annexation of Upper Burma: Early Burmese Resistance', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 37, (1976), pp. 441; 443-44.
[100] Daw Kyan, *The Prizes of War,* (Washington, 1979), p. 1-5.

responded by sending their own envoy and delegation, but this was pushed back to the eastern end of the Khyber Pass.[101] As a result, the British invaded Afghanistan from three directions with a view to replace Sher Ali. This was a further example of what was described as the 'forward policy'; a military strategy which included an interventionist approach to ensuring the friendly disposition of the Afghan emir.[102] In the face of considerable military power, the Sher Ali's son surrendered and signed the Treaty of Gandamak in May 1879.[103] However, an uprising in Kabul led to the murder of the British resident there, Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari. British forces conducted a second invasion, this time lead by Major General Sir Frederick Roberts. Roberts' force successfully occupied Kabul in 1879. After a further revolt, which included a siege at Kandahar, Roberts defeated the Afghans in a final battle and the Treaty of Gandamak was solidified.

The contemporary narrative of the war was dominated by Roberts' second invasion after the murder of Cavagnari. Roberts commanded a march that travelled from Kabul to Kandahar to relieve a besieged garrison. It was considered a remarkable feat because of the challenging nature of the terrain, and the speed at which the British forces had to travel.[104] The march captured the attention of the British public, and Roberts became a household name.[105] This conflict also acted to further cement the valorisation of so-called 'martial race' soldiers. During the campaign, historian Heather Streets argues that Roberts developed a habit of particularly lauding the feats of the martial race soldiers who were on the march; by the end of the campaign, she argues soldiers like Sikhs and Gurkhas emerged as symbols of hyper-masculinity and loyalty.[106] This war served to further strengthen

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[101] National Army Museum, 'Second Afghan War,' https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/second-afghan-war (17 December, 2016).
[102] Streets, *Martial Races*, p. 123.
[103] National Army Museum 'Second Afghan War'.
[104] Streets, *Martial Races* p. 123.
[105] Ibid., p. 122.
[106] Ibid., p. 133.

the discursive connection between Anglo-Indian and martial race soldiers that had gained such prominence during the rebellion.[107]

Drawing on the frameworks, methods, and historical contexts outlined in these first two chapters, I now turn to discuss the manifestation of military masculinity in the Anglo-Indian looting practiced in battles and military campaigns.

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[107] Ibid., p. 135.

CHAPTER 3

**Power, Pleasure and Masculinity: Anglo-Indian Officers'
Looting in India, 1840-1900**
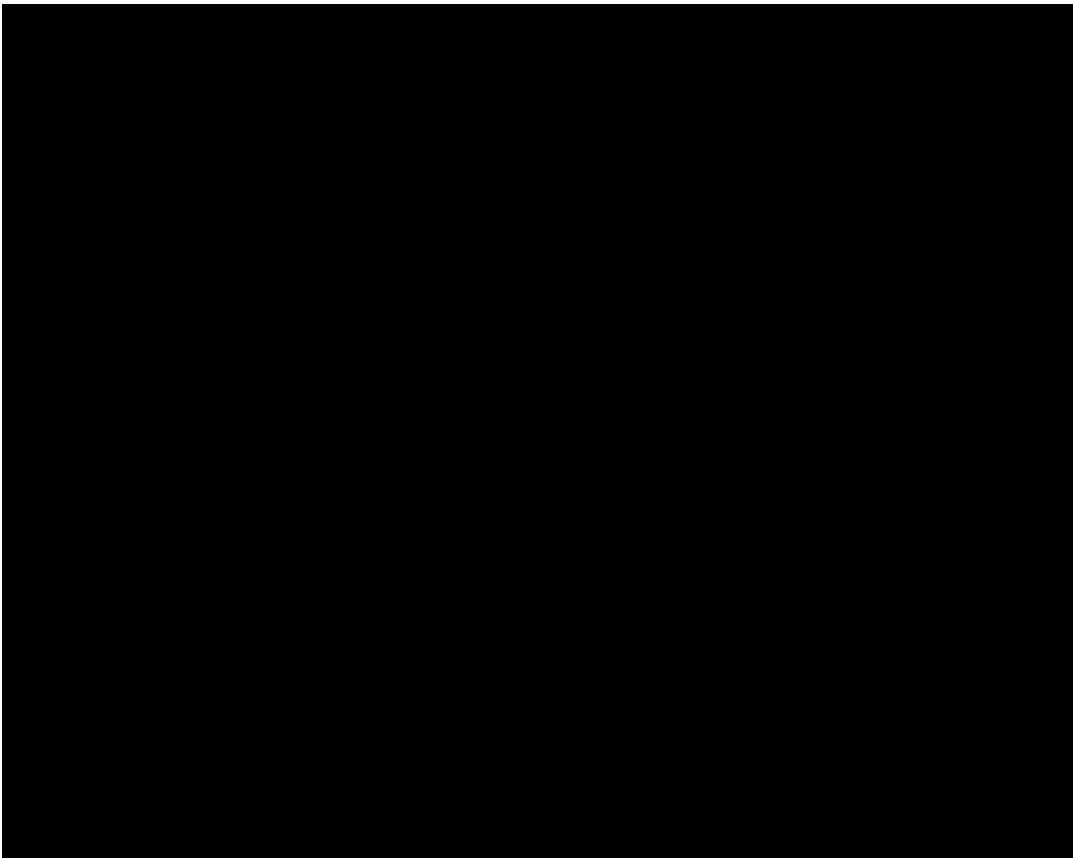
**Figure 1: John North Crealock, We Return from "Looting", ("Kotah"). 1858, watercolour,
National Army Museum, London.**

In 1858 John North Crealock created a collection of watercolours that narrated his

experience of the Indian Mutiny. Included in the collection is a colourful image

depicting himself and a friend riding back to camp, festooned in loot. Crealock has a

gilded shield slung across his back, two swords in his waist belt, a bulging bag, and,

what appears to be, a red turban perched on his saddle behind him. Both he and his

companion are depicted carrying lances, which are likely also to have been looted.[1] The watercolour conveys a sense of calmness and freedom: Crealock and his companion are galloping; the wind is blowing through their (potentially looted) pagris; and the ad-hoc assemblage of loot that decorates their bodies simultaneously hints at the material abundance they had just enjoyed, and gives them an almost carnivalesque appearance. The caption of the watercolour 'we return from Looting' records in a casual manner the activity they have just undertaken, mirroring the sense of ease that the image generally conveys.

Crealock's watercolour records, very matter-of-factly, a material practice that remains highly controversial today. Within debates about how the spoils of colonial warfare should be exhibited in museums, the resistance of some professionals to use the world 'loot' can give the impression that colonial 'looting' was a debatable phenomenon; that its extent and, even existence, is a matter of opinion. However, as Crealock's watercolour indicates, looting undertaken by Anglo-Indian military men was unremarkable in colonial India. Far from being a shadowy phenomenon that has left intangible historical record, looting in colonial India was widespread, systemic, and institutionalised.[2] Looting was recorded openly and frankly in written and visual sources relating to almost all the major conflicts in the nineteenth century Indian subcontinent.

In this chapter I am going to demonstrate the connection between the practice of looting and of masculinity among Anglo-Indian soldiers. I will show that men mobilised loot in various ways to present themselves, and Anglo-Indian men generally, as possessing militaristic masculinity. This chapter will demonstrate how

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[1] Crealock was part of an infantry regiment which would not have carried lances as part of regulation uniform.
[2] Michael Carrington, 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves: The Looting of Monasteries during the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet', *Modern Asian Studies,* 37:1, (2003), p. 81.

military officers tried to demonstrate traits like bravery, authority, racial superiority, and virility, as well as a commitment to militarism and colonialism, via colonial looting. In doing so, I will connect the histories of colonial looting and violence in India, with the social histories of colonial masculinity. This chapter will demonstrate that the idealisation of a form of masculinity that held up 'unapologetically violent soldiers' as the paragons of manliness in popular literature, resulted in forms of violent behaviour by Anglo-Indian soldiers in warfare and Indian society.[3]

Over the past decade looted objects have increasingly formed the subject of impassioned, high profile public debates and increased historiographical attention has been paid to looting in former colonies, including in India. However, none of these have set this material practice in a gendered context. Shashi Tharoor has comprehensively illustrated the looting of India in commercial and financial terms, arguing that Britain's siphoning off of Indian natural resources, combined with heavy taxation, unfair trade policies, and the deliberate destruction of Indian agricultural textile industries, resulted in the economic ruin of India.[4] Authors like William Dalrymple, Anita Anand, and Kim Wagner, have focussed on single looted objects to tell broader stories of colonial looting and violence; Dalrymple and Anand focussing on the Koh-i-Noor diamond to explore histories of looting, and Wagner using the skull of a rebel killed in the Indian mutiny to explore histories of colonial violence in India.[5] Some historical work has focussed on the 'lives' of looted objects in England. Curator and Historian Susan Stronge has explored the cultural meanings of objects looted from Tipu Sultan after the 1799 Siege of Seringapatam.[6] Her work is complemented by Sarah Longair and Cam Sharp-Jones who studied

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[3] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914,* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 1.

[4] Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India,* (London, 2017), pp. 1-37.

[5] William Dalrymple and Anita Anand, *Koh-i-Noor: The History of the World's Most Infamous Diamond,* (London, 2017); Kim Wagner, *The Skull of Alum Bheg: The Life and Death of a Rebel of 1857,* (London, 2017).

[6] Susan Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers,* (London, 2009), pp. 73-90.

how a filigree casket looted from Tipu Sultan was integrated into the family history of the Fraser family as part of University College London's East India Company at Home project.[7] In 2017, Margot Finn discussed looting in the Third Anglo-Maratha and Pindari war (1817-18) in her address to the Royal Historical Society.[8] Outside of academia, independent historians and community groups, such as Gurinda Mann and the Sikh Museum Initiative have highlighted the cultural and religious cost British looting, and have worked to virtually repatriate and re-contextualise looted objects via 3D imaging and virtual reality to ensure their original cultural meanings are not lost.[9]

In these works, the gendered context of the acquisition of loot by British soldiers, and the gendered meanings of these items for many of the men who initially acquired them, has not been explored. This is a surprising omission given the well-established connections between looting and masculinity in other historical fields. Scholarship on the American Civil War, for example, has firmly established the gendered context of civil war era looting. Joan Cashin has examined looting carried out by both confederate and union troops, and, in her examination of the various motivations behind this behaviour, highlighted masculinity and power.[10] She argues that, in cases where soldiers targeted objects associated with and valued by women, many understood the gender implications of what they were doing: 'stealing clothes of women could be a way to intensify the humiliation of female civilians or more menacingly as a symbolic rape'.[11] Similarly, Lisa Tendrich Frank has argued

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[7] Sarah Longair and Cam Sharp-Jones, 'Prize Possession: the "silver coffer" of Tipu Sultan and the Fraser family', in Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857,* (London, 2018), pp. 25-39.
[8] Margot Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 28, (2018), pp. 5-32.
[9] The Anglo Sikh Virtual Museum, 'Relics', 2021. https://www.anglosikhmuseum.com/relics/ (10 October 2021).
[10] Joan Cashin, 'Trophies of War: Material Culture in the Civil War Era', *Journal of the Civil War Era,* 1:3, (2011), pp. 339-367.
[11] Cashin, 'Trophies of War', p. 352.

that Sherman's 1864-65 march through Georgia and the Carolinas had 'a gendered

assault on women's sphere' as an 'integral aspect of the campaign'. She argues

that 'gender shaped the behaviour of everyone involved in and affected by this

military offensive', and union soldiers specifically targeted the possessions and

spaces of elite Southern women 'as part of a concerted effort to wage a gendered

form of warfare'.[12]

Given the fact that war was considered a masculine (and masculinising)

endeavour in British India, I argue looting was a similarly gendered activity in this

colonial context. This chapter will explore the connection between looting and

masculinity in in India 1830-1900, and, specifically how British soldiers mobilised

meaning-rich looted objects in service of their own masculine identity formation. To

adequately reflect the multiplicity of ways British soldiers used looted objects to

indicate their militaristic masculinity, I will examine loot in its material form, as well

as the images of, and language around, loot. That is to say, as well as focussing on

how men used items they stole to perform their masculinity, I will also examine how

they wrote about loot, and how they mobilised images of British loot and looting to

assert their masculinity. This approach enables us to meaningfully consider this

material practice's connection to masculinity, and, specifically, to ensure the

richness of British soldiers' interactions with the material world is captured. It also

allows me the breadth of historical sources to demonstrate that British soldiers used

loot to construct both individual and collective militaristic masculine identities.

This chapter is structured into three main sections. The first lays out the

definition of loot I use in this chapter, and provides a brief outline of the history of

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[12] Lisa Tendrich Frank, 'Bedrooms as Battlefields: The Role of Gender Politics in Sherman's March', in LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long (eds), *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War,* (Baton Rouge, 2009), pp. 33-48.

British looting in colonial India. The second considers material practices and narrative techniques employed by British soldiers' to construct their own, individual militaristic masculine identity. The final section considers the ways British officers mobilised looted objects to demonstrate the collective militaristic masculinity of white British army soldiers.

What did it mean to loot in colonial India?

The military appropriation of objects was a 'plentiful by-product' of British imperial campaigns in the mid-to-late nineteenth century.[13] Various terms exist to describe the objects taken - including 'plunder', 'booty', 'trophies' - but objects appropriated by the military in imperial settings are most commonly now referred to as 'loot' in military histories, anthropological analyses, and curatorial practice.[14] However, Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan argue that the term 'loot' has become overly generic when used in regard to the military appropriation of objects.[15] In their 2020 volume focussed on military collections and the British Empire (*Dividing the Spoils)*, they argue for increased understanding of the subtle distinctions operating in the British imperial context, and contributing authors emphasise the importance of distinguishing different types of military appropriation.[16]

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[13] Edward Spiers, 'Spoils of War: Custom and Practice', in Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan (eds), *Dividing the Spoils: Perspectives on Military Collections and the British Empire,* (Manchester, 2020), p. 19.

[14] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 19; Desmond Thomas, 'A Regimental Culture of Collecting', in Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan (eds), *Dividing the Spoils: Perspectives on Military Collections and the British Empire,* (Manchester, 2020), p. 176.

[15] Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', in Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan (eds), *Dividing the Spoils: Perspectives on Military Collections and the British Empire,* (Manchester, 2020), p. 10-11.

[16] Lidchi and Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', p. 11.

Historians agree that the boundaries between these different types of appropriation are porous (and were at the time).[17] As a result it is difficult to impose precise definitions or categorisations on goods acquired as a result of colonial warfare. However, I will consider three of the most prominent terms used to identify appropriated objects, and discuss their main features and complexities.

Loot

The word 'loot' was itself a colonial acquisition. Loot was an Anglo-Indian word derived from the Hindustani *lūt*, and the Sanskrit *loptra* (root *lup*), meaning to 'rob or plunder'.[18] The word was a long-standing part of the Anglo-Indian lexicon, appearing as early as 1788 in John Stockdale's *The Indian Vocabulary*.[19] As Lidchi and Allan's critique of contemporary historiographical usage of the term suggests, there is a lack of consensus among historians concerning precisely which material practices the term covers. However, a review of historical literature on colonial looting reveals some commonalities in historians' usage of the term 'loot'. Within recent historical literature historians tend to apply the term loot to the military appropriation of objects that is a) carried out by individual actors b) part of a breakdown of military discipline and c) often associated with the acquisition of battlefield 'trophies'. In the introduction to *Dividing the Spoils*, for example,

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[17] Margot Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 28, (2018), pp. 22, 26.
[18] Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive.* New ed. edited by William Crooke, (London, 1903), pp. 519-520.
[19] Ibid.

Lidchi and Allan describe looting as: 'an unsanctioned and unregulated

action on the part of individual soldiers, indicative of a breakdown of military

discipline'.[20]

The British and French destruction and plundering of the

Yuanmingyuan, or 'Summer Palace', during the Second Opium War (dates)

is widely considered as a 'notorious' example of looting.[21] Scholars who

have studied the destruction of the imperial palace have consistently applied

the term 'looting' in relation to the event.[22] Many of these authors highlight the

'unregulated' and chaotic nature of the appropriation of objects by British and

French soldiers. James Hevia, for example, argues that the two armies

'ransacked and looted in a seemingly wild, unregulated frenzy of destruction

and theft'.[23] Similarly, W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello highlight the

breakdown in army discipline during the sacking of the Yuanmingyuan: 'in

their haste and greed, the soldiers abandoned their previous conservational

ways and…ripped jewels and entire marble walls off to make the treasures

more portable…the British joined the melee of acquisition and destruction, a

rare break in the usual esprit de corps of the British officer class'.[24] The

chaotic nature of the looting of the Yuanmingyuan is also highlighted by Erik

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[20] Lidchi and Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', p. 12.
[21] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 22.
[22] Louise Tythacott, 'The Yuanmingyuan and its Objects', in Louise Tythacott (ed.), *Collecting and Displaying China's 'Summer Palace' in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France*, (Oxon, 2018), p. 3; Greg Thomas, "The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe," *Nineteenth-Century art worldwide: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, 7:2, (2008): http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/autumn08/93-the-looting-of-yuanming-and-the-translation-of-chinese-art-in-europe ; Stacey Pierson, '"True Beauty of Form and Chaste Embellishment" Summer Palace Loot and Chinese Porcelain Collecting in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Louise Tythacott (ed.), *Collecting and Displaying China's 'Summer Palace' in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France*, (Oxon, 2018), pp. 72- 86; James Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China,* (London, 2003); Spiers, 'Spoils of War' p. 22
[23] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 76.
[24] W.T. Hanes and F. Sanello, *The Opium Wars: The Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another,* (Naperville, 2002), pp. 273-4.

Ringmar, who's description of the looting emphasises the fact that soldiers were taking objects for their own gain: 'the soldiers…draped themselves in the empress's robes, and stuffed their pockets full of rubies, sapphires, pearls and pieces of crystal rock'.[25] Katrina Hill, too, emphasises the individualised nature of the 'orgy of looting in the emperor's palace'; in her article that sets the event in the broader context of the Opium wars, she argues that the looting undertaken at the Yuanmingyuan was based on soldiers' personal perceptions of value and particular individual tastes.[26]

We also see the emphasis on the unregulated, unsanctioned actions of individuals in other historians' applications of the word looting. Edward Spiers argues that during the Indian Mutiny and Rebellion, many incidents of looting occurred, particularly in the assault on the Kaiserbagh complex, Lucknow (15 March 1858). Like the historians who identify the destruction of the Summer Palace as an instance of looting, Spiers highlight the chaotic nature of looting in the aftermath of the British victory, quoting reports from William Howard Russell of *The Times* to describe how men were 'wild with fury and lust of gold- literally drunk with plunder'.[27] Michael Carrington similarly cites the events of the Indian rebellion as examples of the 'systemic looting which often followed a British victory'.[28] Emphasising the unregulated nature of looting in the aftermath of the reflief of the Residency of Lucknow, Carrington writes that 'after sacking the city, the troops roamed the

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[25] Erik Ringmar, 'Liberal Barbarism and the Oriental Sublime: The European Destruction of the Emperor's Summer Palace', *Millenium,* 34:3, (2006), pp. 917-33.
[26] Katrina Hill, 'Collecting on Campaign: British Soldiers in China during the Opium Wars', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 25:2, (2013), pp. 227-252.
[27] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 21.
[28] Michael Carrington, 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves: The Looting of Monastries during the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet', *Modern Asian Studies,* 37:1, (2003), p. 83.

countryside looting and burning villages'.[29] Nicole Hartwell, similarly cites 'unbridled' looting by soldiers in the aftermath of the assault on the Kaiserbagh complex and the Relief of Lucknow.[30]

The term 'looting' has not just been applied to instances where soldiers have appropriated objects from an imperial, or royal, palace in the aftermath of a surrender or capture. The application of the word looting to military appropriation of objects is also often connected to the acquisition of material culture taken by individual soldiers from battlefields. Edward Spiers argues that this is a result of a military custom that conflicted with official bans on looting: the right of a soldier to retain anything seized at the point of the bayonet.[31] He argues that this custom encouraged looting and trading of mementos and battlefield trophies. [32] Examples of battlefield trophies that he identifies as examples of loot are Sudanese relics from the Egyptian and Sudanese campaigns of North Africa, including knives, spears, belt daggers, guns, and military banners seized in the aftermath of the battle for Tel-el-Kebir.[33] Spiers also applies the word 'loot' in relation to lower-value items acquired in battle outside of official channels; he describes the 'blankets, waterproofs and biscuit', as well as 'tobacco, coffee, bread…clothes, saddles rugs and boots' appropriated by British soldiers in the battle of Elandslaagte and reliefs of Ladysmith and Mafeking (during the Boer War) as loot.

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[29] Carrington, 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves', p. 83.
[30] Nicole Hartwell, 'Framing Colonial War Loot: The 'Captured' *Spoila Opima* of Kunwar Singh', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 34:2, (2022), p. 296.
[31] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 20.
[32] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 20.
[33] Ibid., p. 27.

The association between looting and battlefield trophies is also made by historian and curator John Mack in his discussion of 'abducted objects' from the British punitive expedition in Benin (1897) and the Battle of Omdurman (1898). [34] For Mack, the existence of looting by individual soldiers was closely tied to the undertaking of battles; where soldiers had fought in traditional battles, there would be greater instances of looting of trophies. Where there was not traditional battles, there would be less instances of looting. For example, he explains that in Benin, outside of 'official appropriation' (discussed later) in Benin there was 'no general looting… and individual sailors, marines, and soldiers did not, as far as is known, seize booty on their own account'.[35] This was, he believes, because although the Benin expedition encountered a series of ambushes and skirmishes as it advanced, there was no record of any 'set-to battles' and 'no single battlefield'.[36] As a result, 'there is a conspicuous absence of the quantities of trophies usually carried off as loot by the common soldiers'.[37] For Mack, then, battlefield trophies acquired by individuals are 'loot'; his conception emphasising both the actions of individuals, as well as the status as 'trophies' of battlefields . This also comes through in his discussion of the Battle of Omdurman in Sudan. This was a more traditional battle, and as such 'the looting at Omdurman led to many objects being retained by participants as personal trophies'.[38] He says this 'loot' taken from Omdurman

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[34] John Mack, 'The Agency of Objects: A Contrasting Choreography of Flags, Military Booty, and Skulls from Late Nineteenth-Century Africa', in Henrietta Lidchi and Stuart Allan (eds), *Dividing the Spoils: Perspectives on Military Collections and the British Empire,* (Manchester, 2020), p. 40.
[35] Mack, 'The Agency of Objects', p. 44.
[36] Ibid., p. 45
[37] Ibid., p. 45.
[38] Ibid., p. 55.

as being 'flags, drums, weapons and jibbahs (Mahdist tunics)…clearly these are the things that would be found on the battlefield'.[39]

A review of historians' application of the word 'loot', therefore, reveals that it is most often used to describe unregulated, unsanctioned military appropriation by individual soldiers, and can also relate to the informal practice of battlefield trophy hunting.

Prize

Looting is also often defined in relation to 'prize', as the two forms of appropriation are closely linked; the prize system rested on looting and its suppression. Prize law was based on the notion that without the promise of an equitable distribution of plunder, armies would become undisciplined mobs.[40] The prize procedure was therefore designed to 'neutralise' the threats posed to army discipline and order posed by looting.[41] As James Hevia neatly surmises, the prize system was designed to change the direction of military appropriation 'from the excess of loot to the order of prize'.[42]

The prize system that operated in colonial India was based on an intricate pattern of British naval codes that had been in place from at least

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[39] Ibid., p. 44.
[40] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 83.
[41] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 86.
[42] Ibid., p. 82.

the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413).[43] These legal codes held that plunder taken in warfare was the legal property of the sovereign, but, at the monarch's discretion, portions of the plunder could be awarded to the military forces involved. This was applied (from the reign of George III; 1760-1820) to land warfare. As such, in the aftermath of successful military operations in India, the army had the sovereign's sanction to regulate the division of plunder as prize money.[44]

Under prize procedure, in the aftermath of battle, commanding officers established committees responsible for collecting, inventorying, and disposing of goods seized from the enemy.[45] These committees were made up of 'prize agents'. Once a capture had been made, and the prize agents were responsible for collecting the prize, and ensuring that all loot was handed over to the commission.[46] The agents would then inventory all of the plunder, and decide whether the prize should be converted into money through an auction on the spot, or sent home in the charge of a prize agent to be sold there.[47] The prize agents kept meticulous records of each sale at public auction, as well as compiling detailed lists of who had served under whom in each campaign- thereby establishing combatants' entitlement to prize.[48] The prize money raised through public auction was divided up amongst those eligible, divided by shares and allocated by rank; the higher the rank, the higher the prize allocation.[49]

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[43] Ibid., p. 83
[44] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 19.
[45] Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', p. 17
[46] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 83.
[47] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 20.
[48] Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', p. 17
[49] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 20.

The prize procedures were perceived to have the capacity to deflect and channel the potentially disruptive desires generated by potential loot into peaceable feelings consistent with a moral order of law, private property, and orderly commerce.[50] Moreover, because the distribution of prize money was done on the basis of rank, it also had the practical effect of reproducing and reinforcing the hierarchical structure of the army.[51] Thus, if loot involved disorderly and predatory activity, prize was thought to involve 'orderly, reasoned, hierarchical distribution, which rearticulated the established social order of the military'.[52]

War Booty

Whereas the distinction between loot and prize is fairly well established, the term 'booty' or 'war booty' is one that is less-well defined, and relatively under-researched.[53] Margot Finn has used this term most deliberately and consistently in her work on colonial looting. This is most evident in her 2017 presidential address to the Royal Historical society that focussed on booty disputes in the Third Anglo-Maratha war. In this address, Finn uses the term 'war booty' as a way to identify objects appropriated under more official circumstances than loot, and that were acquired 'legitimately'-- in the case of the Third Maratha War, through a treaty of capitulation.[54] She contrasts war

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[50] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 90.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images,* (New Jersey, 1999), pp. 154-156. See also Susan Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers,* (London, 2009), p. 50.
[53] For example, booty is not mentioned in the comprehensive and well-established scholarship on the sacking of the Summer Palace.
[54] Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', pp. 18-20.

booty with the disorderly appropriation of goods by individuals, which she

refers to as 'plunder' and 'looting', and prize which she defines as the money

made from the sale of legitimately appropriated goods.[55] She writes, for

example, that in the aftermath of the Third Anglo-Maratha war, officials

'laboured to suppress looting by Pindari, Maratha, and British troops, and

sought to ensure that legitimate booty seized by the army divisions….was

secured for military prize committees'.[56] Here, Finn clearly separates the

three types of military appropriation: looting carried out by individual troops,

legitimate booty seized by army divisions, and prize committees who

processed war booty.

Crucially, Finn conceptualises 'war booty' in a way that positions this

object category as a transitional or temporary state. In relation to the Third

Anglo-Maratha War, she argues that on the British capture of Rhugur Fort:

'Maratha treasure was transmogrified into British booty and set on its rocky

road to becoming British prize'.[57] So, for Finn 'war booty' is not only a

category of objects distinct from those informally appropriated by individuals,

but also in some circumstances a temporary or transitional phase in the

biographies of objects between capture and conversion into prize: 'Booty

seized in warfare, this wealth was vibrant matter, animated with the potential

to become military prize'. For Finn, therefore, 'material booty' is 'prospective

prize'.[58] Her definition seeks to distinguish groups of objects seized during

warfare (or given up as part of a surrender) that are distinct from those

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[55] See for example, Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', p. 20-21;
[56] Ibid., p. 20.
[57] Ibid., p. 18.
[58] Ibid., p. 19.

acquired informally by individuals as part of a breakdown in military discipline

(loot), on the one hand, and from those objects that have been converted

into cash on the other (prize).

Finn's conception of 'booty' as a distinct object category from loot and

prize is shared by John Mack in his analysis of the British punitive expedition

to Benin. Having outlined his conception of loot and 'trophies' (see above)

Mack distinguishes what he terms 'official booty' from this.[59] He argues that

the Benin expedition saw an absence of 'general looting' by individuals for

battlefield trophies, but describes the acquisition of what he calls 'official

booty' during the campaign.[60] He describes the 900-1000 plaques (known as

the Benin bronzes) taken by military officials and sold in the aftermath of this

campaign as 'official booty'.[61] His categorisation of the bronze plaques as

'official booty' closely aligns with that of Finn's conception of 'war booty' or

'legitimate booty' in its emphasis on a more orderly institutional appropriation

of objects, rather than indiscriminate plundering.

Desmond Thomas similarly draws a distinction between loot and

'legitimately' appropriated property. His definition centres around a distinction

between public/private property and whether it is taken from an

individual/military enemy. He argues that 'non-private property, or, more

specifically, property with a clear military application or association taken

from an enemy in war cannot be labelled as loot'.[62] Instead of referring to this

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[59] Mack, 'The Agency of Objects', p. 44.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Thomas, 'A Regimental Culture of Collecting', p. 176.

category of objects as 'booty' (as Finn does), he identifies these types of objects as 'legitimate war trophies'.[63] Examples of such 'legitimate war trophies' would be captured artillery. This conception of 'legitimate war trophies' is distinct from the idea of 'battlefield trophies' described in Mack's work because of his emphasis on it being 'non-private property' taken from an army, or enemy, rather than from an individual. It aligns with Finn and Mack's conception of 'war booty' or 'official booty' because of its emphasis on 'legitimacy', and its reference to non-private property taken in a more official capacity. Although using different terms, Thomas, like Finn and Mack, seeks to identify groups of objects seized during that are distinct from both those acquired informally by individuals as part of a breakdown in military discipline, and from those objects filtered through auctions and converted into military prize.

Loot, booty, or prize?

The lack of consistency between Thomas and Finn's terminology reflects the broader lack of historical consensus over terminology relating to the appropriation of objects in warfare. As Lidchi and Allan have argued, the historiographical definitions of terms like 'loot', 'booty', and 'prize' are still shifting, and the 'full implications of their meaning are currently the subject of further research' by historians.[64] Indeed, the three 'types' of appropriation I have outlined reflect general trends within historical literature, but are neither consistently applied or uncontested.

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Lidichi and Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', p. 11.

This is best illustrated through conflicting perceptions of what goods should be identified as prior to their conversion into prize. As we have seen, Margot Finn, John Mack and Desmond Thomas define goods taken in an official capacity to be converted into prize as 'booty', 'official booty', or 'legitimate war trophies'. However, this is at odds with scholars, like James Hevia, Lidchi and Allan, and Edward Spiers, who regard such items as 'loot' prior to their conversion into prize. James Hevia for example, writes that British prize law: 'converted plunder…into prize, the lawful reward of righteous warfare, while transforming the stolen objects themselves into private property'.[65] He argues that 'through its procedures for converting loot into prize via the market mechanism of the auction', the prize system 'transformed theft into the rightful fruits of conquest'.[66] Rather than seeing goods collected in the aftermath of war by the institution of the military, destined to become prize, as 'war booty', distinct from plunder and legitimate, Hevia conceptualises these goods as 'loot'. This perception is shared by other historians, too. Lidchi and Allen, for example, similarly write that the prize system 'repurposed loot into prize money', and Edward Spiers refers to objects taken to be converted into prize as 'plunder'.[67] To further complicate matters, other historians refer to such goods as neither 'loot' nor 'booty', and instead refer to the items as 'prize' before and after public auction. Katrina Hill, for example, defines war prize as 'enemy property taken under military authority to defray war costs and reward soldiers. Often it was seized under the direction of prize agents and sold at auction'.[68] Well-

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[65] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 83
[66] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 82, 90.
[67] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 19; Lidichi and Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', p. 11.
[68] Hill, 'Collecting on Campaign', p. 229.

respected historians therefore differ substantially over what to term this category of objects, and the lack of historiographical consistency reflects the broader challenges relating to writing the history of appropriated objects.

Applying clear terminology to the military appropriation of objects in warfare is further complicated by the fact that the boundaries between looting, booty, and prize were porous in the nineteenth century. Boundaries between modes of acquisition were not always clear, and the various methods of appropriation often existed side by side.[69]

The existence of the prize system, for instance, was meant to eradicate Anglo-Indian looting, but the practice was never fully controlled and plundering by individual soldiers always accompanied the prize allocations.[70] This was, in part, a result of the cumbersome nature of the prize process which demanded labyrinthine bureaucracy and delayed gratification, while loot lay readily and immediately at hand.[71] Moreover, there was a lack of trust in the prize agents who were mostly thought to be 'sharks'.[72] The lack of secure knowledge that war booty would indeed result in prize payments encouraged British soldiers and officers to loot, despite strict restrictions against it.[73]

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Spiers, 'Spoils of War', p. 34.
[71] Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', p. 17
[72] Carrington, 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves', p. 81.
[73] Finn, 'Material Turns in British History: I. Loot', p. 21.

For example, during the early stages of the Indian Rebellion, the acting Commander-in-Chief issued a general order calling on commanding officers to 'repress with the utmost severity all plundering and other excesses'.[74] The general order referred to the looting as a 'serious evil' and notified the soldiers that the powers of the provost marshal were 'ample, extending even to the punishment of death in extreme cases'.[75] The acting Commander-in-Chief justified the prohibition of looting by citing the maintenance of military discipline and the operational importance of maintaining relationships with local people: 'all such irregularities are destructive of discipline and order and where they are suffered to exist…the inhabitants of the country general, will be deterred from rendering important assistance in many ways- supplies, carriage, and other essentials will not be provided…and the troops inconvenienced and impeded in their operations'.[76]

Despite the strict prohibition of looting, and threats of the punishment of death, British soldiers continued to loot throughout the Indian Rebellion and in other conflicts. Although soldiers were admonished for committing acts of plunder by the military high command, the practice met powerful social needs among British soldiers, needs more powerful than military regulations. As a result, orders against looting were casually dismissed. As Kendal Coghill wrote to his brother, 'plundering for ourselves is not allowed,

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[74] British Library, Bengal General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief, IOR/L/MIL/17/2/269-335, General Orders by His Excellency the Acting Commander in Chief, HQ, Calcutta, 30th July 1857, p. 479.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

but as everyone does it, I have succeeded in boning[77] two handsome Cashmere shawls value about £80 or £90 each'.[78] Charles Griffiths recorded that during the Indian Mutiny many men were at first reluctant to disobey the orders issued against looting, 'but when they saw that officers, even of the higher ranks, took possession of plunder, these scruples were cast to the winds'.[79] Indeed, Griffiths' account suggests that the injunctions against looting were even seen as a joke:

'*Often when wandering through the city in pursuit of plunder, I, in company with others, came across officers engaged in the same quest as ourselves. These recontres were most amusing, giving rise to mutual interrogations and many jokes, each party affirming their looting was not the object of their perambulations, but they were only inspecting the houses out of a feeling of curiosity'.*[80]

The officers' mocking attitude to, and flagrant disregard of, the rules against looting was likely due to the fact there was very little scope for prohibitions to be enforced in practice. During the Third Anglo-Burmese war (1885-1887), for example, Major W.P. Symons was caught in the act of 'breaking out the back' of King Theebaw's Palace with a large 'embroidery of birds, insects, and flowers…done in satin on silk…in a massive gilt frame' by

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[77] Boning is a slang term associated with the C19th Navy, meaning to pilfer, steal or scrounge. See: Russ Greystone, 'Jack Speak', Naval Customs, Traditions, and Terminology, 14 May 2012. http://www.gunplot.net/main/content/jack-speak-sailors-dictionary#B (3 May 2020).
[78] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Coghill Papers. Letter from Kendal Coghill to 'Jos', 4 October 1857.
[79] Charles Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi with an Account of the Mutiny at Ferozepore in 1857,* (London, 1910), p. 35.
[80] Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, pp. 235-6.

a prize agent.[81] He records the interruption as an irritation, having just 'got it down from the wall' and it being 'the admiration of everyone who saw it'.[82] The prize agent, despite seeing Symons breaking out of the palace with an enormous embroidery worth circa. £500, merely 'came along and said it was for the lock up'.[83] Symons was thus left with no punishment other than his personal regret at having just lost out on a marvellous piece.[84] The prize agent's reticent attitude to Symons' looting may have been in part due to a perception of an overlap between looting and the duties of a prize agent. William Gordon Alexander of the 93rd Highlanders recorded that during the Mutiny Colin Campbell, then Commander-in-Chief of the East India Company army, gave strict orders against plundering, and joked that there were only two 'licensed looters' from the regiment, referring to the prize agents.[85]

Indeed, however staunchly military authorities tried to maintain the distinction between loot and prize, the lines between the 'legitimate' and illegitimate seizure of goods were blurred in practice. This is reflected in soldiers' accounts. Colin Campbell and Charles Griffiths were both employed collecting war booty to be sent to the prize committee during the Indian Mutiny, the former as a prize agent, the latter as a prize agent's assistant. Their accounts of collecting goods from around Delhi illustrate the fluidity between the categories of loot, prize, and war booty.

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[81] National Army Museum, Symons Papers, NAM.1976-04-8. Letter from Major W.P. Symons to 'Jack', 20 December 1885.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] William Gordon Alexander, *Recollections of a Highland subaltern, during the campaigns of the 93rd Highlanders in India, under Colin Campbell, lord Clyde, in 1857, 1858 and 1859*, (London, 1898).

In the first place, the process of acquiring loot and goods destined as prize was often almost identical. Looters would search palaces, buildings, mosques, temples, houses, villages and the grounds surrounding them for valuable items, strip them out, and transport them away. Prize agents were employed to do the same thing, the main difference being that they were tasked with transporting their findings to the care of a prize committee rather than keeping them for themselves. The distinction of war booty and prize and its positioning as the legitimate, ordered, collection of property, belies the fact that this still involved dismantling the palaces, houses and villages of Indian people, and taking anything of value they found. Griffiths' account of acting as a prize agent's assistant, for example, recorded in great detail having broken into, and searched through the basement of, a rich Delhi family's house, finding a casket the inhabitants had hidden, and taking the jewels contained therein.[86] On another occasion, he described breaking into a Hindu temple and forcing a jewel-laden casket out of an 'idol', having 'demolished' it 'in iconoclastic style' with his hammer.[87] Griffiths' actions and methods in collecting war booty to be converted to prize were thus very similar to those of Anglo-Indian looters, despite his designation as a prize agent. Indeed, such was the overlap in methods between looting and collecting prize that the distinction between the two could seem meaningless, even to prize agents. Griffiths, for example, even referred to collecting prize as 'plundering' himself: 'carrying with us the necessary tools, such as hammers, spades and pickaxes, we each day started…on our plundering excursions'.[88]

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[86] Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi,* p. 11.
[87] Ibid*.,* p. 245.
[88] Ibid., p. 239, 251.

As Griffiths' account suggests, considerable violence often went hand in hand with the collection of war booty, despite the fact the prize system was supposedly the reasoned, non-violent counterpart to looting. Kendal Coghill was part of a flying column that enacted retributive violence on 'disloyal' villages during the Mutiny, part of which he described as involving 'sacking' and the collection of 'plunder' (again, an example of the Anglo-Indians *themselves* linguistically collapsing the distinction between plunder and prize). In a letter to his brother, he describes the violence that formed the context of goods being sent to the prize committee:

'I've been going all over the country as part of a flying column…we drop in by surprise in the night on villages and towns that befriended the enemy and kept them in supplies and cut up our ladies…our cavalry surrounds the towns and we walk in, turn the women and children out, sack the place and fire it. Any that try to escape the flames get cut up, sometimes by forced marches we have the luck to get two villages in a night- we have three columns out flying and revenging and you see the wholesome funk we have established over the country…we are rapidly clearing it, and sending into the prize agents any amount of plunder'.[89]

Designating the appropriation of an opponent's property war booty or prize, and acquiring it in the context of a (supposedly) formalised system, thus did not necessarily prevent the excesses of violence and disorder associated

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[89] Coghill Papers. Letter from Kendal Coghill to 'Jos', 22 September 1857.

with looting. Coghill's letter clearly links the collection of prize with surprise night attacks, murders, and the destruction of entire villages via fire.

There were also considerable similarities between soldiers' emotional experiences of 'war booty', prize and loot, particularly on an emotional level. The chapter will explore in greater depth the feelings of desire, temptation and pleasure associated with looting. All that needs to be said here is that soldiers processing war booty that was to be turned into prize experienced these emotions in the course of their work, despite the fact it was supposed to be an orderly, reasoned activity. Dr John Login, for example, relished his new position in charge of the Sikh treasury after it was surrendered to the British under the treaty of capitulation (rendering the goods war booty by Finn's definition). In a letter dated 10 June 1849, published by his wife Lady Lena Login after his death, he wrote:

'Indian life is full of romance…I received charge of all the magazines, receiving all military stores, guns, arms, etc, collected throughout the whole country…I was formally made Keeper of the State Toshkana, or Treasury, with the State jewels; and the Koh-i-noor was placed in my hands'.[90]

The emotive description of the Koh-i-noor being placed in Login's hands, as well as his reflection on the 'romance' of his situation as the 'Keeper of the State Toshkana' indicates that Login's attitude to his role hardly conformed

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[90] John Login, 10 June 1849, in Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh,* (London, 1890), p. 165.

with the idea of the dispassionate prize collector administering war booty. Indeed, in a letter to his wife dated April 29th 1849, he further revelled in his power, boasting. 'I am now known as the 'Killah-ki-Malik'- Lord or Master of Lahore Citadel'.[91] Despite the fact that Login was collecting property for the army in general, rather than himself as an individual, he still gained personal status as a result of his role as 'Killah-ki-Malik'. He wrote, for example, with not a small hint of smugness, about the 'amusing' requests he got as a result of his new-found status, including someone asking him to 'get them appointed to carry the Koh-i-noor to England'.[92]

Aside from personal reputation, Login was also thrilled at his position as keeper of the treasury as a result of the splendours it contained. Writing to his wife he mused:

'I wish you could walk through that same Toshkhana and see its wonders! The vast quantities of gold and silver, the jewels not to be valued, so many and so rich! The Koh-i-noor, far beyond what I had imagined; and, perhaps above all, the immense collection of magnificent Cashmere shawls, rooms full of them, laid out on shelves, and heaped up in bales- it is not to be described!'.[93]

The emotional experience of prize agents collecting and processing 'booty' as part of the prize procedure thus had much in common with that of

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[91] John Login, 29 April 1849, in Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh,* p. 157.
[92] John Login, 10 June 1849, in Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh,* p. 165.
[93] John Login, 2 November 1849, in Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p. 181.

looters: the acquisition of property thrilled prize agents, and was used to

bolster their own reputations. The prize system thus still evinced emotions

associated with looting, and men still gained power and distinction from their

position as controlling the objects acquired from a defeated opponent, albeit

temporarily.

The distinction between loot, war booty, and prize was blurred further

still as a result of the fact that those who were *officially* collecting war booty

as part of the prize procedure often *unofficially* used the position to collect

loot for themselves. When informing his mother of his appointment as a prize

agent, Edward Campbell wrote excitedly about the opportunities for personal

enrichment in such a position:

"You know Mammy they have <u>made me </u>one of the Prize Agents which may

be a good thing for us…people think I may get as much as £7000-! I do not

expect so much but it might really amount …to 5000 or 4 and it would be a

great boon to us'.[94]

At this time, Campbell had already begun to accrue the rewards of his

position. A month earlier he had written to his wife, Georgina Campbell,

informing her of his first acquisitions of loot: 'I am digging for treasure in the

city… I have got some little things for you out of the prize'.[95] He wrote again a

couple of weeks later to inform her that he had bought her a 'little carriage'

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[94] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward
Campbell to his mother, 28 October 1857. Box 10.
[95] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, September 1857.
Box 6.

instead of the shawl she had requested from the loot.[96] Campbell was far from wealthy, and was plagued by financial worries; indeed his poor financial position was such that it at first prevented Georgina's family from agreeing to their marriage.[97] The sudden ability to make such a large purchase as a carriage was very likely to have been connected to his new position as a prize agent.

Griffiths was also able to benefit personally from his association with a prize agent. In fact, the officer to whom he was acting as an assistant persuaded him to take up the position in the first place based on the opportunities for looting that it offered:

"*An officer who was accredited by the prize agents with a permit to search for plunder…an old friend of mine, asked me to accompany him on his expeditions, saying that he had no objection to my helping myself in moderation to part of the loot which we might happen to find*".[98]

Similarly, in Edward Daniel Hamilton Vibart's account of the Indian Rebellion he recorded an experience in which a prize agent gave him permission to take loot that had been gathered as prize:

'*Delighted at our success we caused all the boxes to be taken at once to Captain Wriford, one of the members of the Prize Committee, who, to*

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[96] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, 6-7 October 1857. Box 6.
[97] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers, Campbell and Metcalfe genealogies. Box 10.
[98] Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi,* pp. 238-239.

recompense us for our trouble, said we might each select a few things to keep as a memento of our haul… seeing one large box filled to the brim with some splendid 'carbuncles' I pulled out for myself a handful of about a dozen fairly large sized stones, which I eventually took home with me to England a few years afterward...'[99]

The accounts of prize agents make it clear that along with a position as a prize agent came the opportunity to carry out looting for personal gain; the very thing that the prize system was designed to prevent. Looting and taking war booty as part of the prize procedure thus took place side by side, by the same individuals.

The boundaries between loot, booty, and prize were therefore porous in the nineteenth century, and separating the forms of acquisition definitively in contemporary accounts is no easier than doing so in contemporary historiography. However, in this chapter, I will use the terms 'loot', 'war booty' and 'prize' as defined by historians like Margot Finn, in order to provide some level of distinction between the multiple and connected processes at play as part of the military appropriation of goods in colonial India. In this chapter I will also consider goods defined as 'loot' along with goods deemed by many as 'war booty' (rather than focussing on either single 'category' of object) to acknowledge the fact that they were closely related manifestations of military

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[99] Edward Daniel Hamilton Vibart, *The Sepoy Mutiny as seen by a Subaltern: From Delhi to Lucknow*, (London, 1898), pp. 151-152.

appropriation, and the fact that, as noted above, historians are still grappling with these historical definitions.[100]

A short history of British Looting, War Booty and Prize in Colonial India, 1830-1900

The Indian Mutiny (1857-9) was the scene of the most high-profile and prolific looting in Anglo-Indian military engagements between 1840-1900. In the aftermath of the fall of Delhi and the Siege of Lucknow, looting by the British forces was extensive and frenzied. In the words of General George Godfrey Pearse of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, 'plundering was universal, wild havoc was abroad'.[101] Looting was not confined to the Anglo-Indian members of the British forces. In Lucknow, for example, William Forbes-Mitchell described the plunderers as 'Europeans and Sikhs, Goorkhas and camp-followers of every class, aided by the scum of the native population'.[102] In *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi,* Griffiths claimed that on the fall of a mutineer, a 'rush' would be made by men to secure the loot, 'a race taking place sometimes between a European and one of our native soldiers as to who should reach the body…the kammerbund was quickly torn off and the money snatched up, a wrangle often ensuing…as to the division of the booty'.[103] The tussles for individual items of loot were in no way suggestive of a lack of goods to be plundered by the British forces. By all accounts, vast numbers of objects, clothes and weapons were taken in the closing battles of the rebellion. The journalist William Howard Russell, for example, described the court outside the Palace in Delhi, as being filled by soldiers with:

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[100] Lidichi and Allan, 'Introduction: Dividing the Spoils', p. 11.
[101] British Library, George Godfrey Pearse Papers, Mss Eur E417/6: 1857-1905, Mutiny Papers, p. 7.
[102] William Forbes-Mitchell, *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, 1857-59: Including the Relief, Siege, and Capture of Lucknow, and the Campaigns in Rohilcund and Oude*, (London, 1893), p. 220.
[103] Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi,* p. 106.

'…cases, with embroidered clothes, gold and silver brocade, silver vessels, arms, banners, drums, shawls, scarfs, musical instruments, mirrors, pictures, books, accounts, medicine bottles, gorgeous standards, shields, spears, and a heap of things, the enumeration of which would make this sheet of paper like a catalogue of a broker's sale'.[104]

Such was the sheer volume of loot being transported by the British forces that the baggage camels 'could scarcely carry their loads' and many died daily from exhaustion.[105]

The Indian Rebellion, while being perhaps the most infamous example of Anglo-Indian looting, was far from unique as an event that resulted in widespread military appropriation of objects. The annexation of the Punjab six years earlier in 1849 had opened the treasury of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to British forces. The treaty of Lahore stipulated that: 'all the property of the state [of Punjab]…shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company'.[106] As a result of the fact that these goods were acquired via treaty, these items will be defined hereafter as 'war booty'. Famously, the treaty specifically singled out the Koh-i-noor diamond, perhaps the most desired diamond in the world, to be handed over to the British: 'the Gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharaja Runjeet Sing, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the Queen of England'.[107] Maharaja Ranjit Singh's gold throne, an object of deep cultural significance to the Sikh community, was another high-profile object acquired by the British after the annexation of the Punjab.

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[104] William Howard Russell, *My Diary in India, in the Year 1858-9,* Vol. 1, (London, 1860), p. 333.
[105] G. Bourchier, *Eight Month's Campaign Against the Bengal Sepoy Army, During the Mutiny of 1857,* (London, 1858), p. 83.
[106] Sikh Museum Initiative, 'The Anglo Sikh Treaties, 1806-1846', http://www.sikhmuseum.org.uk/portfolio/the-anglo-sikh-treaties-1806-1846/ (10 May 2021).
[107] Sikh Museum Initiative, 'The Anglo-Sikh Treaties'. See also: Dalrymple and Anand, *Kohinoor,* p. 243-268.

Figure 2: Maharaja Ranjit Singh's throne. Wood and resin core, covered with sheets of gold. Lahore, c. 1805-10; Hafiz Muhammad Multani (maker). Victoria and Albert Museum (2518IS), London.

The scale of war booty acquired by the British in the aftermath of the surrender can be gleaned from the records of Dr John Login who, after the annexation of the Punjab, was responsible for taking charge of the treasury. Assisted by the treasurer, Misr Makraj, Login took charge of the 'jewel department' and created an inventory of its contents. By July 1849, Login valued the inventory of jewels at about 16.5 lakhs (1.65 million) of rupees, and the miscellaneous articles (for example furniture) at an estimated 7 lakhs rupees.[108]

With the exception of articles gifted to Queen Victoria, the majority of the goods from Maharaja Ranjit Singh's treasury was sold in public auctions in Lahore. The auction catalogues associated with the sales run to several pages, and reveal the huge quantity of riches the British forces took from the Punjab. For example, the catalogue of the first day of one of the public sales reveals that in one day alone the

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[108] Susan Stronge, 'The Sikh Treasury: The Sikh Kingdom and the British Raj', in Kerry Brown (ed.), *Sikh Art and Literature,* (London, 1999), pp. 92-93.

auction sold: 20 lots of crystal and jasper cups and vases; 14 silk, satin and cashmere rezies; 45 lots of cashmere shawls; 23 cashmere table covers; 77 lots of rifles and pistols; and 7 richly embroidered cashmere chogas and loonghees.[109] Many of these lots contained more than one item, and were extremely lavish; lot 109, for example, was comprised of: 'a carved crystal cup, two jasper plates, a jasper tea pot, an agate cup, and a small yellow marble pestle and mortar'.[110]

British military appropriation of objects in other conflicts often resembled the disorderly looting during the Indian Rebellion. The Second and Third Anglo-Burmese wars (1852-1853; 1885), for example, ended with widespread Anglo-Indian looting, in which soldiers and officers targeted royal palaces, temples, and other high-value locations, for loot. Figure 3 is a chinthe (stylised lion-like creature) that was brought back from Burma by Lt Col. Sheppard. Statues such as this frequently flanked pagoda entrances in Burma and, along with bells from the same structures, were commonly looted by British officers and men during the Burma campaigns.[111]

Looting in other conflicts had a different character. In the first and second Anglo-Afghan Wars (1839–42; 1878–80), and the small campaigns on the North-West Frontier, looting was more mundane and low-value. Goods targeted included livestock, baggage, and foodstuffs. This could be for provisions, punishment, or as part of a military strategy to weaken the enemy.[112]

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[109] Anon., *A Reprint of Two Sale Catalogues of Jewels and other Confiscated Property belonging to His Highness the Maharaja Duleep Singh. which were put up to auction and sold at Lahore. in the Years 1850 and 1851 by the Government of India. With Introductory Remarks,* (1885), pp. 1-10.
[110] Anon., *A Reprint of Two Sale Catalogues of Jewels and other Confiscated Property,* p. 6.
[111] See, for example, NAM.1980-11-55: brass chinthe brought back from Manipur, Burma, by Major C.B. Judge of the 2nd Prince of Wales Own Gurkha (Rifle) regiment.
[112] Charles Rathbone Low, (ed.), *The Afghan War, 1838-1842 from the Journal and Correspondence of the late Major-General Augustus Abbott,* (London, 1879), p. 255 and 293-4 for discussions of looting livestock for provisions and as part of military strategy respectively. For further discussion of looting grain as punishment see also: The Cambridge South Asian Archive, John Fowler Bradford Papers. Letter from John Fowler Bradford to unknown, 13 December 1849.
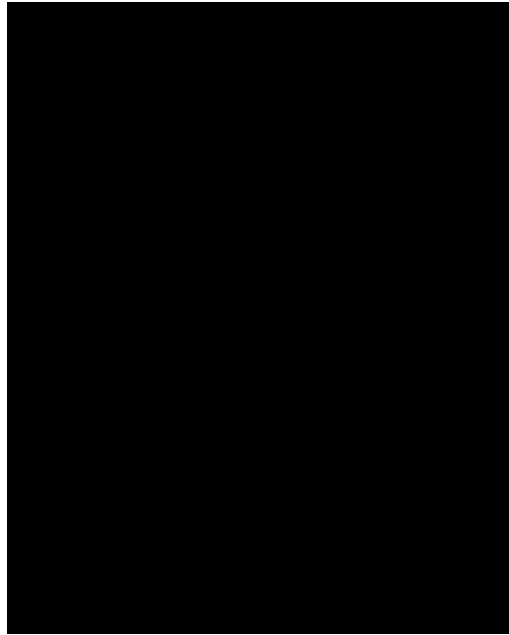
khyaw wood, carved. Mandalay, 1887; maker unknown. Victoria and Albert Museum (IM.210-1921), London.

Regardless of the differences in 'targets' for loot, and the different styles associated with different campaigns, looting was a major part of the lived experience of Anglo-Indian soldiers in nineteenth century India. Indeed, as Michael Carrington argues, 'indiscriminate and frenzied looting often followed military action' during the conquest of India.[113] The thousands of looted objects from colonial India held in British museum collections today attest to prominence of this practice.

Looting and Individual Constructions of Militaristic Masculinity

The acquisition of loot was bound up in the process of identity making. When officers took, bought, or were given loot in the aftermath of a British victory, they

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[113] Carrington, 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves', p. 81.

used these objects to make a statement about themselves as men. In this section I am going to explore so-called 'possession rituals' enacted by individual British officers in relation to loot. According to Grant McCracken, possession rituals are the ways in which individuals extract the meaningful properties invested in goods by themselves and others. These can include simply using the objects, but also displaying or discussing them.[114] I am going to consider two possession rituals- one material and one discursive—in order to illustrate the various ways men used loot to construct militaristic masculine identities. The first I am going to concentrate on is the practice of inscribing loot. The second is going to be examining the discursive practices of British officers when writing about looting; specifically the gendered and sexualised narratives of colonial looting in British officers' service memoirs.

Inscribing Masculinity

Inscriptions are words or symbols written or carved onto an object, especially as a formal or permanent record. These physical markings can offer an insight into the meanings people invested in objects, and the social uses these were put to. For our purposes, we can study the inscriptions on looted items from colonial India to see how men used them to position themselves in accordance with the hegemonic militaristic masculinity of the age. I am going to focus on three key objects that were inscribed after their acquisition by British officers. The first is a beaten bronze tray believed to have been found in the tent of Sidar Ayab Khan (Emir of Afghanistan), after the Battle of Kandahar (Second Afghan War, 1880) by Lieutenant John Scott Napier.

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[114] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities,* (Bloomington, 1990), p. 85.
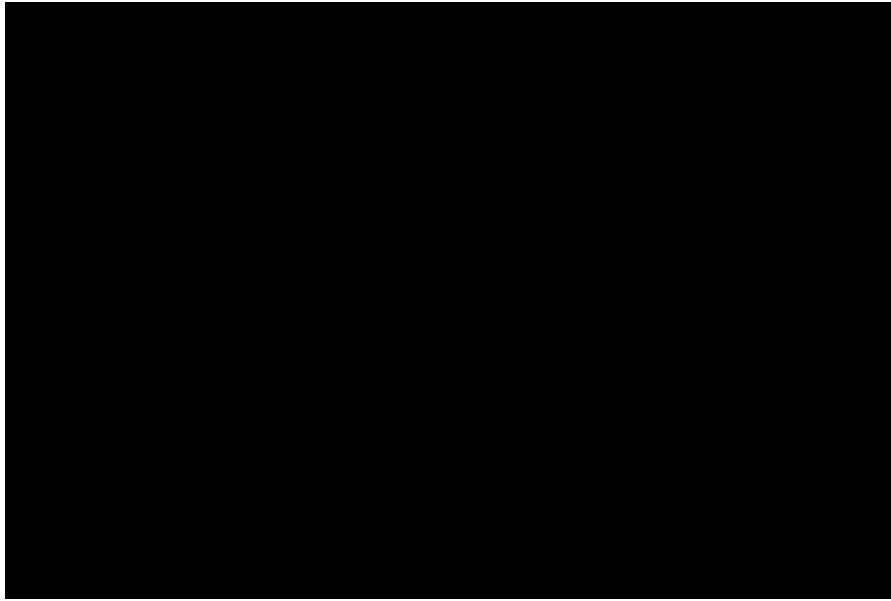
Figure 4: Tray, associated with Sidar Ayub. Beaten brass or bronze sheet metal. c.1880; owned by Lt John Scott Napier. National Army Museum (NAM. 1979-06-131-1), London.

The second objects are two fragments of wood, irregular in shape and size, contained within a piece of hollow bamboo. The fragments were purportedly taken from the smashed door of the Residency building at Lucknow, during the Indian Rebellion, 1857.
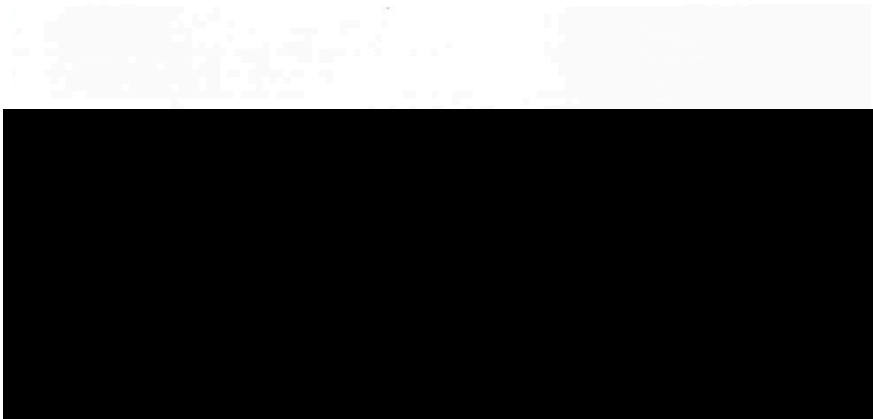
Figure 5: Two fragments of wood in a piece of hollow bamboo. Associated with W.E. Earle, Siege of Lucknow, Indian Rebellion, 1857-59. National Army Museum, London.

The final object is an Indo-Persian style knife known as a peshkabz, or pesh-kabz, taken by the Scinde Horse regiment from the chief in command of the Afghan cavalry at the Battle of Gujerat during the 2nd Anglo-Sikh War, 1849.

Figure 6: Pesh-kabz and scabbard. Blade has traces of watering; hilt possibly of walrus ivory; scabbard possibly made of black donkey skin. Captured at Battle of Gujerat, Second Anglo- Sikh War, 1848-1849. National Army Museum (NAM. 1970-03-18-2), London.

All of these objects were acquired during, or in the aftermath of, a battle, and all were formerly in the possession of a colonial enemy. All of these objects, too,

were later inscribed. The beaten bronze tray, for example, bears the inscription: *'Tray found in the tent of Sidar Ayab after the Battle of Kandahar. Cpt. The Hon. John Scott Napier. 92nd Regt. On 1st Sept 1880'.* The piece of bamboo containing the fragments of wood associated with the Siege of Lucknow, Indian Mutiny, is inscribed in ink: '*Containing wood from the shell scarred door of the residency, Lucknow 1857. Indian Mutiny. W.E. Earle'.* The smaller of the two fragments of wood is further inscribed 'VICTORY'.

Figure 7: Detail of the bamboo case associated with W.E. Earle. Inscribed in ink: "Containing wood from the shell scarred door of the residency, Lucknow, 1857, Indian Mutiny". Lucknow, c. 1857. National Army Museum, London.
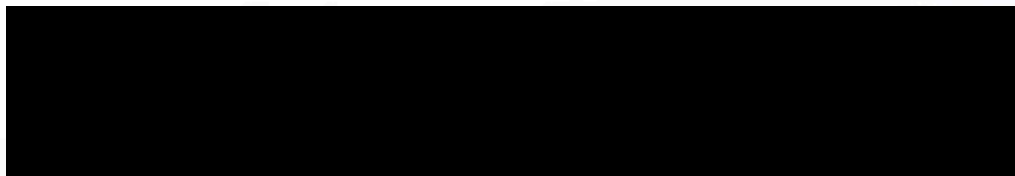
Figure 8: Detail of fragment of wood. Inscribed in ink, "VICTORY". Associated with W.E. Earle, Siege of Lucknow, Indian Mutiny, c. 1857. National Army Museum, London.

The peshkabz was inscribed: *'This dagger was taken by the Scinde Horse, from the chief in command of the Affghan Cavly at the Battle of Goozerat and presented by*

Lt Malcolm and his brother officers, to Col. the Honble Henry Dundas. Commanding the Bombay Division of the Punjaub'.
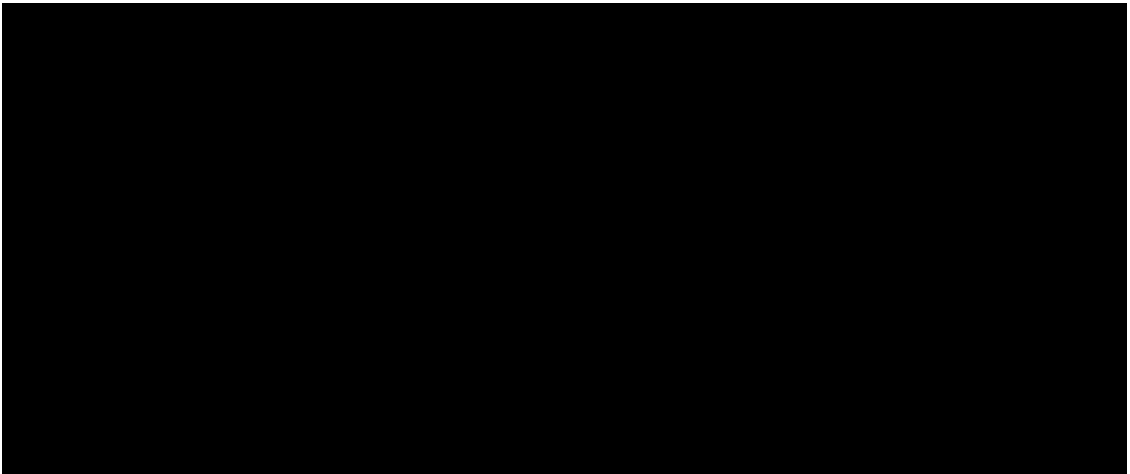
Figure 9: Detail of pesh-kabz. Inscribed: ''This dagger was taken by the Scinde Horse, from the chief in command of the Affghan Cavly at the Battle of Goozerat and presented by Lt Malcolm and his brother officers, to Col. the Honble Henry Dundas. Commanding the Bombay Division of the Punjaub'. Captured at Battle of Gujarat, Second Anglo- Sikh War, 1848-1849. National Army Museum (NAM. 1970-03-18-2), London.

All of these inscriptions worked in various ways to construct and communicate the owner's militaristic masculinity. On the most basic level, the inscription of the names of the people (or regiments) who took the objects enabled them to profess and communicate their ownership of the loot. Indeed, in the same way that branding on skin was used by colonial authorities to exert ownership and authority over certain grades of prisoner in South India through the practice of 'Godna', so too were the inscriptions used on the loot to demonstrate British men's conquest of, and power over, the looted objects. When Napier and Earle included their names on the inscriptions they ensured that viewers knew that this was a piece of India that they personally conquered and owned; this was their own personal part of India that they had taken. As we have seen, masculinity in this era was closely

linked to conquest and colonisation.[115] Inscribing looted objects with their own names enabled British men to demonstrate their ability to conquer and assert colonial (and thereby) masculine authority.

In the case of these three objects, the owners' names were engraved alongside other details of the object's capture. However, many items looted in colonial India during the latter nineteenth century were engraved only with the looter's name. We know from letters written to a female relative, Lt Colonel Cavangari's widow, for example, that at the time of his death in Kabul 1879, he had in his possession a ring, previously looted, that was engraved with his name: 'CAVAGNARI'.[116] Similarly, Brooke Boyd engraved his name on one of the two lion reliefs taken by him from the bed of the last Mughal emperor in the siege of Delhi.[117] Napier and Earle's inclusion of their own names in their loot's inscriptions was therefore representative of a wider practice through which British officers indicated their power and status as conquerors of India, and therefore manly men. In the case of Earle's hand-engraved inscriptions on the wood from the door of the Residency, this was underscored by the word 'VICTORY' inked onto the second piece of wood; this ensured the materiality of loot proclaimed his status, and that of the British more broadly, as conquerors and victors.

The inscriptions on the tray, wood, and peshkabz also allowed Napier and Earle, and the men associated with the peshkabz, to situate themselves more precisely at some of the most celebrated battles in the history of colonial India. Accompanying the names of Cpt John Scott Napier, WE Earle, and those

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[115] Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire,* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 59-60.
[116] Christ's Hospital School Museum, Cavagnari Papers. Letter from unknown author to 'Louisa', October 1880.
[117] Carved mahogany plaques with relief outline of two lions couchant; natural wood with highly polished patina. Delhi, c. 1840-1857. National Army Museum (NAM.1956-10-14), London.

associated with the peshkabz, were descriptions of the historical context of the loot's acquisition which firmly established the owners' place in colonial history. All of the items' inscriptions reference the famous battles they were looted in: we are told that Napier's tray was 'found…after the Battle of Kandahar'; the dagger was 'taken….at the battle of Goozerat'; and the inscription of the wood references the Siege of Lucknow: 'wood from the shell-scarred door of the residency, Lucknow'. To be present at such famous battles was the stuff of imperial adventure novels; indeed, famous battles from colonial history actually formed the setting for many of the boys' adventure stories.[118] By including references to their presence at socially-desirable colonial events in loot inscriptions, the owners of the loot sought to associate themselves with the heroic figures of imperial history- real and fictional- and to thereby authenticate their claims to militaristic masculinity. Indeed, Joan Cashin has argued that war trophies are desirable precisely because they 'authenticate experience'.[119] The inscriptions therefore imbued the goods with more meaning and weight by highlighting their (and their owners') connection to iconic imperial events. This was not a technique unique to soldiers in colonial India; Stacey Pierson has observed a similar process with the labelling of loot from the 'Summer Palace' or Yuanmingyuan (1860) in subsequent auction catalogues. She argues that catalogues highlighted the fact that objects from Yuanminguan came 'from the Summer Palace', to give them a 'unique and glamorous provenance'.[120] By describing objects as trophies from a celebrated location, the objects are elevated to a category of object with symbolic power and increased value in that they had been acquired through 'aggressive human intervention' in a desirable imperial setting.[121]

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[118] Brijen Krishore Gupta's extensive bibliography of British and Anglo-Indian novels lists more than eighty novels in English published 1800-1947 that allude to the Indian Mutiny alone. See: Brijen K. Gupta, *India In Fiction, 1800-1970: An Annotated Bibliography,* (Metuchen, 1973).

[119] Cashin, 'Trophies of War', p. 349.

[120] Pierson, '"True Beauty of Form and Chaste Embellishment"', p. 72-3.

[121] Pierson, 'Summer Palace Loot and Chinese Porcelain Collecting in Nineteenth-century Britain', p. 74.

The inscriptions on the tray, wood, and peshkabz were designed to be particularly compelling 'proof' of the owners' imperial status and militaristic masculinity by communicating the proximity of the British officers to high-ranking colonial enemies, and/ or their quarters. The bronze tray's inscription informs us that it was taken from the tent of a high-ranking Afghan general, Sidar Ayab, after the Battle of Kandahar. That of the peshkabz informs us that it was taken by the men of the Scinde Horse regiment from the Chief in Command of the Afghan Cavalry. The inscription on the bamboo case used to store the wood associated with the Siege of Lucknow informs us that it was taken from 'the shell scarred door of the residency'. These inscriptions work to inform the viewer that the owner of the object was not loosely associated with the famous battle in some far-flung distant outpost. Rather, the inscriptions tell us that they were (or claimed to be) right at the heart of colonial warfare: in Sidar Ayab's tent; at the door of the residency; in close proximity to the enemy's commander in chief. As well as associating the objects' owners with the prestigious project of British imperial expansion, these inscriptions implied the owners' possession of such desirable masculine traits as bravery, courage and daring. To be at the door of the residency of Lucknow, or in the tent of an enemy, or in the presence of a hostile commander-in-chief, implied that you had the pluck, courage and militarism exemplified by the heroes of colonial stories, and crucial to militaristic masculinity.

The social power of loot to authenticate experience of colonial warfare --and thereby express desirable masculine traits – was such that it was common for British officers more broadly to loot objects that were widely associated with a particular action, ruler, or place. Such objects ensured their owners' association with particular conflicts could be easily read by those who viewed them. For example, in the Anglo-Burmese wars of the later nineteenth century, many British officers looted chinthes-- mythical lion-like creatures that were often found in pairs guarding the

entrances to temples—because they were considered to be symbols of Burma and Burmese culture. In the Indian Rebellion, cashmere shawls were highly prized as they had become famous during the looting, and 'iconic' symbols of the riches of Delhi.[122]

Indeed, Napier, Earle, and the men associated with the peshkabz were far from unique in capturing loot associated with high-ranking enemies and their quarters, and using it construct militaristic masculinities. Such objects were widely acquired by British officers because of their potential to act as particularly potent evidence of owners' possession of masculine traits. In the National Army Museum alone, there are over twenty objects supposedly taken from Bahadur Shah, the King of Delhi, during the storming of Delhi ranging from decorative items like fly whisks (figure 9) and cushions, to weapons like daggers. Indeed, even fragments of bowls associated with Shah were kept for decades and eventually donated to the museum.
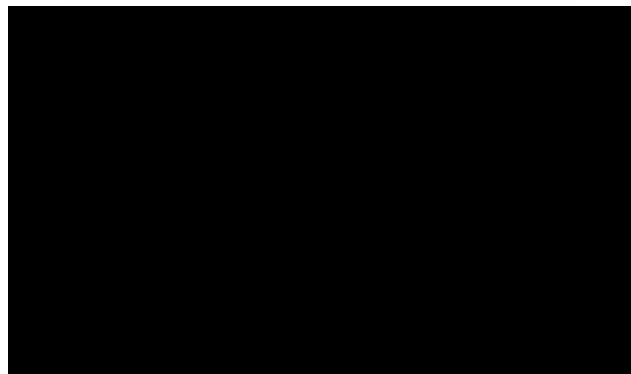
Figure 10: Bahadur Shah's Fly Whisk. Yak hair, with silver cylinder handle. Taken from Emperor Bahadur Shah's palace, Delhi, 1857. National Army Museum (NAM.1953-10-69-1), London.

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[122] Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewellery, Curry and Rice in Victorian Britain', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance,* (Bloomington, 1992), pp. 233-236.

Objects associated with other colonial enemies were similarly sought-after ; Lieutenant John Claude Auchinleck took a brass betel nut box (figure 11) from the treasury of Nana Sahib, one of the leading Indian rebels during the uprising in 1857. An unnamed British officer looted a helmet plate associated with the Gwalior Contingent—a regiment that rebelled against its British officers and fought under Tantya Tope and the Rani of Jhansi-- in 1859 (figure 12).

Such items were taken from colonial enemies were highly symbolic and meaning-rich; the presence of a high-ranking enemy's private property in one's collection stood as material proof of the owner's superiority over the defeated individual, as well as Britain's imperial superiority more generally. In the case of Napier, for example, his ownership of the bronze tray belonging to Sidar Ayab, implied his own victory (and therefore superiority) over this high-ranking general, both as an imperialist and as a man. This interpretation is supported by the work of James Hevia, who has remarked on the importance of associating looted objects from the Yuanmingyuan (or Summer Palace) with the body or the person of the Chinese emperor.[123] He argues that 'the presence of the emperor's things outside of his palaces placed a permanent stain on him and his empire'.[124] He argues that British actors attached a sense of debasement to the possession of the Chinese emperors things; the transport of the ruler's possessions to Europe added another layer of humiliation to a monarch already brought low by the sacking of his palaces.[125] Similarly, the looting of objects associated with high-ranking enemies in colonial India enhanced the personal prestige of the objects' new owners, signalling their personal (and imperial) triumph over the previous owner.

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[123] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 86-89.
[124] Hevia, *English Lessons,* p. 98.
[125] Ibid., p. 99.

Figure 11: Betel Nut box associated with rebellion leader and Maharajah of Bithur, Nana Sahib, 1857. National Army Museum, London.
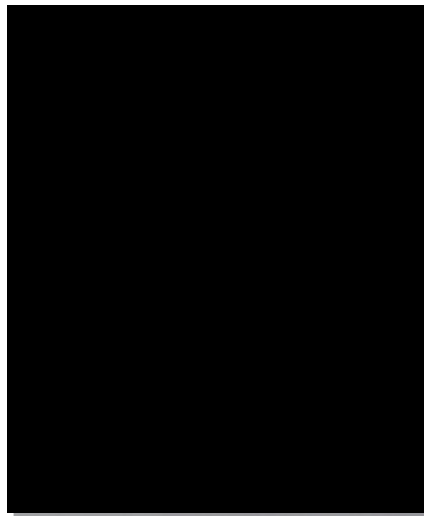
Figure 12: Officer's helmet plate, Gwalior Contingent. Thought to have been taken from a rebel 1858-59. National Army Museum (NAM. 1983-09-35-1), London.

The social value of objects looted from famous individuals and locations was such that British officers fiercely defended their perceived 'right' to them. Colonel Jerome Kellie, Indian Medical Service, recorded a confrontation in his memoir that occurred between himself and a civilian traveller who sought to loot a souvenir of the Third Anglo-Burmese War.

'The ubiquitous globe-trotters soon appeared and began to hunt for curios… One day when in my office, I heard some hammering going on over head, I sent some one out to see what it was. He came back and said there is a man on the roof. I

hurried out, and saw a man on the roof knocking off the carving. I shouted to him to come down, but he continued his work. I then began throwing stones at him, and called him all sorts of names…I explained to him that we had not come to Mandalay in order that he might climb my hospital and carry off the carving…' [126]

Kellie's indignation was not caused by a disapproval of colonial looting—having undertaken similar activities himself—but rather a dislike for the 'globe-trotter' taking the objects that would have garnered them status back home, and that he thought should be taken only by those who had conquered Mandalay: he had not 'come to Mandalay' and fought in order that the trophy-hunter 'carry off the carving'.

The drive to establish one's (buccaneering and victorious) place in imperial history was also inextricably connected to the association between militaristic masculinity and reputation. The relationship between these two things meant that British officers also used inscriptions on looted objects to ensure their acts of 'daring-do' contributed to a masculine reputation that outlived them. By inscribing the tray with the narrative of Napier taking it from Sidar Ayab's tent, the dagger with the story of its theft from the C-in-C of the Afghan cavalry, and the wood fragments with the story of its destruction by the British, the men involved ensured that those viewing the object in the future would have no option but to read their stories of heroic masculinity and that, for future generations, their looting and re-contextualisation of the objects would be a defining part of the objects' biography. Kopytoff has argued that power often asserts itself symbolically precisely by insisting on its right to singularise an object, or selection of objects. [127] By engraving the objects with their names and narratives, Napier, Earle and the men associated

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[126] National Army Museum, Papers of Col. George Jerome Kellie, NAM.1975-07-56. Typescript Memoirs of Col George Jerome Kellie, October 1877 to February 1904, p. 182.
[127] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 73.

with the peshkabz restricted the extent to which the objects could be singularised in the future; they ensured an irrevocable association between the object, its conquest, and their memory.

These inscriptions also undermined previous modes of singularisation undertaken by the loot's former owners. The narratives of conquest and colonial 'victory' engraved onto the objects by these men also obscured the former meanings of the objects. For the peshkabz this was particularly significant as the engraving on the object provided a narrative of an entirely different British lineage on the peshkabz, in which the prior ownership of the Afghan Commander in Chief is one, small part. The inscription details how the object was taken from the Afghan cavalry by a member of the Scinde Horse regiment, passed on by the regiment and Lt Malcolm to Henry Dundas. Through this, and other such inscriptions, the former owners' possession of the object and its former 'life' is largely over-ridden, remembered only strategically to illustrate the British officers' own masculine and military prowess.

Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall have argued that during colonial encounters, sharp breaks in the biographies of objects can occur, with radical resettling of meanings. [128] The inscriptions engraved or inked on the looted tray, wood, and peshkabz are examples of objects whose meanings dramatically changed as a result of a colonial exchange. Napier, Earle, and the men associated with the peshkabz altered the materiality of the loot they possessed to ensure that it 'spoke' unmistakably of their desirable traits: bravery, pluck, militarism, and thereby, colonial power and masculinity. The inscriptions the men employed ensured that the loot physically proclaimed their authority and role as conquerors, as well as their

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[128] Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology,* 31:2, (1999), p. 176.

place in imperial history more broadly, in their time and years to come. The inscriptions on looted objects from colonial India therefore provide us with an example of how British officers under took material practices in order to conform to the hegemonic idea of masculinity.

Sexualised Narratives of Looting in British Officers' Memoirs

In seeking to distinguish themselves as soldiers, colonialists, and, crucially, as men via the act of looting, Anglo-Indian officers also used the language of sex to describe their conquest and possession of loot. In various accounts we can see the similitude of hidden loot and a woman's body; of looting and sex; and of colonisation and sexual mastery. In this section I will discuss some instances of the gendering of loot as feminine, and the sexualisation of Anglo-Indian conquest and looting.

The idea that explorers and colonialists feminised the landscapes they purported to have discovered is an established part of colonial discourse theory. In her seminal text *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters (1975),* Annette Kolodny, traced the metaphor of 'land as woman' in American literature. She describes this as 'America's oldest and most cherished fantasy', and her work demonstrates the recurrent responses to the American landscape as a feminine entity.[129] Crucially, she argues, this has involved portraying the landscape not just as an object of domination and exploitation, but also as a maternal garden receiving and nurturing human children.[130] As a feminine gendered landscape, Kolodny argues America has been variously represented as Mother, as Virgin, as Temptress, and as the Ravished.

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[129] Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters,* (Chapel Hill, 1975) p. 4.
[130] Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land,* p. 5.

Historians of the Americas have expanded on Kolodny's work and demonstrated the reach and political importance of the gendered proto-colonialist discourses of discovery. A defining image analysed within much of this work is Jan van der Straet's (1575) imagining of Vespucci's 'discovery' of America as an eroticised encounter between a man and a woman. Louis Montrose reads the engraving thus: 'a naked woman, crowned with feathers, upraises herself from her hammock to meet the gaze of the armoured man who has just come ashore; she extends her right arm toward him, apparently in a gesture of wonder…Vespucci observes the personified and feminized space that will bear his name. This recumbent figure, now discovered and roused from her torpor, is about to be hailed, claimed, and possessed as America…'.[131] Montrose, and scholars who have built on his work, find in this image a crude misogynistic fantasy, in which America is gendered feminine and sexualised as an 'erotically inviting' woman and Vespucci, the godlike arrival, 'is destined to inseminate her with the male seeds of civilisation'.[132]

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[131] Louise Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', *Representations,* 33, (1991), pp. 3-4.
[132] Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p. 5. See also: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context,* (New York, 1995), pp. 25-26.
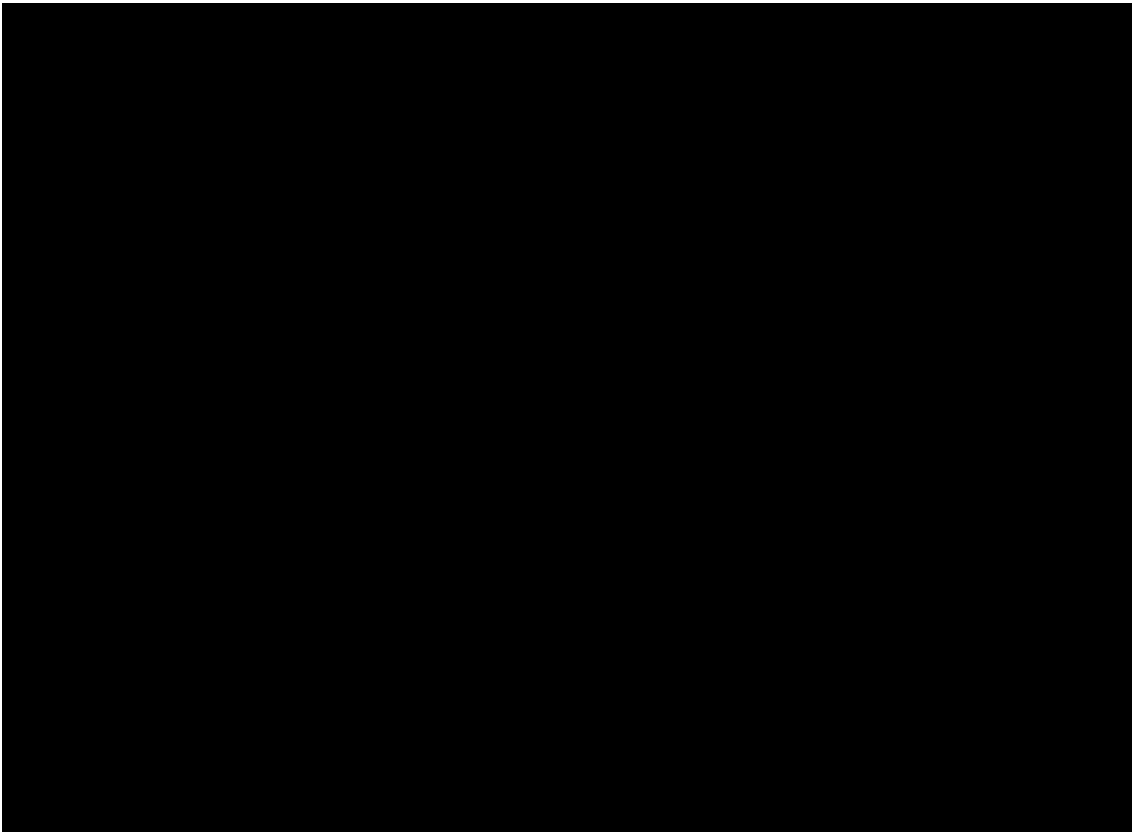
Figure 13: Engraving by Theodor Galle after a drawing by Jan van der Straet (c. 1575), America, c.1580. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (49.95.868.3), New York.

The image expresses succinctly the highly gendered and sexualised discourse that accompanied European exploration and 'discovery' in the Americas. The land was gendered feminine, while its exploration and conquest were imagined as masculine sexual domination. This was applied across the Americas. Montrose, for example, has also discussed the various ways in which the 'familiar trope of the fertile feminine land' was employed in the discourses around the purported discovery of Guiana.[133] He highlights Sir Walter Raleigh's description of Guiana as a country that 'hath yet her maidenhead, never sackt, turned nor wrought' as an example of how Guiana was gendered as feminine and sexed as a virgin female body, with the abundance of fauna in Guiana acting as evidence of feminine

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[133] Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p. 12.

fertility.[134] He argues this image served to naturalise the Englishman's exploration, conquest and settlement of the territory. In the eyes of the colonisers, the metaphor of gender hierarchy sanctioned the Englishman's collective longing to prove and aggrandize themselves upon the feminine body of the New World.[135]

Anne McClintok in *Imperial Leather* has explored the 'land as feminine' metaphor in relation to exploration and colonisation more generally. She argues that as European men crossed the thresholds of their known worlds, they ritualistically feminised borders and boundaries. [136] In these fantasies the world was feminised and spatially spread for male exploration.[137] The 'feminising of terra incognita' meant that features of the colonial landscape were described with reference to the female body, and their exploration was described in sexualised terms. McClintok's book opens with an example of the 'explicitly sexualised' map in Henry Rider Haggard's bestselling novel *King Soloman's Mines.*[138] When inverted, the map reveals a diagram of the female body, including two mountain peaks called Sheba's breasts.[139] The female genitalia on the map are called 'the three witches' and are depicted as a triangle of three hills covered in 'dark heather'.[140] These sexualised features on the map reflect gendered and sexualised interpretations of conquest; the hills on the map conceal the entrances to two hidden passages—or the vaginal entrance in McClintok's interpretation-- into which men enter to acquire the diamonds.[141] The mines were thus represented as hidden, feminised interiors, and the penetration of the male explorers into these feminised spaces was therefore representative of masculine penetration during sex. Suzanne Daly, in *Empire Inside:*

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[134] Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p. 12.
[135] Ibid., p. 12.
[136] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* p. 24.
[137] Ibid., p. 23.
[138] Ibid., p. 3.
[139] Ibid., p. 3.
[140] Ibid., p. 3.
[141] Ibid., p. 3.

Victorian Commodities in Victorian Novels, has read the trope of the colonial

treasure trove in a similar way. She argues that these 'womb like' underground

spaces are presented as 'feminised quest-objects' in imperial adventure novels.[142]

McClintock has emphasised the various ways in which this metaphor served

the interests of European explorers and colonialists. She argues that in the minds of

men influenced by the European enlightenment, the imperial conquest of the globe

found both its shaping figure and its political sanction in the prior subordination of

women. [143] The persistent gendering of the 'imperial unknown' (lands that were yet

to be discovered by Europeans), and the classifying of unknown lands as 'virgin'

territory was part of the long tradition identified by Kolodny and others in male travel,

exploration and conquest of an 'erotics of ravishment'. [144] The earth was positioned

as a feminine space that was to be discovered, entered, named, inseminated, and,

above all, owned. [145]

In the correspondence, memoirs and diaries of British officers, the language

used to describe looting (and, often, the collection of war booty) is part of this

tradition. Many of the themes of feminised and sexualised narratives of colonial

conquest are present within the narratives of colonial looting and military

appropriation of objects. Hoards of loot located in enemy houses, buildings,

treasuries, or, frequently, basements, appear as 'feminised quest-objects';

abundant, fertile entities lying ready to be entered, possessed, or despoiled, by

Anglo-Indian officers. To illustrate this dynamic, and demonstrate the role it played

in the masculinity politics of colonial looting, war booty and prize, I will discuss some

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[142] Suzanne Daly, *The Empire Inside: Indian Commodities in Victorian Domestic Novels,* (Michigan, 2011), p. 68-9.
[143] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* pp. 23-24.
[144] Ibid.*,* p. 22.
[145] Ibid.*,* p. 31.

instances of the gendering of the palaces and treasuries of defeated opponents as feminine, and the sexualisation of their conquest and looting.

The first case study I will consider is V.D. Majendie's *Up Among the Pandies; or, A Year's Service in India,* published in 1858. Majendie's memoir describes looting during the Indian rebellion 1857-8 in detail, in a highly sexualised manner:

"Curious enough holes many of these buildings were, and very miscellaneous the goods which they contained… It must not be imagined that the goods were laid out in shelves, or that its riches presented themselves ready to the hand of the looter; no!- a spade and pickaxe were necessary to bring to light the hoards, buried as they were in copper and earthenware vessels, some feet deep in the ground; when, behold! Silks, old books, bits of lace, nautch girls' trousers- be-spangled and pegtoppy- cloths, turbans, pieces of carpet, bottles of attar of roses, drinking vessels, and a good deal of half-made gunpowder, with great quantities of sulphur and other ingredients for the manufacture of the same, were exposed to view, greatly to the delight of the finders, and stimulating them to further exertions. How the men did dig, and delve, and burrow, to be sure! And with what ecstasy- after some two hours' vigorous excavating in an atmosphere like a vapour bath- would they hail the discovery of any little bit of glittering tinsel…which might present itself".[146]

Majendie's narrative contains many of the tropes associated with the sexualisation of colonial conquest. In Majendie's description of city buildings as 'holes' and in his emphasis on the loot as being 'buried' either among other objects

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[146] V. D., Majendie, *Up Among the Pandies; or, A Year's Service in India,* (London, 1859), pp. 208-209.

or 'deep in the ground', for example, we see the familiar image of a hidden feminised interior, reluctant to give up its secrets to male colonisers. As we have seen, McClintock and Daly discussed similar imagery in the context of *King Soloman's Mines,* and have demonstrated the symbolic equivalence of the mines and female anatomy.[147] The 'holes' in Majendie's text operate in a similar way, and suggest a feminised realm that men have to break into for their rewards.

Indeed, accompanying the description of the concealed feminised 'holes' in Majendie's narrative are extensive descriptions of male penetration. We are told that it was through using spades and pickaxes (themselves phallic objects) that the men were able to 'expose' the feminised loot. The fantasy of penetration continues when Majendie notes how 'the men did dig, and delve, and burrow' with and spent two hours' 'vigorous excavating'.[148] The language that describes their responses to digging for loot is sexualised too; we are told that 'exposing to view' the buried treasures 'stimulated' the men to further exertions, and they experienced 'ecstasy' on finding loot.[149] The process of looting as presented to us by Majendie, therefore, strongly suggests a parallel between looting and sex; the men vigorously dig, delve and burrow with spades and pickaxes into feminised holes and are rewarded with ecstasy when they acquire glittering loot. Further, Majendie's descriptions of the bounty and abundance the men were faced with is an example of the trope of the 'fertile female landscape' identified by authors such as Montrose and McClintok, or the trope of 'bounty' as described by Kolodny.[150] Just as McClintok describes earth as women that are to be 'discovered, entered, named, inseminated, and, above all,

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[147] Majendie, *Up Among the Pandies,* p. 208.
[148] Ibid*.,* p. 208.
[149] Ibid., p. 208.
[150] Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land*, p. 10.

owned', hoards of colonial loot, too, are feminised realms, similarly, discovered, entered, and possessed.[151]

This sexualisation of loot, booty and prize is also evident in Charles Griffiths' extensive account of his experience working alongside a prize collector in *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi.* Griffiths' account, on several occasions, also employs the trope of the feminized, underground void as a source of treasures to be penetrated and possessed. One story of collecting booty, for example, begins with a description of digging down to get to treasure: *"*Picking through the cement, we came on a large flagstone, which we lifted out of the cavity. Then we dug a hole about 3 feet square, and the same depth into the loose earth disclosing the mouth of a large earthenware gharra, or jar".[152] The narrative of penetration is different in Griffiths' account, because it also involves the uncovering of a jar stuffed with riches buried underground. The description of the men repeatedly inserting their hands into the jar (again, an image of entering a feminised void) and pulling out items of treasure, to their increased excitement, also has a sexual undertone:

"Then, with trembling excitement, for we felt sure that a rich display would greet our eyes, we began slowly to remove each article from the gharra, and place it on the floor of the room. A heavy bag lying at the mouth of the jar was first taken out, and on opening it, and afterwards counting its contents, we found that it contained 700 native gold mohurs…. Then came dozens of gold bangles, or anklets, of pure metal, such as those worn by dancing girls. We were fairly bewildered at the sight, our hands trembling and our eyes ablaze with excitement, for such an amount of pure gold as that already discovered we had never seen before…".[153]

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[151] McClinktock, *Imperial Leather,* p. 31
[152] Griffiths, *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi,* p. 241.
[153] Ibid., p. 241.

Griffiths continues the description of the contents of the jar by emphasising the bounty of the jar, and its ability to keep giving and giving to the men: 'but the treasure was not yet half exhausted. The jar seemed a perfect mine of wealth'.[154] This is enhanced by Griffiths' repetition of 'then came…then came…' when describing the jar giving up its treasures to the looters: 'then came dozens of gold bangles…then came small silver caskets filled with pearls'.[155] By emphasising the capacity of the sexualised of the jar to keep giving, and the treasures to keep coming, Griffiths' description constructs an image of an indefatigable feminine entity with an ability to provide unending pleasure.

Indeed, perhaps to a greater extent than Majendie's account, Griffiths' narrative combines the language of pleasure, desire and temptation with power-oriented sexualised descriptions of looting. Consider following passage:

'There were many other articles of value besides those I have mentioned- gold rings and tiara inlaid with precious stones, nose-rings of the kind worn by women through the nostrils, earrings, bracelets, and necklaces of small pearls without number. All these various articles we spread out on the floor of the room, examining each again and again, and with avaricious thoughts intent…Truly such a temptation to enrich themselves without fear of detection was never till this occasion set before two impecunious subalterns of the British Army. Here, spread out before us, lay loot to the value of thousands of pounds'.[156]

The booty in this passage is feminised by virtue of the fact that the objects described are 'for' women: tiaras, rings, bracelets, and 'nose-rings of the kind worn

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[154] Ibid., p. 242.
[155] Ibid., pp. 241-242.
[156] Ibid., pp. 242-243.

by women through the nostrils'. Griffiths twice describes spreading out these feminised objects, in a description that clearly equates colonial and sexual dominance, as well as the pleasure associated with it. The men in a position of colonial and sexual power 'spread out' the loot which they 'lay' on the floor before them, as they examine it with 'avaricious thoughts' tempted, literally to take it and enrich themselves. More overt sexual imagery is repeated, too, in an earlier section of the text when Griffiths recalls:

'I visited one room, the long table in which literally groaned with the riches of 'Ormuz and of Ind'- a dazzling sight to the eye, and one calculated to raise the spirit of greed in my breast to possess myself of some of the treasures so temptingly exposed to view'.[157]

The erotic image of 'groaning' riches, exposed 'temptingly' to Griffiths evoke in him desire, temptation and an impulse to 'possess'. The language of the paragraph fits with the highly sexualised nature of the description of objects Griffiths employs throughout his descriptions of finding war booty, and also with the trope of feminine insatiability Montrose has identified as common in gendered protocolonialist narratives of colonial discovery.[158]

Scholars such as Monstrose, Kolodny, and McClintok have argued that the trope of the fertile, abundant feminine colonial landscape comes with the possibility of that landscape being despoiled. In Raleigh's writings on Guiana, Montrose identifies both an appreciation for the unspoiled world and excitement at the prospect of despoiling it.[159] Similarly, in her exploration of the metaphor of 'land as

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[157] Ibid., p. 237.
[158] Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p. 6.
[159] Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', p. 12.

woman', Kolodny argues the metaphor incorporates land as Mother, as Virgin, as Temptress, and as the Ravished. As a result, McClintok, has argued that the feminisation of colonial land is ultimately a politics of violence.[160] In descriptions of looting and the collection of war booty, too, we see that narratives of British soldiers are not just ones in which men luxuriate in the erotic splendour of feminised treasure; men also recorded violently sacking palaces, buildings and villages. Although sexual violence underlies both Majendie and Griffiths' accounts (objects are broken into with a pickaxe, for example), it is considerably clearer in accounts that describe the destruction of palaces. In these accounts authors often simultaneously describe the *abundance* of the hoards of loot- in a way that is typical of feminised descriptions of landscapes - and describe the violent sacking and destruction of these bounteous feminised realms. The readers are thus presented with an image of male conquest and violent destruction of feminised spaces and, particularly, of glittering hidden treasures. If Majendie and Griffiths' accounts of looting and booty discursively link looting, booty, and sex, these accounts link looting, booty, and sexual violence; the feminised hordes of loot being pillaged and destroyed.

In such narratives, the discourse around looting is also linked with the politics of rape. Rape was a powerful colonial weapon, both as a material phenomenon and as an ideology to shore up critical aspects of colonial rule.[161] Scholars such as Nancy Paxton have studied the various 'rape scripts' within colonial literature that served to bolster the discursive and material power of the colonial state.[162] One such script was the trope of the 'native woman' being

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[160] McClintok, *Imperial Leather*, p. 28.
[161] Philippa Levine, 'Book Review: Writing Under the Raj: Gender, Race, and Rape in the British Colonial Imagination, 1830-1947', *Victorian Studies*, 43:2, (2001), pp. 293-294.
[162] Nancy Paxton, *Writing Under the Raj: Gender, Race and Rape in the British Colonial Imagination, 1830-1947,* (New Brunswick, 1999), pp. 4-8.

threatened by a native man, used to justify the 'civilising' British colonial presence.[163]

Another is that of the white British woman being sexually threatened by the native

man, used extensively in the aftermath of the Indian rebellion to justify white British

colonial force against native men.[164] The discourse around looting fits into a further

'rape script'; that of the coloniser raping a native woman.

However, rape in colonial India never existed exclusively at the level of signs

and symbols.[165] In 1860, the Indian Penal Code (IPC) established a uniform criminal

law for all of India. The bill defined rape as sexual intercourse with a woman against

her will and without her consent, and set the age of consent as ten. The crime of

rape was punishable by either transportation for life or imprisonment for up to ten

years.[166] By the late nineteenth century, sexual violence against native women was

publicly condemned by colonial government figures such as George Curzon,

Viceroy of India 1899-1905. [167] Sexual violence committed by white men—who were

expected not simply to uphold but also personify the superior character and culture

which justified imperial rule ideologically- against native women—whose

vulnerability was frequently cited to explain the necessity of colonial rule— called

into question the dignity and purpose of imperialism.[168] However, the emphasis on

virility and power at the heart of militaristic masculinity, and the close association

between power and sexuality within the British Empire more broadly, meant that in

practice sexual violence was often perpetrated – and tolerated – by British soldiers,

and legitimated by the courts.

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[163] Paxton, *Writing Under the Raj,* pp. 1-5.
[164] Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text,* (Minneapolis,1993); Paxton, *Writing Under the Raj,* pp. 109-137.
[165] Elizabeth Kolsky, 'The Body Evidencing the Crime': Rape on Trial in Colonial India, 1860-1947', *Gender and History,* 22:1, (2010), p. 109.
[166] Kolsky, 'The Body Evidencing the Crime', p. 109.
[167] Douglas Peers, 'Privates off Parade: Regimenting Sexuality in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Empire', *International History Review,* 20:4, (1998), p. 824.
[168] Peers, 'Privates off Parade', p. 825.

Elizabeth Kolsky has argued that the medico-legal understanding of rape in colonial India was defined by a discourse of Indian difference.[169] Colonial administrators, Christian missionaries, and a broad range of commentors on Indian society had long characterised the subcontinent as a place teeming with perjurers, forgers, and a general population that did not value the truth.[170] As a result, the field of Indian medical jurisprudence was organised around the belief in the inherent deceitfulness of Indian people, and the supposed unreliability of 'native' witnesses.[171] Medico-legal writing on rape consistently focused on the menace of female deception and false complaints.[172] As a result, medical corroboration was deemed as the only trustworthy evidence on which convictions could be based.[173] These examinations, however, were, according to Kolsky, guided as much by ethnographic observations and ideas about Indian culture, as they were by scientific methods and search for physical facts.[174] Colonial ideology therefore shaped the medico-legal understanding of rape, and the law of rape as it evolved in the courts, and acted to protect the (white British) perpetrators of sexual crimes against Indian women.

The bias of colonial courts has been explored specifically in the context of the British forces. Durba Ghosh has argued that rape cases considered in British courts in India consistently legitimated the right of British men to experience sexual activity with girls and young women around military cantonments and colonial settlements, regardless of consent; women and girls who were in the vicinity of British men were considered sexually available.[175] Douglas Peers has used the case

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[169] Kolsky, The Body Evidencing the Crime', p. 113.
[170] Ibid., p. 112.
[171] Ibid., p. 112-3.
[172] Ibid., p. 113.
[173] Ibid., p. 113-4.
[174] Ibid., p. 113.
[175] Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*, (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 197-205.

of the gang rape of Mah Goon in Burma, 1899, to illustrate the army's unwillingness to punish even the most public acts of rape; despite a plethora of witnesses, the soldiers responsible nearly evaded punishment because commanding officers chose to take no action.[176]

From the work of scholars like Kolsky, Ghosh, and Peers, we know that rape was a weapon of colonial rule, and, despite its contradictions with imperial ideology, was used to iterate a powerful heterosexuality, and white, colonial, masculine authority. Although there have been no academic studies on it, we also know that rape and sexual violence accompanied British looting. East India Company officer John Blakiston, for example, recorded having 'found several of our soldiers in the act of plundering and ill-using the inhabitants'.[177] In this instance, looting accompanied actual sexual violence, 'ill-using' being a euphemistic term to refer to rape. Having remonstrated with them on their 'brutal conduct', Blakiston records being told that having entered the place by storm, 'the devil himself would not hinder them from having their right to plunder'.[178] Blakinston's recollections suggest that there was an association between the 'right' to loot and the right to South Asian women's bodies.

Soldiers' accounts of sexual violations occurring alongside looting are extremely rare. However, in their narratives of looting the 'rape script' of the white male coloniser raping a native woman was transposed onto objects. I argue that the language of rape—and the taboo rape script of the British officer raping the Indian woman -- was used in British officers' narratives about looting in order to

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[176] Peers, 'Privates off Parade', p. 824.
[177] John Blakiston, *Twelve years' military adventure in three quarters of the globe; or, Memoirs of an officer who served in the armies of His Majesty and of the East India Company, between the years 1802 and 1814, in which are contained the campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in India, and his last in Spain and the South of France,* (London, 1829), p. 228.
[178] Blakiston, *Twelve years' military adventure,* p. 230.

communicate a powerful, virile, masculine identity. This narrative device worked alongside the tropes of 'despoiling the fertile female land' to communicate the power, virility, and authority that was integral to militaristic masculinity.

An example of this kind of discourse is present in William Howard Russell's infamous reports of the sacking of the Kaiserbagh. Russell recorded seeing men 'wild with excitement, drunk with plunder', in what could be considered a kind of sexualised euphoria, 'wantonly' destroying the treasures of the palace.[179] He wrote: 'they burned in a fire, which they made in the centre of the court, brocades and embroidered shawls for the sake of gold and silver. China, glass and jade they dashed to pieces in pure wantonness; pictures they ripped up, or tossed on the flames; furniture shared the same fate'.[180] The descriptions of what is being destroyed simultaneously construct the prior bounty and fertility of the place (full of brocades, embroidered shawls, china, glass, jade), at the same time as it narrates its despoiling at the hand of male soldiers. This also comes across clearly in Majendie's description of the Kaiserbagh:

'Smashed chandeliers; huge gilded picture-frames, with the pictures which they contained hanging in tatters from them; magnificent mirrors against which our men had been having rifle practice; silk hangings torn to rags; rich sofas stripped of their coverings and their very bowels ransacked in search of hidden loot…beds in the last stage of dismemberment… oil paintings through which half a dozen bayonets had been thrust, in sheer wantonness; books with their backs ruthlessly removed; magnificent 'howdahs' with everything bearing the semblance of silver or precious metal torn roughly off them; broken glass; pieces of crystal …doors which had been

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[179] Russell, My Diary in India, p. 333.
[180] Ibid., p. 333.

broken through, or torn from their hinges; with, here and there, to make the scene

complete, a half-putrid corpse'.[181]

In the process of looting, the riches and treasures are violently torn up, smashed, destroyed; the fertility and abundance of the hoards of 'loot' in the palaces is ruined; the palaces are left bare and desolate. William Howard Russell describes Delhi in the aftermath of the sacking as unrecognisable from its former glories: 'it was horrid…to have to stumble through endless courts which were like vapour baths, amid dead bodies, through sights worthy of the inferno, by blazing walls which might be pregnant with mines, over breaches, in and out of smouldering embrasures…suffocated by deadly smells of rotting corpses'.[182] Previously 'resplendent with richly-gilt roofs and domes', the palace and its surroundings are barren, decorated by rotting corpses, 'pregnant with mines', the fertility of the building stripped with its treasures, leaving 'sights worthy of the inferno': death rather than life.[183] These descriptions describe Anglo-Indian looting in line with the idea of despoiling a female body; a similar narrative technique to those used by explorers in the 'new world' to assert the colonisers' masculinity.

Indeed, the descriptions of *what* precisely is being destroyed contributes to the discursive expression of looting as gendered violence. The smashing of china, or delicate glass vessels, is a theme within the descriptions. Russell's description recorded how 'china, glass and jade' were 'dashed to pieces in pure wantonness' by the soldiers.[184] Majendie, too, recalled 'broken glass, pieces of crystal goblets' making up part of the scene of destruction at the Kaiserbagh. Colin Campbell described the destruction of 'large boxes of japanned work containing literally

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[181] Majendie*, Up Among the Pandies*, p. 244.
[182] Russell, *My Diary in India,* p. 334.
[183] Ibid.*,* p. 329; 334.
[184] Ibid.*,* p. 333.

thousands of cups and vessels of jade, of crystal, and of china, which the soldiers were listlessly throwing on the ground and breaking into atoms'.[185] He also described rooms after rooms full of broken china in the palace at Delhi:

'Rooms after rooms crammed with that splendid old china, from large vases to small coffee cups …The rooms were so full that you could not take a step without smashing something under foot, and before the prize agent came down you never saw such a wreck of vases, soup tureens, dishes, plates, cups and saucers, as was presented there. You had to dive deep to get anything whole'.[186]

China, particularly porcelain, in British culture had long been associated with women. Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace, Sarah Richards, and David Porter are among a number of historians who have demonstrated that a widely held belief in the affinity between women and Chinese porcelain developed in the eighteenth century.[187] This association stemmed, in part, from women's enthusiastic consumption of the commodity. The passion for Chinese export wares started in the seventeenth century on a small scale, then intensified in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, before expanding dramatically in the eighteenth century.[188] Although the Chinese curiosities stimulated the interests of male, as well as female consumers, porcelain was perceived as the province of femininity.[189] It formed a pivotal part of the feminine tea table culture that grew up in conjunction with the

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[185] Colin Campbell quoted in Flora Annie Steel (ed.), *Narrative of the Indian Revolt, from its outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell: Illustrated with nearly two hundred engravings from original sketches*, (London, 1858), p. 400.
[186] Colin Campbell quoted in Steel, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt,* p. 281.
[187] David Porter, 'Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35:2, (2002), pp. 402, 406-7; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century,* (New York, 1997), pp. 53-55; Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels,* (Manchester, 2000), p. 113.
[188] Vanessa Alayrac Fielding, '"Frailty, thy name is China": Women, Chinoiserie and the Threat of Low Culture in Eighteenth Century England', *Women's History Review,* 18:4, (2009), p. 660;
[189] Alayrac Fielding, 'Frailty, thy name is China', p. 661; Karen Harvey, 'Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Design History,* 21:3, (2008), p. 211.

introduction of tea, and thus became established as an essential part of women's social and cultural lives.

Perceived similarities between qualities associated with women, and porcelain goods' materiality, meant that the commodity became a metaphor to speak about women. In particular, Chinese porcelain's purity, smoothness, delicacy and fragility were qualities that were seen as being analogous to women, and were used in popular periodicals and pictoral representations to symbolise women's social and moral fragility. [190] Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace has shown that the hollow, emptiness of objects acted as a symbol for their lack of depth, while the fragility of porcelain symbolised their vulnerable virginity.[191] Virtue and virginity were metaphorically characterised by the image of unbroken or perfect china.[192] Smashed, or cracked porcelain, was thus a symbol of the loss of virtue and virginity, and was famously employed in Hogarth's *Harlots Progress* to symbolise the protagonist's loss of virtue and chastity.

The fact that the metaphor of 'china as women', and the use of china as a symbol of virginity, had been well established in British culture over the century preceding the colonial violence in India meant that it is highly likely that the Anglo-Indian men involved in smashing china- or recording these acts- would have been aware of their symbolism. The destruction of china, perhaps the most feminised of all commodities, I argue, acted as symbolic sexual violence. It employed the sexual imagery of a rape (the forcible smashing of china evoking the forcible destruction of

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[190] Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society,* (Oxford, 1999), p. 100; David Porter, 'A Wanton Chase in a Foreign Place', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 33, (2004), pp. 404-406;
[191] Kowaleski-Wallce, *Consuming Subjects,* p. 53-54.
[192] Ibid., p. 53-54.

virginity) to demonstrate British sexual and colonial dominance, and thereby militaristic masculinity.

Material acts that symbolised rape, and thereby sexual power, were not confined to porcelain objects. In the aftermath of the 2nd Anglo-Burmese war, for example, Captain Appleby described seeing soldiers running around 'dressed in women's apparel'.[193] Appleby recorded no assault, and it seems likely that the British removed the clothing from the houses of local women as they took over the properties. Joan Cashin has discussed similar cases of looting that took place in the context of the US civil war era, and she has argued that the practice of troops invading households and taking objects that held symbolic significance to women acted as symbolic rapes.[194] The violations that Appleby described in Burma therefore are a further example of how British officers used the politics of rape to assert sexual mastery, and therefore militaristic masculinity.

The case studies I have used illustrate that Anglo-Indian officers used the language of sex, and sexual violence, to describe their conquest and possession of loot and war booty. In various accounts we can see the blurring of loot, booty, and a woman's body; of looting and sex, or rape; and of colonisation and sexual mastery. As Anne McClintok argues, in the minds—and language-- of colonisers, the imperial conquest of the globe found both its shaping figure and its political sanction in the prior subordination of women. Articulating looting in gendered, sexualised terms was a discursive practice built on well-established colonial tropes that enabled British soldiers to assert their masculinity and virility, and thereby militaristic masculinity.

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[193] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Appleby Papers. Letter from William Appleby to his brother, 29 January 1853.
[194] Cashin, 'Trophies of War', p. 352.

Anglo-Indian Officers, Loot, and Expressions of Collective Militaristic Masculinity

Examining British officers' inscription practices and sexualised narratives of looting and the collection of booty has provided an insight into some of the material and discursive practices that men employed to harness the social power of appropriated objects in service of their individual masculine identities. The second part of this chapter will move on to consider the ways in which British men used looted objects, or references to them, to affirm the militaristic masculinity of Anglo-Indian men as a ruling class. I will explore this first through exploring images of loot and war booty deployed on campaign medals issued by the East India Company army, and then by examining the display of captured heavy artillery. The following analysis will demonstrate that loot and war booty was used by British officers to articulate collective, as well as individual, militaristic masculinity.

Medals and Masculinity: The Social History of Military Decorations

The East India Company pioneered the awarding of campaign medals on a large scale to native and British soldiers.[195] From the eighteenth century onwards, the East India Company began issuing standardised campaign medals to all those who were present at a specific action or military operation, regardless of rank, status or distinction.[196] Prior to this, campaign medals had been awarded by armed forces in Britain, but they tended to be ad hoc un-standardised productions issued by various authorities and limited to certain ranks.[197] Unlike gallantry medals, which were

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[195] Peter Duckers, *British Military Medals: A Guide for the Collector and Family Historian,* (Barnsley, 2013), p. 15; John W. Mussell (ed.), *The Medal Yearbook 2018,* (Exeter, 2018), p. 101.
[196] Duckers, *British Military Medals,* pp. 10-11.
[197] Ibid*.,* p. 12; Mussell, *The Medal Yearbook 2018,* p. 101.

awarded for particular acts of bravery or distinguished conduct, the campaign medals instituted by the East India Company were awarded for simply 'being present' for a designated length of time and in a specific area during a conflict.[198] Then, as now, campaign medals had a strong commemorative function, memorialising specific conflicts and victories, as well as serving as a tangible reminder of an individual's participation in a broader military campaign. When worn, they maintain and celebrate both the memory of the conflict, and link the individual to a broader collective group who had 'been there'.[199]

As objects issued by the colonial authorities to reward and commemorate imperial service and victory, campaign medals awarded by the East India Company and British government are steeped in colonial politics. As with many sources associated with more 'parochial' military history, medals have been overlooked as sources to investigate colonial power. There is an assumption that military medals' usefulness is limited outside of regimental displays.[200] Indeed, our contemporary perception of military medals as carefully guarded, infrequently worn, quasi-scared objects that spend their lives in boxes, has also meant that we have been blinded to the rather more active social 'lives' military medals had prior to the twentieth century. Prior to the First World War, it was customary to wear medals on all but the most informal of occasions, including during active duty.[201] British men would have worn the medals regularly: to social occasions, whilst on parade, even whilst on active service, etc. As a result, Victorian medals should be regarded as everyday items of dress, the design and consumption of which can tell us about the ways in

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[198] Duckers, *British Military Medals,* pp. 10-11.
[199] John Rumsby, 'Military Medals for Social Historians', *Social History in Museums, the Journal of Social History Curators Group,* 22, (1995-96), p. 39.
[200] Rumsby, 'Military Medals for Social Historians', p. 39.
[201] Mussell, *The Medal Yearbook 2018,* p. 69.

which colonial power and masculinity was materially expressed, as well as the attitudes and values of the colonial state.

In this section I will explore how campaign medals issued by the East India Company helped to construct an image of British officers as collectively possessing militaristic masculinity. My focus will be on the designs of campaign medals issued to native and British forces in India during the late nineteenth century. The intricate designs engraved on the front and reverse of these medals often depicted scenes, or the spoils, of colonial warfare. These designs made the campaign medals extremely potent items of everyday dress; the medals ensured that power and gender dynamics created by literal acts of looting or acquisition of war booty were memorialised and commemorated through the body of the soldier every time they were worn. Tying together the individual soldier with the collective British forces, the medals ensured that the body of each British soldier expressed a collective British military power and masculinity. Where widespread looting in the aftermath of battles, or the collection of war booty, was a rather 'exceptional' demonstration of British power, the campaign medals that depicted and commemorated such acts allowed these to be translated into, and used to bolster, more mundane or everyday expressions of power.

This approach is supported by the emerging work of historians and sociologists outside of the field of imperial history, who have started to pay greater attention to military decorations, and who have demonstrated that medals can be used as valuable sources to understand militarism, masculinity and power. Brieg Powel, a scholar of international relations, for example, has stressed that medals come out of the particular military, political and social contexts of the societies in

which they are awarded.[202] As such, he argues that decorations present a means to explore prevailing military-political attitudes and values. Powel argues that the issue of medals awarded for valour like Victoria Crosses, for example, offer researchers a means to explore changing understandings of the concept of military 'heroism' over time.[203]

Melvin Smith's research on the history of the Victoria Cross, moreover shows that medals are often employed to reward and exemplify behaviour representative of preferred doctrinal positions.[204] He argues that exploring medal citations (i.e. the recorded reasons for which medals were rewarded) functions as a means of exploring the type of military behaviour and approaches to warfare that authorities wish to promote. As well as reflecting societies' values and perceptions of militarism, medals are thus also used instrumentally and politically to encourage certain forms of behaviour, and to discourage others.

Jennifer Mathers has explicitly explored the ways in which medals are encoded with ideas of 'heroic military masculinity'. In her study of American heroic military masculinity after 9/11, Mathers has studied the medal citations of the three most prestigious US military valour medals: the Congressional Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, and the Silver Star. Mathers argues that medal citations provide a means through which to gain a greater understanding of the type of masculinity that is most highly prized by an armed force (and the society it is associated with) at a given time. Medal citations are, she argues, 'hero-constructing narratives' that reveal the traits associated with heroic militarised masculinity.[205]

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[202] Brieg Powel, 'Iraq, Afghanistan, and Rethinking the Post-Heroic Turn: Military decorations as Indicators of Change in Warfare', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 31:1, (2017), p. 16.
[203] Powel, 'Military decorations as Indicators of Change in Warfare, p. 17.
[204] Melvin Charles Smith, *Awarded for Valour: A History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism,* [(Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 190-193.
[205] Jennifer Mathers, 'Medals and American Heroic Military Masculinity after 9/11', in Veronica Kitchen and Jennifer G. Mathers (eds.), *Heroism and Global Politics,* (Oxon, 2019), pp.40-42; 46-47.

The increased historiographical attention paid to military decorations has thus focussed on gallantry medals and identified them as objects that reflect societies' perceptions of militarism and masculinity, as well as that encourage socially desirable (and militarily useful) forms of behaviour. My focus on campaign medals in this section will show that images of loot, booty, and prize in their design were used to reproduce the collective masculine power of the British forces and express it through the body of the individual soldier.

The Depiction of Colonial Loot, Booty, and Prize on Campaign Medals

The designs on East India Company campaign medals are striking in the way that they modify heraldic conventions in order to make reference to actual colonial events or battles, and to ensure the designs communicate the specifically South Asian context of the wars. The design on the reverse of the medal awarded for participation in the First Anglo-Sikh War (December 1845 –March 1846) for example, includes an image of a winged figure of victory, facing left and holding a wreath in her outstretched hand, with a collection of trophies at her feet. The figure is Victoria, the personified goddess of victory in ancient Roman religion, who has long appeared in art associated with war, being a symbol of victory over death and military success.[206]

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[206] Chris Doyle, 'Declaring Victory, Concealing Defeat: Continuity and Change in Imperial Coinage of the Roman West, c. 838- c.408', in G. Greatrex and H. Elton (eds). *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity,* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 157–171.

Figure 14: Sutlej Medal. Silver with dark blue and crimson silk ribbon. 1846. Image Courtesy of Medals of England.

The design appears to conform to standard heraldic conventions at first glance, but on close inspection the trophies at her feet reference the First Anglo-Sikh War, which the medal was designed to commemorate, as the trophies depicted are specifically South Asian weapons of the kind the Sikh army would have used. Included in the pile of trophies is a talwar; a curved sword from the Indian subcontinent.[207] Alongside the talwar there is a dhal shield (an Indian shield identifiable from its curved shape and the group of four bosses its outside) and a pair of ghurz maces (spears with with large, globular heads below a spike).[208] Perched atop the dhal shield is a khula khud helmet. The engraved bowl shape of the helmet, the spike and plume, and the mesh aventail depicted in the medal are

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[207] The small, fairly wide curve of the sword suggests it is a talwar, rather than a shamshir sword, which has a narrower, longer curve than that depicted in this picture. See: Syed Zafar Haider, *Islamic Arms and Armour of Muslim India,* (Lahore, 1999), p. 176.

[208] George Cameron Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armour in all Countries and all Times: together with some closely related subjects,* (New York, 1961), p. 207 See also: Haider, *Islamic Arms and Armour of Muslim India,* p. 219, 225.

all characteristic features of khula khuds helmets.[209] Khula kuds were worn by high-ranking Sikh officers at this time, and the were the kind of helmet Raja Lal Singh, the general who led the Sikh forces against the British, was frequently depicted as wearing in the British press. Figure 15 is an engraving by James Duffield Harding of the Raja wearing a khula khud helmet, the characteristic plume and mesh aventail of the helmet clearly identifiable in the image.
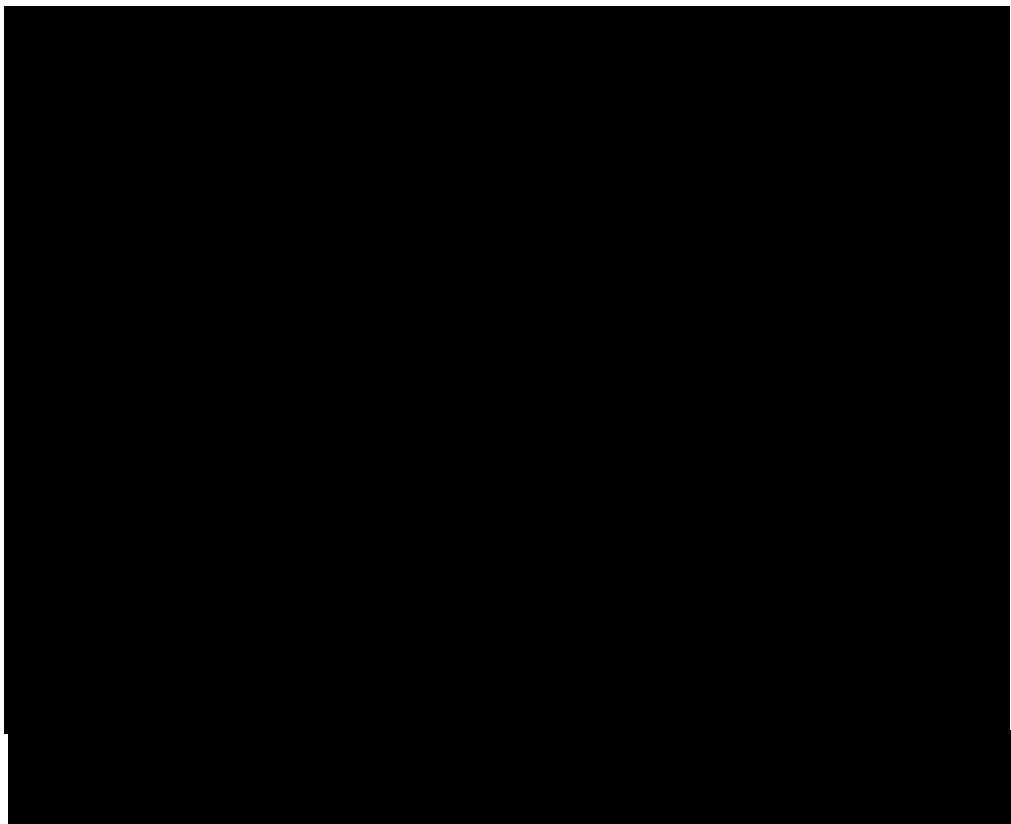
Figure 15: James Duffield Harding, Raja Lal Singh, c. 1845-46, engraving. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

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[209] Haider, *Islamic Arms and Armour of Muslim India,* p. 130-31.

The collection of identifiably South Asian arms and armour, and a type of helmet associated with the enemy's leader, at the feet of the winged figure of victory plays an obvious symbolic role representing the defeat of the Sikh army in the First Anglo-Sikh War; it is a longstanding military artistic convention to use the abandoned or stolen weapons of the defeated to symbolise victory. However, the significance of the pile of weapons is not purely symbolic, as it unavoidably makes a more literal reference to the large amount of loot and war booty extracted in the aftermath of the British victory, and the weakening of the Sikh army. In the aftermath of the First Anglo-Sikh War, alongside territorial acquisitions such as the territory to the South of the river of the Sutlej and in the Jalandhar Doab, the British acquired thirty six field guns from the Sikh forces, as well as the forts and their contents in the Jalandhar Daoab. This was in addition to the guns captured by the British at the battle of Sobraon.[210] Further, in article seven of the Treaty of Lahore, the British put strict restrictions on the size that the Sikh army could be, and demanded that any increase be approved by the British government.

In this context, the image of the South Asian weapons at the foot of Victory should be regarded as a reference the British capture of Sikh weapons and commemorate the depleted strength of the Sikh army. The inclusion of a khula khud helmet, of the kind the British associated with Raja Lal Singh, was, further, an indication of the subjugation of the Sikh general. The medal therefore commemorated a specific act of colonial dominance on the part of the British forces, at the same time as celebrating colonial power relations more broadly.

Because of the highly gendered context of war and weapons in both British and South Asian culture, the medal's design would have inevitably also expressed

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[210] See Article 8 of the Treaty of Lahore: Sikh Museum Initiative, 'The Anglo Sikh Treaties'.

the masculine power of the British. Weapons were regarded in both British and South Asian military culture as manifestations of masculine military power. Swords, guns, and other edged weapons symbolised pride, valour and chivalry in various cultures across the Indian subcontinent.[211] They were status symbols, and symbolised honour, as well as being a weapon with which anti-colonial force could be exerted.[212] The illustrations that represent the British stripping of South Asian military actors' weapons, and the subjugation of their leader, communicated simply, in a visual language that is easily understandable, the subjugation and associated emasculation of South Asian soldiers. The valorisation of military and colonial might within militaristic masculinity meant that in commemorating the subjugation of Sikh forces, it affirmed the masculinity of the British forces generally, as well as that of the individual soldiers who wore these decorations.

It is reasonable to suggest that Anglo-Indian soldiers would have understood and interpreted the medal in this way based on their own personal commemorations of the First Anglo-Sikh war. We see similar imagery, for example, on the memorial to Sir Robert Henry Dick constructed at St George's Cathedral, Madras. Dick was acting Commander-in-Chief at Madras between 1841-42 and was commanding the Third Infantry Division in the First Anglo-Sikh war when he died leading a charge against Sikh entrenchments at the Battle of Sobraon.[213] Dick was considered a hero for his contribution to the British victory at Sobaron, and the memorial raised at Madras depicts him kneeling in service of empire, with a discarded khula khud helmet at his feet. The text of the memorial informs us that it was raised 'in grateful admiration by the public of the Presidency at Madras'. The design of this memorial

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[211] Haider, *Islamic Arms and Armour of Muslim India,* p. 166.
[212] Ibid.
[213] H.M. Stephens and James Lunt, 'Dick, Sir Robert Henry', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7596 (23 Oct 2022)

suggests that the designs of medals like the Sutlej medal would have been widely understood, both within the British military community, and in civilian society. The memorial was not constructed by the East India Company army, but instead by the civilian 'public' in the Madras presidency. The design choice demonstrates that the symbolism of the medals, and therefore their meanings in terms of gender, would have been understood and embraced by British soldiers, as they had been within wider colonial society.

Figure 16: Memorial to Sir Robert Henry Dick, St George's Cathedral, Madras. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.
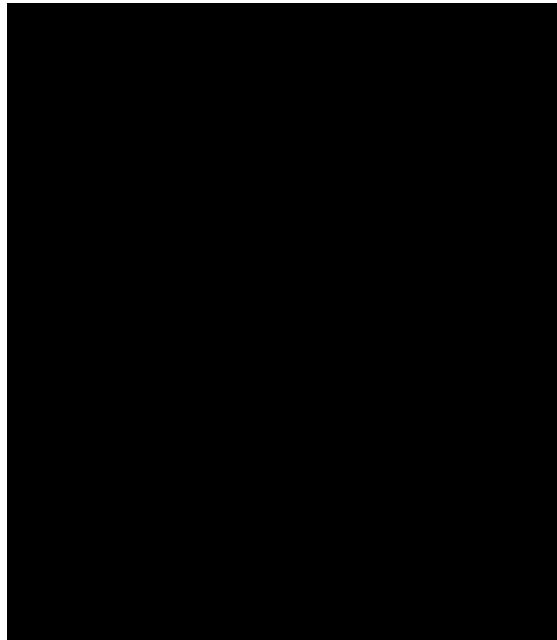
Figure 17: The Army of India Medal. Silver with pale blue silk ribbon, 1851. National Army Museum (NAM. 1961-03-12-1), London.

We see similar piles of weapons as depicted on the First Anglo-Sikh War medal on other campaign medals of the era. The Army of India medal (Figure 16) was widely issued in 1851 as a retrospective award for soldiers who served in either the Second Maratha War (1803-04), the Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-16), the Third Maratha War (1817-18), the First Burma War (1824-26), or the Siege of Bhurtpoor (1825-26). The medal features a pile of arms and armour at the foot of a winged figure of Victory. Again, the weapons are readily identifiable as South Asian ones, and may reference the actual British capture of loot and booty that took place within these conflicts. Indeed, there are objects held in British museums today that were looted in these conflicts and are identical to those portrayed in the Army of India medal. For example, the Dhal shield below (Figure 17) was captured by Captain John Fenton at Muckerunpore (Makwanpur) during the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-1816. Comparing the dhal with that depicted on the India medal, it is very clear that the design on the medal very closely resembles the kind of dhal shields that were actually looted by British forces during the Anglo-Nepalese War.
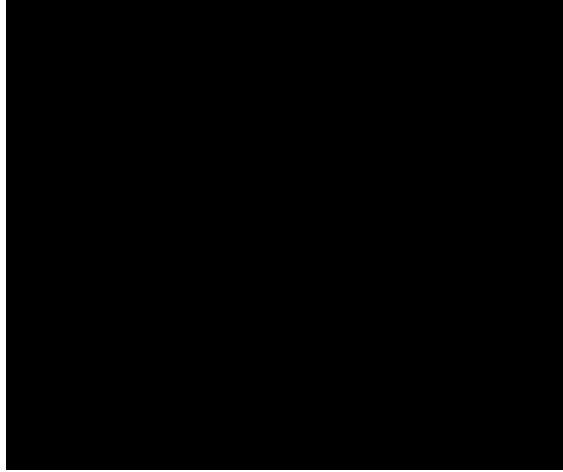
Figure 18: Dhal, Indian. Black lacquered hide, convex with recurved lip; red fabric pad in the centre of inside. Inscription refers to the capture of the shield. National Army Museum (1970-08-4), London.
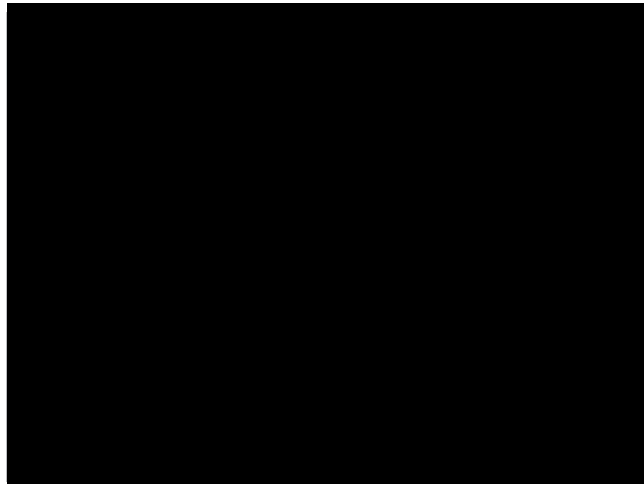
Figure 19: Tulwar sword. c. 1817. Associated with Gen Sir John Hearsey. National Army Museum (NAM.1984-11-236-1), London.

Similarly, Figure 19 shows a tulwar sword acquired in 1817 during the Third Mahratta War by Sir John Hearsey and Figure 20 is a Kukri captured in the Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-1816). Again, these two weapons taken as war trophies very closely resemble the bladed weapons depicted on the India Medal.
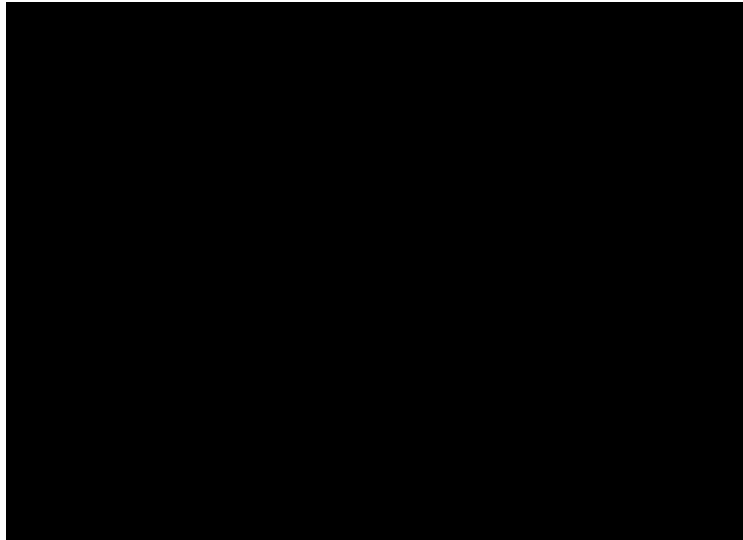
Figure 20: Kukri. Iron ferrule with wooden hilt. Nepal, c. 1750 – c. 1814 Associated with the Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-1816). National Army Museum (NAM.1980-07-58-1), London.

The presence of these captured weapons in museum collections makes it particularly clear that the design of the India Medal commemorated and celebrated actual acts of material appropriation carried out by the British forces, as well as symbolising victory more generally. Engraving captured weapons on the medal made permanent the fleeting nature of this experience, and reproduced the power and gender dynamics associated with the objects' acquisition when the medal was worn. Further, regardlesss of how involved an individual awarded this medal was in any of the fighting or looting, its design tied them in to the collective glory of the British subjugation and sacking of their enemies. [214] Wearing the medal would have at once commemorated collective British masculine power, and associated the individual with it.

The physical evidence of individual soldiers looting the kinds of weapons depicted on the India Medal also helps confirm that the British soldiers who were issued such medals would have understood the meanings of the designs; having

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[214] Campaign medals were awarded to everyone involved in campaign, within certain parameters (e.g. location and time served).

participated in looting these kinds of weapons, or 'hearing of' such things, it is likely that they would have understood that the design was a reference to literal military conquest and military subjugation enforced by the British forces, and, due to the jingoistic cultural environment of colonial India and popular culture, would have been likely to also understand the gendered implications of this.

Perhaps the most striking imagery associated with captured goods on East India Company campaign medals appears on the medal that was awarded to East India Company and British regiments involved in the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49): the Punjab medal (figure 21). The design of the Punjab medal foregrounds war booty. In a highly idealised scene, Sir Walter Gilbert is depicted receiving the surrender of the Sikh army, with stooped Sikh soldiers laying their arms at the feet of him and the rest of the British forces on horseback.[215] The Sikh officer in the foreground places a tulwar amongst a pile of weapons, which also includes a *dhal,* a pair of *ghurz* maces, and some heavy artillery. The focus of the entire scene on the medal is the war booty, with the gazes of all three men in the foreground directed at it.

Again, as well as symbolising surrender, the piles of arms depicted on the medal inevitably recall the actual war booty and prize seized in the aftermath of the war. As described earlier, along with the annexation of the Punjab came the occupation of the Sikh treasury and the appropriation of 1.65 million rupees worth of arms and armour. The heavy artillery pictured on the medal also recalls the heavy artillery was famously captured from the Sikh soldiers after the war.

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[215] Duckers, *British Military Medals,* p. 21.
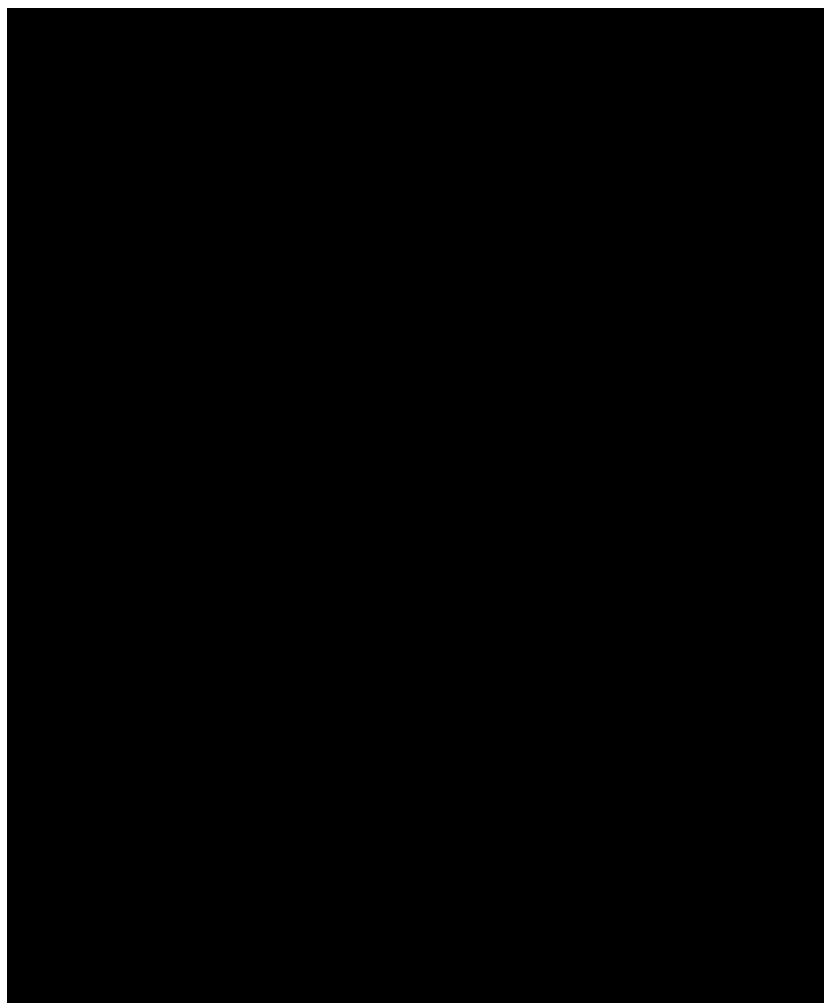
Figure 21: Punjab Medal. Silver, with dark blue silk ribbon with yellow stripes, 1846. National Army Museum (NAM. 1963-10-89-3), London.

The design of the Punjab medal clearly communicates the symbolic and literal subjugation of the Sikh army and- more clearly than any other campaign medal we have considered- commemorates the British forces' perceived emasculation of the Sikh army. This is conveyed by the depiction of Sikh soldiers in the design. They bow deferentially as they surrender their weapons to Sir Walter Gilbert, who looks down on them and directs them from a higher 'superior' position on a horse. The stooped posture of the Sikh soldiers (as they surrender their weapons to the British) powerfully communicates the force of British colonial power bearing down on them, and contributes to the image of British masculine superiority conveyed by the medal. The design of the medal captures a historical moment -- the

surrender of the Sikh army and the British annexation of the Sikh treasury-- and turns it into a colonial fantasy of 'native' humiliation and subordination at the hands of the 'superior' British men.

It is necessary to remember that medals in this era were very much everyday items of dress. As we have seen, eligible British men would have worn this medal regularly in various military and social situations. This makes the medal's design all the more striking: the men who were awarded the Punjab medal regularly wore a decoration that depicted the acquisition of war booty from the Sikh army, as a result, the subjugation and humiliation of Sikh men. By wearing this medal, the men who were awarded it prolonged the memory of the subjugation of the Sikh army, both in their own minds and in the minds of those who viewed them. In commemorating the perceived subjugation and emasculation of the Sikh army, the medal celebrated the collective power and masculinity of the British forces, and communicated it through the body of the individual soldier. The medal would have therefore simultaneously reinforced the perceived power and masculinity of both the individual wearer, and British soldiers as a collective. The extent to which contemporary historians' aversion to military history has prevented scholarship from engaging with such sources becomes clear when we consider such campaign medals. It is hard to imagine that any other form of material culture that so explicitly glorified colonial military appropriation of objects and that was such a clear assertion of British masculine and colonial power, being almost entirely ignored by scholarship.

The designs of the various campaign medals we have considered therefore further demonstrate the potency of looting and war booty- or images of looting and booty- for the construction of militaristic masculinity. Images of looting and war booty on campaign medals helped to affirm the masculinity of Anglo-Indian men as

a collective, and enabled individual men to commemorate and reproduce this corporally. On the chest of the wearer, campaign medals physically represent and commemorate a particular campaign. The foregrounding of images of colonial looting and war booty on these medals ensured that this violent appropriation, and the associated emasculation and subjugation of colonial adversaries, was formally instituted as a key part of colonial victories and their memory. Images of khula khuds, tulwars and dhals piled at the feet of Victory, or in fantastical scenes of surrender, being included in the designs of the campaign medals meant that the actual appropriation of these objects by the British—and the gender dynamics associated with that act of material violence—were commemorated and reproduced each time the medal was worn. As a gender identity that valorised colonial power and military force, militaristic masculinity was affirmed through these medal designs.

The Practical and Symbolic Place of Artillery in British and South Asian Military Cultures

The value of Indian artillery was both intrinsic and symbolic in the nineteenth century. In the context of colonial campaigns, guns were crucial weapons. They were used to cover the advance of foot soldiers, to lay siege to enemy occupied buildings, and to defend British-held territories and possessions. The high cost and associated scarcity, alongside the decisive power of big guns, meant that each of these weapons had an individual value unmatched by any other weapon. The acquisition or loss of a single gun could confer significant military advantage for both the British and their adversaries. In the First Anglo-Afghan War Lady Florentina Sale recorded that as a result of an error of one of their Captains who left behind two six pounder guns in the city, the 'Affghans have taken possession of them and use

them against us'. [216] Conversely, during the Indian Rebellion there were many examples of British soldiers turning rebel-held guns back on them. Kendal Coghill recorded: 'we had all the fun- we brought some of their guns out in the street and…fired up the street with grape into mobs of them till we could fire no longer'.[217] Alexander William Gordon of the 93rd Highlanders in India similarly recalled capturing an 'eighteen pounder gun and fired several rounds from it up the street on the enemy'.[218]

The military importance of big guns in colonial warfare is reflected in the fact that many of the Victoria Crosses awarded to British Officers in the East India Company or Indian Army from its institution in 1856 to 1900 were associated with defending or capturing heavy artillery. For example, Lieutenant John Charles Campbell Daunt won the Victoria Cross in October 1857 for capturing two guns at Ghota Behar during the Indian Mutiny. The citation associated with the award noted in particular his gallantry in capturing the second of the two guns, which he did on foot by shooting the enemy gunners, who were 'mowing the detachment down with grape'.[219] Sir Sam Browne, Commander of the 2nd Punjab Irregular Cavalry, was awarded the Victoria Cross for attacking the gunners of the enemy forces at Seerporah with a Sowar during the Indian Mutiny. Together with the Sowar, Browne prevented the gunners from reloading the gun and firing upon British forces, and eventually captured it.[220]

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[216] Lady Florentina Sale, *A journal of the disasters in Affghanistan, 1841-2,* (London, 1843), p.67
[217] Coghill Papers. Letter from Kendal Coghill to 'Jos', 22 September 1857.
[218] Alexander William Gordon, *Recollections of.a Highland Subaltern, during the campaigns of the 93rd Highlanders in India, under Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, in 1857, 1858, and 1859,* (London, 1898), p. 251.
[219] Anon, 'John Charles Campbell', The Comprehensive Guide to the Victoria and George Cross, http://www.vconline.org.uk/john-c-c-daunt-vc/4586499003 (3 June 2021).
[220] Anon, 'Sir Samuel James Browne VC, GSB', The Comprehensive Guide to the Victoria and George Cross, http://www.vconline.org.uk/sir-samuel-james-browne-vc/4586003953 (3 June 2021).

Guns also had an important place within the cultural and symbolic life of colonial India. As Priya Satia argues, guns were never simply instruments of 'mechanical death'; they had multiple meanings and a rich social life.[221] Historians have explored this primarily in relation to the small hand-held weapons. However, their insights are relevant to artillery, given the many similarities between the weapons. Throughout the history of British India, guns of all sorts were objects replete with colonial symbolism. Michael Adas has argued that European's perceptions of the material superiority of their own cultures, particularly as manifested in scientific thought and technological innovation, shaped their attitudes to, and perceptions of, non-Western people.[222] This was evident in attitudes to weapons in colonial India. Despite the fact that it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the British achieved pre-eminence over their indigenous adversaries in terms of firearms, guns were viewed by British colonists as emblems of the supposed superiority of European civilisation.[223] Lord Wilbraham Egerton's work on Indian arms and armour, for example, is premised on the perception that weapons have a particular ability to represent various cultures or ethnicities:

'*I think identity of arms to a greater extent than identity of language or religion denotes identity of ethnic origin, and shows the influence of race in their ornament and character...'.*[224]

For the British, their own weaponry indicated their civilisational superiority. As a result, they were closely connected with ideas about who had the right and ability to rule India. The fact that their indigenous adversaries waged war with

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[221] Priya Satia, *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution,* (London, 2018), p. 10.
[222] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance,* (Ithaca, 2014), p. 1-14.
[223] Daniel Headrick, 'The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of Modern History,* 51:2, (1979), p. 248-9.
[224] Wilbraham Egerton, *Indian and Oriental Arms and Armour,* (London, 1880), p. 3.

traditional weapons, such as *chukkars* and *tulwars,* as well as firearms, marked them out as inferior and their domination 'natural'.

Guns also acted as a more general symbol of colonial power and the subordination of colonised peoples. Confident handling of firearms, Mary Procida has argued, symbolised a man's mastery over the colonised Indian landscape and its people.[225] The gun exemplified literal and metaphorical potency as both the actual instrument of British conquest and dominance in India, and the symbol of Western masculine mastery over the colonised people. The British mastery of guns was therefore a crucial component in Britain's literal and symbolic dominance in India. This dual 'literal and symbolic' function of colonial violence has been described by Kim Wagner, who has explored the imperial politics of the public execution. Though not focusing specifically on the weaponry involved in the executions, Wagner's work illustrates how violence was to 'perform' colonial dominance, at the same time as administering actual acts of violence against those who challenged the British state.[226]

As we might expect for objects so closely linked to ideas of civilisational superiority and imperial dominance, British perceptions of guns in the context of nineteenth century India were inherently gendered. For a British man, guns were symbols of both his imperial mastery, and of his masculine sexual prowess.[227] Indeed, part of the enormous appeal of the big game hunt for British men in the nineteenth century, was the opportunities it offered to demonstrate their skill with these ideologically-loaded weapons.[228] If the gun symbolised the imperial mastery

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[225] Mary Procida, 'Good Sports and Right Sorts: Guns, Gender, and Imperialism in British India', *Journal of British Studies,* 40:4, (2001), p. 454.
[226] Kim Wagner, 'Calculated to Strike Terror: The Amritsar Massacre and the Spectacle of Colonial Violence', *Past & Present*, 233:1, (2016), pp. 202-205.
[227] Procida, 'Good Sports and Right Sorts', p. 454.
[228] J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' The Martial Male,* (London, 2010)*,* pp. 118-119; 168.

and masculine potency of British men, as well as the superiority of British civilisation more broadly, each occasion where these weapons were successfully used implicitly re-stated the imperial and masculine power of British men, and the right of the British, by virtue of their civilisational 'superiority', to rule the inhabitants of the subcontinent.

Meanings of Heavy Artillery on the Indian Subcontinent

Guns within the Indian subcontinent also had a rich social life, and one that has been more thoroughly investigated-- in terms of artillery -- by historians. Artillery within South Asia had long been imbued with meanings of power and kingship. Despite contemporary imperial characterisations of India as a 'rude' state, largely ignorant of the power of ordnance, the presence of artillery of varying sizes and designs in India as early as the second half of the fifteenth century is well established on the strength of Persian texts, as well as European travellers' accounts.[229] According to Iqtidar Alam Khan, it was under the first three Timurid rulers of India that gunpowder artillery emerged as an important equipage of war. Khan argues that these weapons contributed significantly to the consolidation of Mughal rule and the establishment of a centralised state structure under Akbar.[230] The use of rockets, for example, flourished in India from the sixteenth century.[231] By the time Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan were on the throne in South India (1767 to 1799), Indian rulers were capable of deploying artillery with devastating skill. Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, for example, both improved ordnance and transportation within

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[229] Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Nature of Gunpowder Artillery in India during the Sixteenth Century: A Reappraisal of the Impact of European Gunnery', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 9:1, (1999), p. 28.
[230] Khan does however question the extent to which these weapons were instrumental to this process. See: Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Gunpowder and Empire: Indian Case', *Social Scientist,* 33:3/4, (2005), pp. 56-57. Also, Khan, 'Nature of Gunpowder Artillery in India', p. 27.
[231] Simon Werrett, 'Technology on the Spot: The Trials of the Congreve Rocket in India in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Technology and Culture,* 53:3, (2012), p. 601.

the army of Mysore, and Tipu established workshops boring highly elaborate decorative cannon. By the end of Tipu's rein some 5000 Mysorean troops carried rockets, and in the course of the four Anglo-Mysore wars Haidar Ali and Tipu's troops had inflicted infamous defeats on British forces on the strength of their artillery. [232]

As within British martial culture, such pieces of artillery were highly symbolic weapons that represented power, kingship and martial pride. These attitudes were evident as early as the sixteenth century when Akbar's historian, Abu'l Fazl, described gunpowder artillery as 'a wonderful lock for securing the august edifice of royalty and a key to the door of conquest'.[233] He also claimed that except for the Mediterranean/ Ottoman territories, in no other place was gunpowder artillery available in such abundance as in the Mughal Empire.[234] Regardless of the extent to which this was true, Abul Fazl's proclamations show the significance artillery had come to have in relation to military conquests and the annexation of territories. Indeed, the description of artillery as a 'lock for securing the august edifice of royalty' indicates such weapons were associated with prestige and reputation, as well as imperial conquest.

These associations were still firmly in place during the reign of Tipu Sultan. Throughout his reign, Tipu espoused a radical Islamic ideology, and adopted the personal symbol of a tiger to represent him as a ruler. This exceptionally shrewd choice of symbol spoke to all the different cultural traditions over which he ruled; the tiger was a multivalent signifier recurrently associated with royalty in India, across cultural traditions from medieval times.[235] As well as this, the tiger symbol signified

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[232] Werrett, 'Technology on the Spot', p. 602.
[233] Henry Blochmann (ed.), *The Ain I Akbari by Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubārak*, i, (Calcutta, 1873), p. 82.
[234] Blochmann, *The Ain I Akbari,* p. 82.
[235] Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images,* (Princeton and Chichester, 1997) p. 150.

his tenacious, implacable opposition to British colonial incursions. Tipu famously commissioned a mural of a tiger ravaging a British man in an East India Company uniform in his palace, as well as a musical model of the same scene which is currently held in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[236] For Tipu, the symbol of the tiger was closely linked to his religion, his power as a ruler, and his opposition to the British, and thereby, his masculinity. The tiger symbol appeared extensively on guns commissioned by Tipu Sultan.[237] The muzzles of the canons produced in his workshops were decorated with tiger heads, as well as inscriptions associating the weapons with Tipu and Allah.[238]

Outside the Islamic traditions associated with the Mughal empire and rulers like Tipu Sultan, too, artillery was highly symbolic in Sikh and Hindu traditions. In the Sikh Empire, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army produced exceptional quality guns.[239] Such was the cultural and military significance of artillery that each of the weapons were inscribed with religious texts and proclamations of rulers' power, and their casting was accompanied by various ceremonies.[240]

In the case of Sikh guns, for example, the niyāz, or the ceremony of consecration was performed on the casting of each gun. During such ceremonies, donations were offered to the deity presiding over the fortunes of the smiths, as well as to the 'goddess of destruction'.[241] Each gun was also named during the ceremony of consecration.[242] A name was selected by all those who had taken part in the manufacture of the gun, and these names often expressed military power and

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[236] Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers,* pp. 62-65.
[237] For an extensive discussion on the firearms commissioned by Tipu Sultan see: Robin Wiggington, *The Firearms of Tipu Sultan, 1783-1799: A Survery and Record,* (Hatfield, 1992).
[238] Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers,* p. 23.
[239] Harinda Singh, Savinder Pal Singh, Sitaram Kohli (eds.) *Guns of Glory: Sikh Guns and Inscriptions* (Chandigarh, 2018), p.11.
[240] Ibid., pp. 11; 24-25.
[241] Ibid., p. 24.
[242] Ibid*.,* p. 11. .

pride.[243] The names of two guns taken by the British in 1879, for example, translate as 'victorious in war' and 'destroyer like lightning'.[244]

As well as an individual name, guns were also individually inscribed. Within Sikh culture, the inscriptions often glorified Ranjit Singh and prayed for the longevity of his reign. Translations of guns looted by the British in the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Sikh War reveal that guns were frequently inscribed with variations of the phrase: 'by the grace of the immortal…may the reign of the great sovereign, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his State and Monarchy last forever'.[245] Another convention was for the inscription to speak of the power of the gun, Ranjit Singh, and the Sikh empire. One gun was inscribed: *"This gun has a mouth like that of a dragon. By its breath it can discharge sparks of lightening. It can by a single sound, render the fate of the enemy as dark as its own smoke…"* [246]

The inscription positioned the gun as a demonstration of, or, more precisely, an *agent* of, Sikh power. This applied to other inscriptions, too. One gun was inscribed: "this gun named Masin will destroy the enemy through its balls of death…'.[247] Another inscription read: 'this gun…showers forth fire and sparks of lightning. From its smoke, the mornings of enemies turn into evenings'.[248] Within Sikh martial culture then, as well as being a valued military asset, guns were therefore almost talismanic objects; they had their own names and distinctive inscriptions, all of which forcefully expressed Sikh power.

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[243] Ibid., p. 25.
[244] Ibid., p. 25.
[245] Ibid., plate no. 6. See also: plate nos. 21, 27, 32.
[246] Ibid., plate no. 53.
[247] Ibid., plate no. 3 & 8.
[248] Ibid., plate no. 31.

In the mid-nineteenth century a shared understanding of guns as intensely meaningful weapons stretched across cultural boundaries. Although these beliefs may have manifested in different ways within British, Islamic, Hindu, and Sikh military traditions, soldiers from all of these cultures viewed guns as being inherently linked to masculinity, power, and control.

The British Display of Heavy Artillery

Given the strategic importance of heavy artillery, military concerns inevitably played a significant part in the British capture of South Asian guns. However, the significant symbolism of guns within British and South Asian military culture also motivated the British to take guns, both as loot and war booty. Indeed, it is likely that that outside of their symbolism within British military culture, the British were aware of the cultural significance of artillery on the Indian subcontinent, which made them all the more valuable acquisitions.

The British understanding of the cultural significance of heavy artillery would have been built up in various ways. Firstly, Europeans worked for Indian rulers to develop their weaponry, and so had an opportunity to observe this significance first hand. Ranjit Singh had employed European officers from the 1820s to direct the manufacture of large calibre canons and to develop his artillery's training and command.[249] Notable among these officers was Alexander Gardner, a Scottish military officer. Gardner was involved in the modernisation of the Sikh guns, and in his memoirs recorded that he was the 'colonel' of the Sikh artillery.[250] Gardner, as well as other Europeans including Claude August Court, closely oversaw elements of the production of artillery. This is reflected in the inscriptions on some of the

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[249] Ibid, p. 12.
[250] Ibid, p. 16.

canons produced that identify Gardner as the 'overseer' of their manufacture. For example, a 4.75 howitzer produced between 1843-1844 which was acquired by the British in the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Sikh War contains in its inscription: '*under the charge of the Sahib…counsellor and commander General Gornar Sahib'.*[251]

The name 'Gornar' is suspected to be a transliteration of Gardner, and indicates the close involvement European officers had in the production of Sikh artillery.[252] Indeed, in the decades prior to the Anglo-Sikh wars, there was considerable cultural and scientific exchange between European officers and the Sikh court. As well as the individual officers working for Ranjit Singh, many visited the Maharaja's court and reported back (with some trepidation) on the growth of Ranjit Singh's army, and the artillery in particular. The British officers had close contact with the pieces of artillery, and, through their close engagement with their manufacture, had the opportunity to understand their cultural significance.

That there was considerable knowledge of Sikh inscription practices is evident in the inscriptions on pieces of artillery gifted between the East India Company and Ranjit Singh. In 1838 Lord Auckland commissioned a set of guns to be given as diplomatic gifts to the Maharajah in an attempt to maintain relations between the two powers.[253] These guns were cast in the East India Company gun foundry at 'Cossipore', which was directed by Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. The inscriptions on the guns closely follow the format and language of those produced in the Sikh gun foundry. Inscribed alongside the name 'G. Hutchinson' and the arms,

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[251] Royal Armouries, 'Gun- Bronze, Indian Howitzer (1843-1844)', Online Collection*,* https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-33843.html (2 June 2021).
[252] Royal Armouries, 'Gun- Bronze, Indian Howitzer (1843-1844)'.
[253] Gurinder Singh Mann, 'The Maharajah's Howitzer', Royal Armouries*,* Stories, https://royalarmouries.org/stories/our-collection/the-maharajahs-howitzer/ (1 January 2021).

crest, and motto of the East India Company, the following Persian text was inscribed on a nine-pounder howitzer:

'What a fine brass barrel with roaring muzzle. This muzzle is like that of a destructive lion. This splendid gift which Lord Auckland, Governor-in-Chief, brought to Hindustan which at the behest of friendship he ordered as a present for Maharajah Ranjit Singh'.[254]

The caption bears significant similarities to those cast in the court of Ranjit Singh. The most striking point of similarity is the comparison of the muzzle of the gun to 'that of a destructive lion', and the description of it as having a: 'roaring muzzle'. As we have seen, a convention within Sikh inscriptions on guns was to compare them to powerful creatures and to extoll the gun's power; describing the muzzle as 'roaring' like a destructive lion' is remarkably reminiscent of, for example, the inscription that described the gun as having a 'mouth like that of a dragon' and having breath that can 'discharge sparks of lightning'.[255]

Lord Auckland's sister, Emily Eden, described the gift of her brother to Ranjit Singh in her India correspondence and her writing further proves that the guns were made based on British cultural knowledge of Sikh military culture and taste. She wrote of the guns, 'they are very handsome, ornamented more than our soldiers think becoming, but just what Ranjeet would like'.[256] Her correspondence also reveals that the British understood the reverence Sikh soldiers had for heavy artillery, and the connections between big guns and the power of the Sikh ruler. She

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[254] The Families in British India Society, 'Historic Guns of British India', https://wiki.fibis.org/w/Historic_Guns_of_British_India (28 May 2021).
[255] Singh, Singh, and Kohli (eds.), *Guns of Glory,* plate no. 53.
[256] Emily Eden, '*Up the Country': Letters written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India by the Hon. Emily Eden*, Vol.1, (London, 1866) pp. 270-271.

wrote that on the gun, 'there is the bright star of the Punjab, with Ranjeet's profile on the gun...Captain E. says that thousands of Sikhs have been to look at these guns, and all of them salaam to Ranjeet's picture as if it were himself'.[257]

Indeed, as well as developing an understanding of the meanings of South Asian artillery through peace-time exchanges in expertise and technology, the British would have also built up considerable knowledge through war itself. By the 1830s, the British had been involved in conflict on the Indian Subcontinent for over a hundred years. During this time the British annexed large numbers of artillery and would have built up an understanding of the kinds of meanings of these guns. For example, the British seized 'The Bhurtpore Gun' during the Siege of Bharatpore in 1826. The gun was associated with Aurangzeb, the sixth emperor of the Mughal dynasty who ruled over almost all of the Indian subcontinent between 1658-1707. The Bhurtpore Gun had titles associated with Aurangzeb- - 'the father of Victory' and 'the reviver of religion' inscribed in Persian on the chase.[258] As well as this, a title common to all Mughal emperors--'the warrior, the virtuous King'-- was inscribed on the gun, alongside the dates of Aurangzeb's reign[259]. At the time the Bhurtpore Gun was acquired, many British military men spoke Indian languages and had considerable knowledge of Indian culture and history. As a result, they would have had enough linguistic and cultural knowledge to recognise the emperor's title on a gun, particularly as this would have made the weapon considerably more valuable.

Moreover, the Anglo-Indian officers would have developed an understanding of the significance of the guns to the Sikh army based on how fiercely they defended them. The British force noted during the Anglo-Sikh Wars, for

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[257] Eden, '*Up the Country',* pp. 270-271.
[258] The Families In British India Society, 'Historic Guns of British India'.
[259] Ibid.

example, that when when defences were breached, gunners would not part with their guns, often holding them close until death.[260] The experience of engaging with weapons over many decades that were linked within south Asian culture to power, kingship, and masculinity, as witnessing soldiers' attachment to them in war, meant that the British would have broadly understood the cultural meanings of these weapons—and the kinds of things that might have been inscribed on them-- by the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In the aftermath of victories, pieces of artillery were routinely seized as war booty and the British forces regularly created large displays of the captured weaponry. British forces would line up all of the guns, and then record them; either via photograph, or in an engraving, lithograph, painting, or other art form. Given the cultural significance of the guns within both British and South Asian military culture, these military 'displays' of war booty must be considered elaborate performances of literal and symbolic military power, as well as grandiose statements of the power and potency of British masculinity. These displays were analogous to the metropolitan imperial exhibitions- such as The Great Exhibition (1851) and The Crystal Palace Exhibition- which functioned as 'visible articulations of British imperialist might'.[261]

Figure 22 shows one such display of captured heavy artillery. It is a photograph taken of guns taken as booty from the Afghan fortress of Ali Masjid by Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Browne's Peshawar Valley Field Force in November 1878, during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880). The guns are parked on Shargai Heights, in the Khyber Pass, and General Appleyard and his staff are seen

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[260] Singh, Singh and Kohli, *Guns of Glory,* p. 12, 16.
[261] Louise Tythacott, 'Exhibiting and Auctioning Yuanmingyuan ("Summer Palace") Loot in 1860s and 1870s London: The Elgin and Negroni Collections', *Journal for Art Market Studies,* 2:3 (2018), p. 10.

posing in the foreground. Figure 23 shows a similar display associated with Major

General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts and the capture of the Battle of Peiwar Kotal in

December 1878, also during the Second Anglo-Afghan War. The photograph shows

a line of Afghan guns that were captured when British and Indian troops crossed the

border between India and Afghanistan, towards Kabul. British and Indian troops are

pictured leaning casually on the guns.
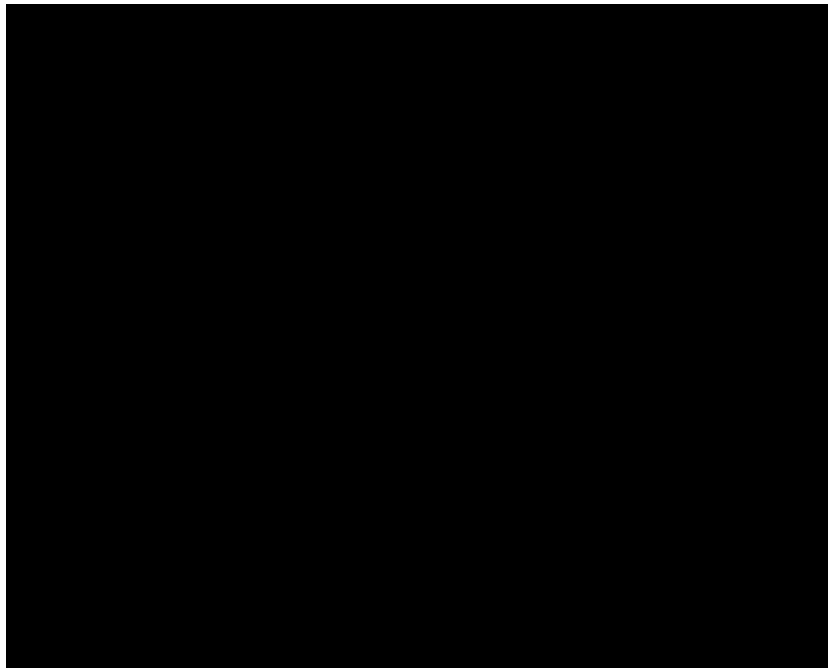
Figure 22: Photograph showing captured guns from Ali Musjid, Second Anglo-Afghan War. Lieutenant-General Samuel Browne, November 1878. National Army Museum, (1955-04-39: 21), London.

Figure 23: Photograph showing line of Afghan guns captured at the Peiwar Kotal, Second Anglo-Afghan War. Unidentified photographer, December 1878. National Army Museum (NAM. 1955-04-42: 3), London.

Despite the very limited British successes in the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42), when the British were able to inflict defeats on the Afghan rebels, they documented the capture of enemy guns in much the same way as in the later war. Figure 24 is a lithograph taken from a volume of 26 tinted lithographs by Louis and Charles Haghe after James Atkinson, produced between 1838-42. The image depicts the village of Urghundee, located about 25 miles from Kabul, where Emir Dost Mohammed planned to advance against the British invasion force during the First Anglo-Afghan War. Before he could do so, however, many of his chieftains abandoned him, forcing him and his remaining followers to retreat. Major Cureton and the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons captured the guns, and the lithograph depicts them lined up in the shadow of a mountain, being inspected, and over-seen, by imperial forces.
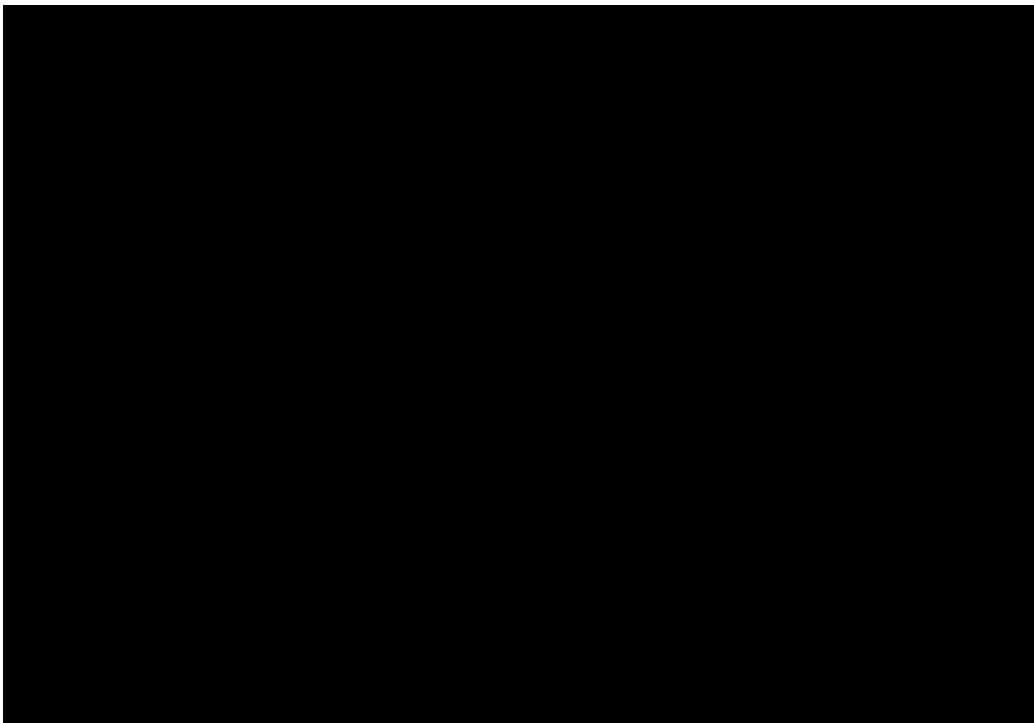
Figure 24: Louis Haghe and Charles Haghe after James Atkinson, 'The Village of Urghundee', from bound volume of 'Sketches in Afghanistan'. Tinted Lithograph, 1842. National Army Museum (NAM. 1971-02-33-481: 18), London.

Similar displays were created and recorded outside the context of
Afghanistan. The engraving below (Figure 25) is entitled 'The Sikh Trophy
guns 'forming up', in the fort of Monghyr," from the *Illustrated London News*, 1847.
It shows the guns taken as booty by the British in the First Anglo-Sikh War lined up
and patrolled by British armed forces and overlooked by the British flag, as well as
the Munger Fort.
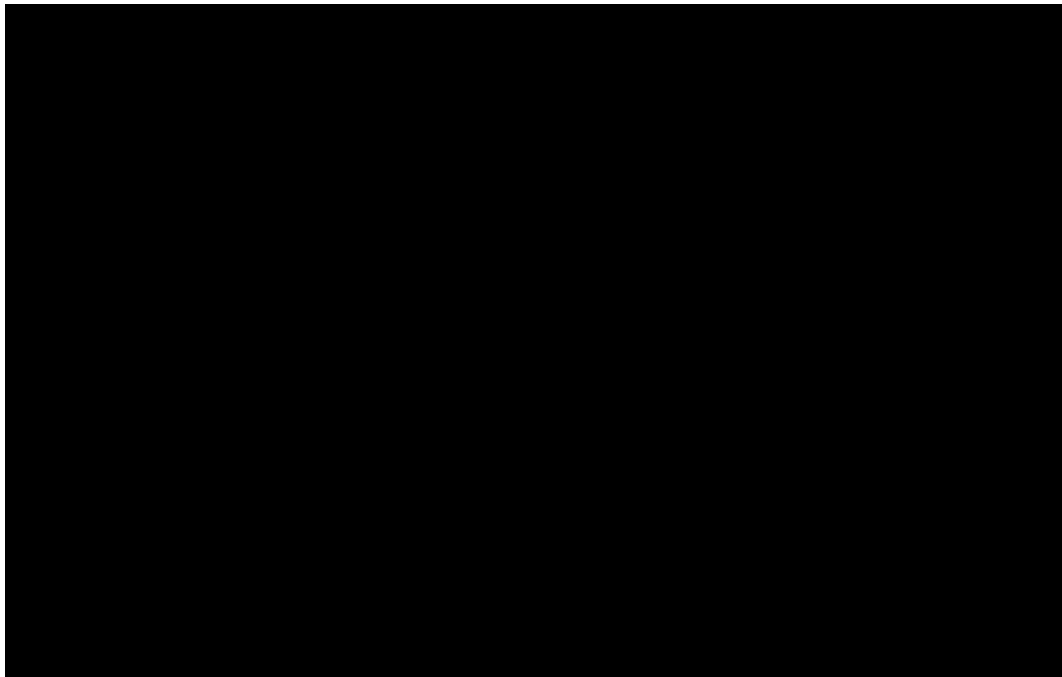
Figure 25: Anon, 'The Sikh Trophy Guns forming up in the fort of Monghyr', *Illustrated London News,* **1847.**

The Sikh guns depicted at Munger, Bihar, were displayed at this fort whilst
they were en route to their final 'Triumphal Reception' in Calcutta. After the British
victory in the First Anglo-Sikh War, Sir Henry Harting had ordered that all the guns
should be transported from the Punjab to Calcutta, the administrative capital of
British India. When they arrived there after stopping at locations including Munger,
they were received with much pomp and ceremony; crowds of the Anglo-Indian
community, as well as dignitaries assembled to celebrate their arrival, and large
triumphal arches were erected. The 250 captured guns were arranged in a line in

front of the Government House. Figure 26 shows an engraving that was produced as a copy of a painting celebrating 'The Triumphal Reception of the Seikh Guns'.
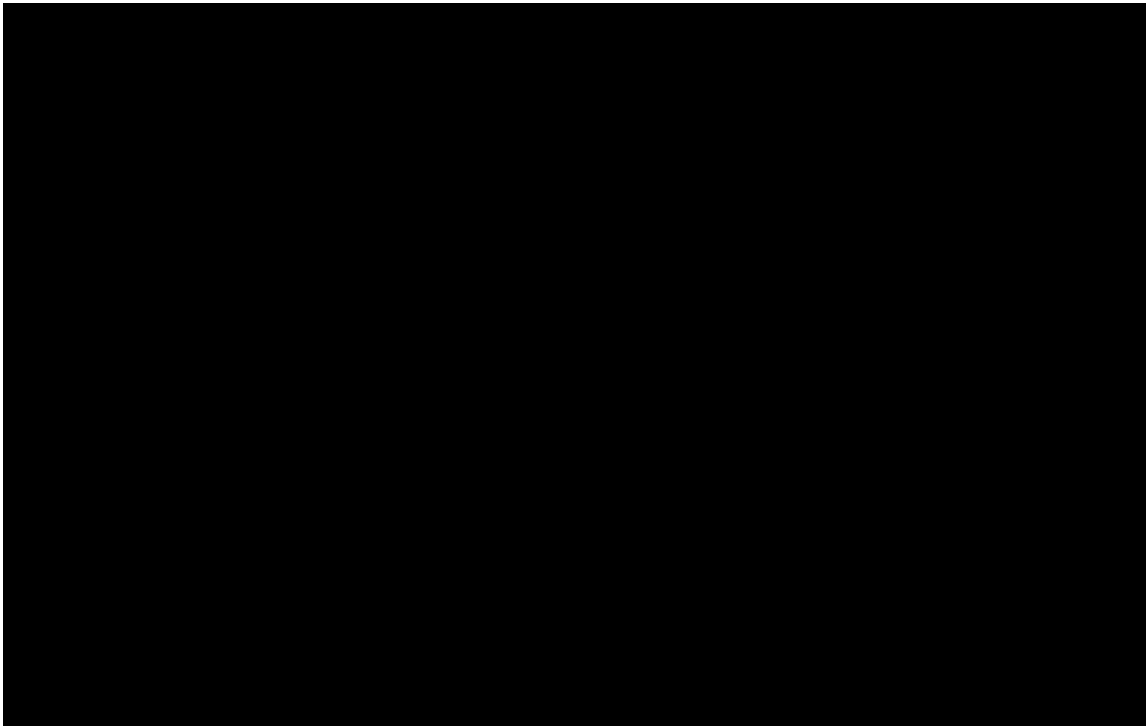
Figure 26: Frederick C. Lewis Esq., after a painting by William Tayler, 'The Triumphal Reception of the Seik Guns'. Steel engraving, c. 1858. Image Courtesy of The Indian Portrait.

'The Triumphal Reception of the Sikh Guns' at Calcutta was a classic example of the 'military spectacle' that was an essential component of nineteenth century militarism.[262] The reception of the guns was a public performance of military power staged before civilians (British, Anglo-Indian and South Asian civilians), which included military music, drill, musket volleys, cannon salutes, and other ceremonies. It was typical of a 'genre' of event that was closely linked to the army's image, and image-building potential.[263] In metropolitan Britain, Scott Myerly argues that such military spectacles echoed and reinforced the new and essential values of the growing industrial society.[264] In Calcutta, the spectacle of the 'reception of the

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[262] For a comprehensive discussion of such public, military events, see Scott Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea,* (Harvard, 2013), pp. 139-165.
[263] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 152.
[264] Ibid., p. 153.

Sikh guns' echoed and reinforced the power and foundation of the colonial state. In particular, lining up as many as 250 pieces of artillery was a clear display of the literal, threateningly physical, force of the British armed forces in India. The lines of guns were imposing displays that clearly communicated to indigenous observers the raw firepower of the British, which could easily be turned upon them should they choose to resist colonial rule. Indeed, this threat was all the more powerful because the pieces of artillery in such displays formerly belonged to British enemies. The displays communicated to indigenous observers the fact that the British had not only been able to resist such considerable numbers of powerful weapons, but they had been able to overcome and capture them. As well as representing the military power of the British, the displays simultaneously visually exhibited the scale of the military loss that their adversaries had suffered.

The military significance and considerable power of these weapons mean that such displays of captured artillery must be considered as raw displays of British military might. As historians such as Elizabeth Kolsky have pointed out, to understand the operation of colonial violence, it is vital to pay attention to the daily, quotidian acts of violence and assertions of colonial power that the British enacted over colonised subjects.[265] However, higher-profile, more extreme assertions of military power must also be paid attention to in order for us to understand the mechanics of the colonial state. Large displays of captured artillery, such as those pictured above, would have worked in a similar way to the public executions that Kim Wagner has studied. Just as the public execution of rebels or dissenters was designed by the British to produce cowed, docile subjects, and to deter anti-colonial violence, these similarly 'carefully orchestrated military displays' were designed to 'over-awe' British enemies and convince them of the futility of military opposition.[266]

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[265] Elizabeth Kolsky, *Colonial Justice in British India,* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 2.
[266] Wagner, 'Calculated to Strike Terror', pp. 202-203..

The displays of captured guns communicated a credible and substantial threat of violence to those who chose to oppose the British in overt visualisations of colonial power.

As well as attempting to cow and overawe South Asian viewers, these military spectacles would have also been an important way to also enhance popular enthusiasm for the army among British and Anglo-Indian civilians in India.[267] Myerly argues that such events were an 'important entertainment genre' with a 'seductive appeal' for Britons in the nineteenth century.[268] By viewing the spectacle, civilians shared in the feelings of glory generated by the displays and imagery.[269] In the context of colonial India, this would have enabled the civilian population to delight in the conquest of the Punjab and subjugation of the Sikh army. Further, the act of putting these guns on public display—and the newspaper coverage of the events – would have only increased perceptions of the guns' value and prestige among the British and Anglo-Indian civilian populations in India. Louise Thyacott has shown that auction houses utilised public exhibitions and displays (and associated press coverage) to enhance perceptions of the value of looted objects from the Yuanmingyuan in 1860s and 1870s London.[270] It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the bombastic military spectacle surrounding the public display of the Sikh guns in locations like Calcutta would have fed public enthusiasm for the war booty, and enhanced perceptions of them as emblems of British martial pride.

Indeed, given the symbolic function of guns within the context of empire, the displays also operated on a symbolic level to express and celebrate the masculine (in addition to military) dominance of the British. As we have seen, pieces of artillery were symbols of indigenous military actors' military power, martial pride and

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[267] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 150.
[268] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 151.
[269] Ibid*.,* p. 168.
[270] Tythacott, 'Exhibiting and Auctioning Yuanmingyuan', pp. 9-13.

masculinity. They were closely linked with kingship and the self-determination of the kingdoms they represented. Indeed, some of these weapons were literally engraved with promises to turn their enemies 'days into nights', proudly extolling the military power of the guns and bearing their patrons' names.

In creating displays of such meaning-rich war booty, the British forces created military spectacles that symbolised not only the defeat of anti-colonial forces, but also their owners' emasculation. Taking weapons that were symbols of military power and masculinity, and displaying their capture, clearly symbolised the dominance of the British forces and the defeat-- and the 'futility'-- of resistance to British men. Weapons that were once used to fire upon the British and resist colonial power, were now lined up neatly, carefully controlled. In re-contextualising guns in this manner, the British transformed the meanings of the guns: where before they were instruments, and symbols, of South Asian resistance to British colonisation, they were now deployed as symbols of British conquest. Where the pieces of artillery once symbolised various indigenous masculine identities, they were now displayed as symbols of triumphant British masculinity, and where the guns were once confident expressions of indigenous marital pride and power, they were now being displayed in such a way as to proclaim the subordination of colonised people and their disempowerment.

This dynamic is particularly clear in the displays in the engraving of the Sikh guns outside Government House. Government House, in particular, was emblematic of colonial power and was an intensely symbolic backdrop. Commissioned by the 1st Marquess Wellesley, and designed by Capt. Charles Wyatt, Government House was a large neoclassical palace that was based on the design of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire. It was one of many neoclassical buildings built in Calcutta and the city became known as the 'City of Palaces' or the 'St

Petersburg of the East' because of the prevalence of neoclassical architecture. There has been a great deal of scholarship on the importation of neoclassical European architecture to India, and, in particular on the British reflections during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about how to best convey Britain's exalted place in the colonial order in the designs of government buildings. The design of Government House is an exemplar of the style widely chosen to symbolise the superiority of European civilisation, or as Nirmala Rao puts it, to express domination and the imperial social order through public buildings.[271] Colonial power relations were inscribed in the design, layout and arrangement of built structures in the colonial urban settings, and buildings such as government house were clearly designed to 'impress' a colonised audience through their scale and grandeur.[272] Indeed, at an address to the Royal Society of Arts, in 1873 architect T. Roger Smith argued colonial buildings ought to 'hold up a high standard of European art', and to be 'European, both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even with admiration by the natives of the country'.[273]

The decision to display (and visually record) a collection of captured guns outside Government House- a building designed to be emblematic of colonial power- enhanced the symbolism of the war booty. With the neoclassical building symbolising civilizational superiority in the background, and the weapons symbolising military might in the foreground, the display (and later artistic reproductions of it) presented a vision of holistic British power. This vision was inherently gendered, with British military and governmental power—as represented

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[271] Nirmala Nirmala Rao, *Projections Of Empire: India And The Imagined Metropolis*, Asian Affairs, 41:2, (2010) ,p. 161, 166.
[272] William J Glover, "A feeling of Absence from Old England": The Colonial Bungalow, *Home Cultures,* (1:1), 2004, p. 78; Robin R. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c. 1800-1947*, (Manchester, 2007), p. 29.
[273] T. Roger Smith quoted in Gavin Stamp, 'British Architecture in India, 1857-1947', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* 129:5298, (1981), p. 358.

by the guns and government house respectively-- being strictly gendered male. Of course, in practice women were active agents in imperial politics, and scholars like Mary Procida have convincingly demonstrated the political influence memsahibs wielded. However, culturally and ideologically, colonial power was gendered male; as we have seen, the colonisation of India was ideologically sanctioned and naturalised via the metaphor of the subordination of women by men. To express colonial political power, then, was to express masculine power, and as such, the pairing of government house with the captured artillery inevitably affirmed and performed the political and military power of British men.

Collective British masculine power was also expressed in less elaborate displays of heavy artillery. In the pictures of the guns taken as booty from Ali Musjid and Peiwar Kotal, the masculinity of the British officers is underlined by the soldiers' poses, as well as by the location of the artillery display. In Figure 22 the soldiers stand casually: one with his arms folded, another with his hand on his hip, another with his hand in his pocket. In Figure 23, the two British soldiers in the centre of the image (not wearing turbans) lean on the guns.

The nonchalance of the British soldiers' poses in both images enhances the militaristic masculinity already conveyed by the display of war booty. Their relaxed poses suggest that the large amount of valuable guns were captured with ease and little effort—as if their capture 'was nothing' despite the inhospitable looking landscape around them—and thereby imply their collective possession of high military skill, and therefore manliness. The British soldiers also suggest, with their casual demeanours, that they can afford to be relaxed because of the sheer scale of the weaponry they possess, as well as their own masculine qualities. The soldiers in Figure 21, for example, stand in front of the guns, looking out on their captured weapons (that represent their actual military power) that are set within the

landscape that they have recently 'conquered'. Their easy poses suggest that this British male mastery comes naturally, even the wildest colonial spaces.

The British soldiers in figure 23 underscore their ownership and mastery of the guns captured at Ali Musjid further by casually leaning on them. In doing so, they make a physical assertion of British ownership of the guns, and demonstrate that the guns no longer belong to-- or represent the masculine power of-- their former owners. Rather, they are used as literal props for the display of British masculinity. This was particularly significant given the symbolic meanings of guns within Islamic culture, which, as we have seen, were heavily associated with power and masculinity. The images of the displays of captured guns at Ali Musjid and Peiwar Kotal illustrate clearly how the supposed emasculation of enemy combatants via material appropriation was harnessed to demonstrate the collective masculine power of British soldiers—by displaying their enemies' losses and emasculation, they were displaying themselves as victors, and masculinising themselves at their enemy's expense.

Large displays of captured artillery must be understood as such large-scale material demonstrations of the military power of the colonial state and British men as a collective. Displays of captured guns created in the aftermath of battles or wars (and recorded for posterity in various art forms) were deployed as a strategy to perform the raw power and masculine potential of British men, both to 'native' and British audiences. British soldiers manipulated the gendered meanings and power-related symbolism of guns in European and South Asian cultures to create spectacles of British masculine power, and, concurrently, of British colonial rule.

Conclusion

The acquisition of loot, booty, and prize were inter-connected practices that served powerful social needs in Anglo-Indian military culture and society. Seizing weapons, textiles, ceramics, paintings, ornaments, furniture, and other objects from defeated South Asian adversaries enabled Anglo-Indian military men to make statements about their individual, and collective, masculinity. This chapter has sought to demonstrate the wide-ranging ways that loot, booty, and prize was deployed in service of constructing militaristic masculine identities. In the first part of the chapter, I showed how men used inscriptions on loot to authenticate their socially-desirable participation in imperial battles and to indicate their ability to conquer and dominate colonial lands and people. I also showed how men used the language of sex, and sexual violence, to describe their experiences of capturing loot and war booty, drawing on well-established tropes that associated colonial dominance with sexual mastery, to construct militaristic masculine identities.

In the second half of the chapter, I explored imagery of war booty on campaign medals and displays of artillery, to show how the military appropriation of objects (or the memory of it) was mobilised to bolster the collective masculine power of Anglo-Indian men. Campaign medals achieved this by commemorating Anglo-Indian loot and war booty- and the associated gendered colonial power dynamics- on the bodies of soldiers. Displays of pieces of artillery mobilised gendered understandings of these weapons (that existed across cultures) to express not only, Britain's literal and symbolic imperial dominance, but also the subjugation of South Asian soldiers to Anglo-Indian military men. The chapter demonstrates that the loot, war booty and prize, as well as the individual and public possession rituals

associated with it, were inextricably tied to militaristic masculinity. The desire to construct individual and collective militaristic masculinities was connected to everything from private inscriptions on objects, to large-scale public displays of captured weapons.

This chapter makes an important contribution to literature on militaristic masculinity by demonstrating how a masculine identity that valorised traits such as bravery, authority, power, and valuing racial superiority and colonial conquest, manifested (and directed behaviour) in colonial warfare and society. Existing historiography's preoccupation with the representation of this form of manhood in contemporary literature has the effect of ignoring the—often violent -- social and colonial realities of this identity as it was enacted in colonial society. Whether it be through inscribing looted objects, or sexualising the sacking of Indian building, or displays of weapons, the taking of loot and war booty were often connected to acts of violence carried out by Anglo-Indian forces. This chapter acts as an important counter-point to the adventure novels- based narratives of the identity, by exploring the reality of the ways that men tried to adhere to it in colonial society. In doing so, it also contributes to the burgeoning historical literature on looting in colonial India. Though the practice has long been linked to the excesses of a masculine colonial elite, my work is the first to examine in depth precisely how men utilised the practice to construct masculine identities.

In this chapter I have examined ways that Anglo-Indian men constructed and performed militaristic masculinity in ways that were closely aligned with the representations of the hegemonic ideal in contemporary popular media. The following chapter will move on to consider an example of how Anglo-Indian men expressed militaristic masculine identities in ways that diverged considerably from popular representations of the ideal.

CHAPTER 4

'If the bachelor cannot manage his own household, how can he manage a mess or club?': Domesticity, Militarism and Masculinity in the Indian Army

In 1839 Walter Coningsby Erskine landed in Calcutta. He was set to join the 73rd Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry and spent two months in the city before travelling up the Ganges to join the regiment at Cawnpore. During his stay in Calcutta he recorded observations about the city, and described in detail the kind of house he was staying in: *'The houses in Calcutta are built in a very beautiful style, they are all built of brick which… looks like stone, they are all flat roofed and what with the handsome pillars supporting the verandahs, the number of pink large windows, venetian blinds etc. they look more like palaces than houses, indeed it is called the city of palaces.'* [1]

Accompanying his description of the house, Erksine sketched an image of a typical Anglo-Indian bungalow. He also included drawings of pieces of furniture common in Anglo-Indian houses. Alongside the bungalow are sketches of a 'satringee, durree or carpet', a purdah (screen or curtain room divide), a chick (a screen blind made of finely split bamboo), and an elaborate diagram of a punkah (hand operated ceiling fan), with an explanation as to how it worked.[2]

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[1] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Erskine Papers. Walter Coningsby Erskine's Journal in India in 1839-40, p. 46.
[2] For full definitions see: Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive.* New ed. Edited by William Crooke, (London, 1903), p. 744, 193, 742.

Figure 1: Walter Coningsby Erskine, A Small Bungalow. Erskine Papers, The Cambridge South Asian Archive.

Figure 2: Walter Coningsby Erskine, A Purdah, or stuffed curtain. Erskine Papers, The Cambridge South Asian Archive.

Twenty years later, between 1853-1858, Colonel Montague Hall put together a scrapbook containing photographs, watercolours, press cuttings and prints relating to his service in India. This included a watercolour of the inside of a Field Officers' Quarters in Rangoon. The richly coloured watercolour showed the inside of a wooden cabin with a bed, chair, punkah, and other accoutrements, including travelling trunks and a gun. It was one of several scenes of domestic scenes that Montague Hall painted and included in his scrapbook (Figure 3).
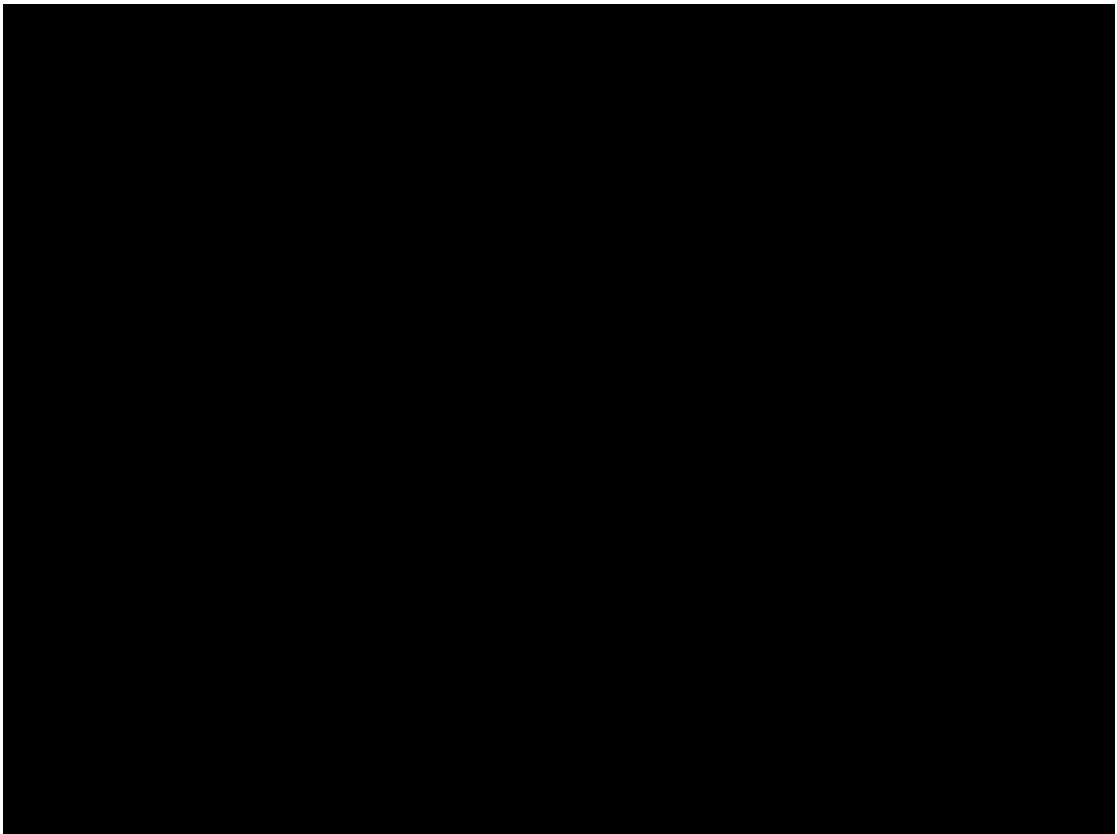
Figure 3: Colonel Montague Hall, Interior of Field Officers Quarters Rangoon. Watercolour, c. 1853. National Army Museum (NAM.1957-04-30-5), London.

The detailed drawings of domestic environments may not be what we expect from the diary of a young officer embarking on his military career, like Erskine, or an experienced and high-ranking officer on tour, like Montague Hall, but these men

were far from unusual in carefully recording domestic environments. The journals, correspondence and memoirs associated with Anglo-Indian officers who served in the Indian army are full of descriptions of homes, home building, domestic consumption and economy. These records of soldiers' lived experience do not fit with the historiographical consensus of the place of 'home' within Anglo-Indian soldiers' lives or masculinities. Historians who have considered militaristic masculinity and domesticity in nineteenth century colonial India have cast the two concepts as antithetical. According to this orthodoxy, the late nineteenth century saw a 'flight from domesticity' to empire; a ruggedly masculine space unencumbered by the drudgery of the feminine domestic environment. In these works, imperial service is incompatible with home or home management, and the role of domesticity in the construction of empire is negated.

In this chapter I am going to demonstrate the military and masculine significance of the various types of domestic environments in which Anglo-Indian men and their families lived and worked. I will show that far from being antithetical to militarism and masculinity, Anglo-Indian domestic environments provided spaces in which soldiers could develop and prove various skills essential to their careers as military officers, nurture their personal and professional reputations and—thereby-- demonstrate their military and masculine power. I will demonstrate that everyday interactions with domestic objects and their management were mobilised by Anglo-Indian soldiers to fashion and affirm their militaristic masculine identities. I will also explore how the Anglo-Indian women who lived alongside these soldiers in barracks, tents, and bungalows actively engaged with these militarised domestic environments to aid in the construction of their husbands' militaristic masculine identities. Far from encumbering their husbands, these women were active partners in harnessing the domestic environment to support their husbands' reputations as soldiers and men.

The chapter will serve as an exploration of the quotidian ways in which soldiers and their families constructed and experienced militaristic masculinity. It will demonstrate the dramatic differences between the idealised version of militaristic masculinity as portrayed in popular adventure novels, and soldiers' lived experiences of it. I will show that men valued the domestic sphere, and that their ideas and perceptions of the home differed from the vision of domesticity represented in adventure fiction. The chapter will also contribute to demonstrating the inherently relational nature of militaristic masculinity; I will show that within the context of colonial India, militaristic masculinity was forged in relation to (and sometimes in collaboration with) Anglo-Indian women.

A Flight from Domesticity?

Despite the fact that the construct of separate spheres is being dismantled in the scholarship on metropolitan British women, relatively few challenges have been levelled at the depiction of an imperial community neatly divided into masculine public arena and private feminine realm.[3] Historical scholarship still overwhelmingly portrays empire as a masculine space, where men strenuously avoided the feminising influence of domesticity.

John Tosh's 1999 monograph *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* provided much of the basis of this interpretation. In *A Man's Place,* Tosh characterised empire as a destination for British men enacting a 'flight from domesticity', and its success has resulted in the home and

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[3] Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947,* (Manchester, 2002), p. 5.

homebuilding being viewed by historians as antithetical to masculinity in nineteenth century India.[4]

Beginning in the 1870s, 'the flight from domesticity' was, according to Tosh, not a complete renunciation of home life, but instead led to an atmosphere in which men reappraised the value of masculine domesticity and articulated a keen sense of the drawbacks of domestic life for men.[5] Tosh argued that against women's gains in social and sexual equality, and in light of increasingly developed notions of homosocial self-sufficiency, men showed increasing irritation with, and disdain for, domesticity. They began to perceive the home as a feminine- even feminised-space. Whereas once marriage and domesticity were considered a refuge, from the 1870s 'the fetters of a wife…and the decent monotony of the domestic hearth' lost their appeal. As a result in men delayed marriage considerably.[6] A deep-seated suspicion of domesticity took hold, and, according to Tosh, the home became uncoupled from masculinity.

In this context, empire was idealised as a liberating masculine sphere, run by adventurous bachelors who were unencumbered by domestic, feminine ties.[7] According to Tosh, empire came to represent adventure, opportunity, and masculinity—the antithesis of feminine domesticity.[8] Empire was envisaged as a place where masculinity could be lived without compromise, where men could break free from the chains of convention, matrimony and the mundane.[9] Bachelorhood and homosocial life thus enabled men disillusioned with domesticity to adopt

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[4] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England,* (London, 1999), pp.170-195. See also: John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire,* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 195-215.

[5] Tosh, *A Man's Place,* p. 172, 174.

[6] Ibid*.,* p. 173.

[7] Ibid*.,* p. 175. See also Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience,* (Manchester, 1990), pp. 88-115.

[8] Ibid*.,* p. 175.

[9] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in C19th Britain,* p. 200.

careers overseas.[10] According to Tosh, this intensified association between

masculinity and empire served to correspondingly weaken the imaginative power of

the link between masculinity and domesticity.[11]

Tosh's interpretation is limited by the fact that his arguments are based

almost entirely on analysis of metropolitan literature, written in Britain by British

men; these sources are problematic for understanding the experiences of the men

who lived and worked in imperial settings, often for decades. His interpretation has

however been persuasive among historians, and has been supported by the work of

scholars who have studied imperial adventure stories. Graham Dawson, for

example, argued that domesticity was progressively sidelined and de-valued in

nineteenth century texts. He argued that heroes earlier in nineteenth century

literature were revered for being gentlemanly, Christian soldiers and that their

domestic relationships were presented to the readers alongside descriptions of their

public activities. Later in the century, however, military adventures were

foregrounded in stories at the expense of other aspects of character's lives.

Domestic motifs in adventure novels either disappeared entirely, or appeared in less

coherent forms that resisted formal integration. Domesticity was thus 'disavowed'

within adventure literature.[12] The re-shaping of imperial heroes, Dawson argues, is

indicative of changing attitudes to domesticity in the later nineteenth century.

Within these interpretations, there is a strict binary between militarism,

empire, and adventure on the one hand, and domesticity on the other. Military lives

are therefore presented as inherently anti-domestic [13] Dawson described this binary

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[10] Tosh, *A Mans Place,* p. 176.
[11] Ibid*.,* p. 175.
[12] Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War,* (Oxford, 2016), p. 13.
[13] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling,* pp. 12-13.

explicitly in *Soldier Heroes.* He identified a 'deepening' of the public-private divide in the nineteenth century, and argued that this was accompanied by a splitting of cultural imaginaries, which naturalised different gendered worlds.[14] Consequently, within adventure fiction, domesticity was 'spit off' as a feminine domain and empire was coded as part of the masculine public world.[15] Whereas earlier adventure fiction had tried to resolve the contradictions between public and private worlds, such attempts became increasingly difficult, and the private-public frontier became assumed rather than explored.[16]

Other historians have accepted this apparent split between domesticity on the one hand, and militarism, adventure and empire on the other, even if they have been critical of the concept of the 'flight from domesticity' itself. Martin Francis, for example, has argued that domesticity retained significance for men.[17] However he too configured empire, adventure and militarism and domesticity as mutually exclusive, as two different parts of the male experience. He argued that 'men constantly travelled back and forth across the frontier of domesticity…attracted by the responsibilities of marriage and fatherhood, but also enchanted by various escapist fantasies (especially the adventure story or war film) which celebrated militaristic hyper-masculinity and male bonding'.[18] Militaristic hyper-masculinity and male homosocial society are thus positioned as two separate parts of the male experience. Men could enjoy domesticity, and men could relish militarism and hyper-masculinity in the context of adventure and war, but these two things were separate.

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[14] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities,* (London, 1994), p. 74
[15] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* p. 74-5.
[16] Ibid., p. 74-5.
[17] Martin Francis, 'The domestication of the male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *Historical Journal,* 45:3, (2002), pp. 637- 638.
[18] Francis, 'The domestication of the male?', p. 637.

Accompanying this perception of a hyper-masculine imperial man was the image of the highly domesticated hyper-feminised woman. Mary Procida has argued that because historians so often conceptualise gender in oppositional terms, the hyper-masculinity of the British Empire has inevitably led to the assumption of a corresponding hyper-domesticity for the few women who 'were able to breach empire's masculine precincts'.[19] She argued that despite the recent trend for imperial scholarship to focus on destabilising accepted interpretations of power relations in empire, Anglo-Indian women remain essentialised as sexual and domestic creatures rather than active political subjects.[20] She gives, as an example, the assertion in Thomas Metcalf's 1994 *Ideologies of the Raj* that gender secluded 'women in darkened bungalows' from men who were 'engaged in the work of empire in court and camp'.[21] Therefore, accompanying the masculinisation of empire, is the feminisation of colonial domestic environments, and the association of them with hyper-feminised women. Historians have not merely considered the imperial domestic realm to be 'un-masculine'. They have understood it to be actively gendered as feminine.

Domesticity

The assumption that colonial society was based on a strict binary between domesticity and femininity on the one hand, and empire, masculinity and militarism on the other, has been shown to be out-dated by more recent work that has more closely examined domesticity and masculinity in Britain and Europe during the long nineteenth century. Much of this work has taken as a starting point the idea that domesticity is complex and multivalent, and that our understanding of it must be

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[19] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* pp. 3-4.
[20] Ibid., p. 5.
[21] Thomas Metcalfe, *Ideologies of the Raj,* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 93-4, in Procida, *Married to the Empire*, pp. 3-4.

broadened to fully appreciate male engagement with it. While for scholars like Tosh domesticity involved heterosexual courtship, marriage, fatherhood, and religious and emotional commitments to a single, family home, Karen Harvey has argued that paying attention to 'how men made homes and homes made men' necessarily transforms our idea of 'home' and 'domesticity'.[22] To properly understand male engagement with domesticity, scholars have demonstrated, we need to pay attention to the different sorts of environments that were considered 'homes' and to different ways of belonging within them.

Amy Milne-Smith's research on the gentlemen's clubs of London 1880-1900, for example, demonstrates that for nineteenth century men the concept of domesticity can be meaningfully disentangled from the context of family life. For Milne-Smith, domesticity or 'home' includes both emotional and physical elements. She demonstrates that clubs performed many of the practical functions that 'make' a home: they were private places in which men could eat, entertain, study, and even bathe and sleep.[23] Milne-Smith demonstrates that clubs also fulfilled the emotional functions that define a home: clubs were sanctuaries from the stress and worries of the world, they were places to which men developed deep emotional attachments, and within which men developed deep emotional bonds.[24] By fulfilling these practical and emotional functions, gentleman's clubs acted as sites of 'alternative domestic life' for men.[25] Milne-Smith's work therefore demonstrates that domesticity was not confined to one's official residence, but rather could be associated with multiple spaces because it was in part a state of mind. Conceptualising domesticity or the

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[22] Karen Harvey, 'Men Making home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in K.H. Adler and Carrie Hamilton, (eds.), *Homes and Homecomings: Gendered Histories of Domesticity and Return,* (Oxford, 2010), p. 84.
[23] Amy Milne-Smith, 'A flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914', *Journal of British Studies,* 45:5, (2006), p. 798.
[24] Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?', pp. 807-809.
[25] Ibid., p. 798.

concept of 'home' in this way enables us to see how different sites might act as 'home' for men, outside of the environment of the traditional metropolitan home.

Quintin Colville has similarly explored the idea of a surrogate male domesticity through the example of Royal Naval officers and the quarters they occupied on board ship during the 1920s and 1930s. Colville argues that these shipboard homes did not constitute a rejection of domesticity *tout court*; officers, like the clubmen studied by Milne-Smith, 'viewed their quarters as alternative homes, profoundly relating to their appearance and to the relationships and lifestyles nurtured within them'.[26] His vision of shipboard homes as surrogate, masculine domestic spaces accords with Milne-Smith's conception of 1880s gentleman's clubs as sites of an 'alternative domestic life' for men.[27] Together, the work of these scholars demonstrates that homosocial environments traditionally considered anti-domestic could actually act as alternative domestic spaces for men in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Coleville's work also demonstrates the fallibility of the supposedly rigid binaries between domesticity and militarism more generally. By focussing on the importance of shipboard homes for naval officers and their public identities, he breaks down the assumption of incompatibility between military life and domesticity.

The compatibility of militarism and domesticity is explored most extensively by Holly Furneaux in her monograph, *Military Men of Feeling,* which examines the lives of Crimean War soldiers. Furneaux rejects the binary between domesticity and militarism reinforced by scholars such as Tosh. She argues that 'yoking a concept of domesticity to marital and procreative relationships… suggests that all male spaces

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[26] Quentin Colville, 'Corporate Domesticity and Idealised Masculinity: Royal Naval Officers and their Shipboard Homes, 1918-39', *Gender and History,* 21:3, (2009), p. 500.
[27] Ibid., p. 798.

are inherently anti-domestic'.[28] In her study of the nineteenth century 'gentle soldier', or 'man of feeling', she demonstrates that soldiers made strenuous practical and imaginative efforts to connect themselves with the structures of home life, resisting the separation of domestic and military spheres.[29] In particular, she draws attention to the emotional significance of the material culture that was sent between home and front during the Crimean War. Material such as sketches, photographs, war memorabilia, and dried flowers were sent between soldiers and their homes, and allowed soldiers and families to participate in creative collaboration practices through which they could maintain shared cultures and a form of togetherness.[30] Furneaux argues, moreover, that soldiers' endeavours to communicate the more homely side of military life to their families point to the value soldiers placed on creating lines of continuity between military and domestic life.[31]

As well as actively maintaining links with home, the ways in which men conceived and articulated relationships within the military indicate their on-going commitment to a form of domesticity. Soldiers often employed the terms of familial relationships to describe their military connections. They described father and son bonds in regiments, as well as using terms like 'brothers-in-arms', 'children of the regiment' and the notion of the 'regimental family', to communicate the intensity of these military relationships. Like Milne-Smith, Furneaux highlights the significance of emotional bonds in creating forms of domesticity, and demonstrates how these bonds could be formed in homosocial settings. Furneaux's attention to the emotional lives of men in the Crimean war convincingly dismantles the historiographical boundaries separating war and domesticity, illustrating both the

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[28] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 12-13.
[29] Ibid., p. 13, 52.
[30] Ibid., p. 150.
[31] Ibid*.,* p. 156.

continuing commitment to metropolitan homes and the forms of 'surrogate' domesticity that existed within the British military.

The compatibility of militarism, masculinity, and domesticity identified by Furneaux has become a popular theme in recent studies of nineteenth century military masculinity in Britain and Europe. In their edited volume *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* Michael Brown et. al identify the 'interconnectedness' of military masculinity and domesticity as being a major theme of the book.[32] Louise Carter's contribution to the volume focuses on attitudes to domesticity among soldiers in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic war era. Carter argues that although military regulations and customs made family life difficult to retain—and popular culture repeatedly presented the idea that war required military men to sacrifice familial identities—military men's masculine identities were still 'rooted in the domestic'.[33] She focuses on wartime memoirs, and argues that rather than 'presenting the military man as exempt and adrift from the pivotal importance of family ascribed to civilian masculinities, wartime memoirs are testament to the stubborn persistence of family in constructions of and experiences of martial masculinities.[34] Carter demonstrates through soldiers' memoirs that men from military families often chose to join particular regiments because of longstanding familial connections and had male family members in the service alongside them.[35] Moreover, as well as maintaining connections with family members through regimental affiliation and personal corresepondence, Carter, like Furneuax, highlights that close regimental

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[32] Michael Brown and Joanne Begiato, 'Introduction', in Michael Brown et al. (eds), *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 11.

[33] Louise Carter, 'Brothers in Arms? Martial Masculinities and Family Feeling in Old Soldiers' Memoirs, 1793-1815', in Michael Brown et al. (eds), *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 46

[34] Carter, 'Brothers in Arms?', p. 50.

[35] Ibid., p. 42.

relationships could take on a quasi-familial quality.[36] Service in the armed forces

redirected and appropriated familial feeling, with the regiment acting as a surrogate

family.[37] Despite frequently removing men from flesh and blood relations, then,

Carter argues military occupations also potentially offered men a proxy route to

fulfilling the familial and patriarchal performance associated with civilian manhood.[38]

In the same volume, Helen Metcalfe focuses on bachelor soldiers on

campaign in Portugal during the Peninsular War (1807-1814). She too rejects the

'still taken for granted' idea that martial masculinity was underpinned by a rejection

of all things domestic.[39] Metcalfe focuses on the material culture of home, and

demonstrates that soldiers often sought to remodel their temporary quarters in ways

that achieved a sense of comfort from familiar domestic material objects and the

rituals they associated with home.[40] She argues that soldiers 'returned home' by re-

creating familiar domestic interiors, finding creative solutions in the objects around

them to create assemblages of objects that provided physical and emotional

comfort.[41] She argues that this was supplemented by discussions of the 'familiar

material culture of home' and domestic scenes in letters between soldiers and their

families.[42] These nostalgic reminiscences served as a a vital emotional coping

mechanism within a profession characterised by an unpredictable life-style and

continuous domestic upheaval.[43]

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[36] Carter, 'Brothers in Arms?', p. 43.
[37] Ibid.,, p. 46.
[38] Ibid., p. 47.
[39] Helen Metcalfe, 'Recalling the Comforts of Home: Bachelor Soldiers' Narratives of Nostalgia and the Re-creation of the Domestic Interior', in Michael Brown et al. (eds), *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 74.
[40] Metcalfe, 'Recalling the Comforts of Home', p. 58.
[41] Ibid., pp. 58-59; 65-68.
[42] Ibid., 'Recalling the Comforts of Home', pp. 69-74.
[43] Ibid., 'Recalling the Comforts of Home', p. 63.

There is, then, a strong body of scholarship that attests to the compatibility of domesticity and masculinity in relation to nineteenth century masculinity. This has not, however, been explored in relation to the operation of militaristic masculinity within imperial contexts; the scholarship above is entirely focused on British and European contexts.

Imperial Politics of the Anglo-Indian Home

As well as broadening understandings of domesticity and demonstrating the compatibility of masculinity and domesticity in the long nineteenth century, recent scholarship has also demonstrated the intensely political character of the Anglo-Indian home, undermining the 'public spaces of empire' and 'private spaces of home' binary that underpins the exclusion of domestic space from considerations of Anglo-Indian masculinity. Historians have now demonstrated that the significance of domestic life in British India extended well beyond the boundaries of home, and that the domestic environment was inextricably bound up with imperial rule. As Mary Procida has argued, colonial domesticity was constructed in a way that reinforced the ideology, and practice, of imperialism.[44]

As a number of scholars have shown, the Anglo-Indian home was likened to a microcosm of empire, and it was believed that these domestic spaces should reflect and express imperial power.[45] Within the home, Anglo-Indian men and women were expected to manage its functions in a manner that reiterated and

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[44] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p.56

[45] Robin D. Jones, *Interiors of Empire: Objects, Space, and Identity within the Indian Subcontinent, c. 1800-1947,* (Manchester, 2007), p. 2; William J. Glover, '"A Feeling of Absence from Old England": The Colonial Bungalow', *Home Cultures*, 1:1, (2004), p. 77. E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*, (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 82-87; 89-103.

reinforced the imperial authority of Anglo-Indians and the British Empire.[46] For instance, Anglo-Indians were expected to reproduce imperial power relations on a domestic scale in their dealings with servants.[47] William Glover has noted that this included mirroring in miniature the ordering of imperial relations more generally by using classificatory schemes to divide servants according to race, religion and gender. Household manuals (for example *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch)* produced hierarchically ranked lists of all the domestic servants in the colonial home, which described servants according to his or her race and social standing in Indian society more generally.[48]

Alison Blunt has highlighted the important role exercised by women in managing these imperial domestic relationships. The management of Indian servants was deemed a duty of the British wife, and domestic advice manuals presented her domestic and imperial authority as dependent on her successful exercise of this task.[49] Women were encouraged to supervise the domestic work of their servants, to maintain the boundaries of the home by for instance preventing the extended families of servants to join the household, and to inspect their servants' quarters, all of which reinforced imperial divisions.[50] The Anglo-Indian home was thus intensely politicised and steeped in imperial politics; it was far from the reclusive feminine space set back from the 'real' activities of empire that earlier historians have represented it to be.[51] As Alison Blunt put it, the historiographical distinctions between the 'private spaces of home' and the 'public spaces of empire'.

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[46] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p. 56.
[47] Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Women in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 24, (199), p. 423.
[48] Glover, 'A Feeling of Absence from Old England', p. 77.
[49] Blunt, *Imperial Geographies of Home,* p. 431,
[50] Ibid., p. 429.
[51] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p. 57.

has resulted in historians overlooking the 'vital nexus of imperial power relations' that existed within British homes in India'.[52]

The Anglo-Indian home was not only constructed and run to support colonial ideology, but was also instrumental in conducting the 'business of empire'. Mary Procida has demonstrated that in the practical task of running colonial India, 'the public and private merged seamlessly at the juncture of the home', and 'the most private and intimate spaces of the colonisers were themselves colonised by the demands of empire'.[53] The Anglo-Indian home was an arena for political discussion and administrative action.[54] Many government officials would receive petitioners on their bungalow's veranda, and, particularly in rural areas, officials' actual offices were often in their home.[55] If officials did work in a separate location, it would almost always be close enough to return home for lunch.[56] Many officials brought work home, reviewing files in the early morning, and the 'open door' policy of Anglo-Indian society meant that there was a 'constant influx' of official visitors as officials moved around the country on imperial business.[57] The home was also the setting for private entertaining, but, as Procida reminds us, even these ostensibly non-official uses of domestic space served to link domesticity with empire.[58] Such functions were invariably connected with the business of empire rather than with purely personal socialising, and Anglo-Indians were notorious for 'talking shop' at social functions.[59] As Procida has demonstrated, the demands of empire, and the particular character of colonial society, placed the Anglo-Indian domestic space at the heart of imperial politics.

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[52] Blunt, *Imperial Geographies of Home,* p. 425.
[53] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p. 56-7.
[54] Ibid., p. 58.
[55] Ibid., p. 59.
[56] Ibid., p. 59.
[57] Ibid., p. 74-75.
[58] Ibid., p. 59.
[59] Ibid., p. 59-60.

As a result, although women and the feminine continued to be associated with the home, domestic space and the memsahib were at the same time part of the public world of empire.[60] By challenging the supposedly apolitical nature of the domestic sphere in colonial India, Procida has also challenged the perception of Anglo-Indian wives as living in 'decorative seclusion'.[61] In particular, her research shows that the 'notions of femininity and wifely virtue that defined the Anglo-Indian wife were very different from those characterising the ideal wife in Britain.[62] In colonial India, 'the right sort' of wife was said to be emotionally robust and self-sufficient, and regarded herself more as her husband's partner than as his dependant. She was a comrade and not just a companion.[63] The 'right sort' of wife would advance a husband's career and ease the burden of his work.[64]

As a result, Procida argues, the imperial family did not segregate husbands and wives in gendered spheres, but rather united men and women in an imperial marital partnership centred on governing the Raj.[65] The family business of Anglo-Indian men and women was 'literally the business of empire, in all its practical and ideological manifestations'.[66] Anglo-Indian women took an active and intelligent interest in the work of empire and were privy to the quotidian details of imperial administration, actively participating in the on-going practicalities and discourses of imperial politics that took place in the home. Many Anglo-Indian women served as their husbands' primary advisors and assistants, undertaking such work for empire as revenue assessments, typing official reports, touring districts and attempting to

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[60] Ibid., p. 58.
[61] Ibid., p. 57.
[62] Ibid., p. 40.
[63] Mary Procida, 'Good Sports and Right Sorts: Guns, Gender, and Imperialism in British India', *Journal of British Studies,* 40:4, (2001), p. 462.
[64] Ibid., p. 40.
[65] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p. 29
[66] Ibid., p. 29

foster good relations with local inhabitants. The close connections between imperialism and the home meant that in India many of women's traditional domestic activities acquired new, more public significance. For example, Anglo-Indian women organised and hosted the politics-infused social functions mentioned above, and joined in discussing the political issues of the day with their mainly male guests. Providing hospitality to passing officials as part of the 'open-door' culture of the colony was likewise political; it was the wife's job to ensure that – through a comfortable bed and a good meal—overworked officials were provided with necessary 'rejuvenation' to maintain their morale.[67]

The more important a man's duties in India and the higher his position on the imperial ladder, the greater the necessity for a man to secure a wife who could serve as a partner in his imperial responsibilities. These 'professional partnerships' between husband and wife erased the line between private femininity and public masculinity. Anglo-Indian women's connection with the domestic sphere was not a mechanism for secluding them from the world, but rather for integrating them into the symbolic and functional practices of imperialism in India.[68]

Recent historical work has therefore demonstrated that Anglo-Indian domestic space was far from apolitical. Scholars such as Glover, Blunt and Procida have demonstrated that the Anglo-Indian home was a microcosom of empire, where imperial power relations were domesticated and reiterated, and where much of the 'business of empire' was conducted. As Procida has argued, the Anglo-Indian home was defined by the practical and symbolic work for empire conduced within its

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[67] Ibid., pp. 30, 45, 59-60, 74-75.
[68] Ibid., pp. 36-37, 50, 77.

precincts, and almost every facet of domestic life was imbued significance for the empire. [69]

Historiographical Positioning of this Chapter

Scholarship on men, masculinity, and the home in colonial India has therefore progressed considerably since Tosh's earlier research on the flight from domesticity. Historians have shown that domesticity can (and did) co-exist with militarism and masculinity in various contexts in the long nineteenth century, and have also demonstrated the practical and ideological importance of the Anglo-Indian home. In making the argument that Anglo-Indian domesticity and homebuilding was constitutive of, and integral to, military officers' identities as soldiers and as men, this chapter will build on the work of these scholars.

I will argue that during the course of their service the Anglo-Indian men of the East India Company and Indian Armies enthusiastically embraced both 'alternative, homosocial domestic environments' and 'surrogate, male domestic spaces'-- as well as more traditional ones-- in ways that have hitherto been thought to be incompatible with militaristic masculinity. Building on Mary Procida's conceptualisation of the relationship between Anglo-Indian men and women within the home as an 'imperial partnership', I will also show that in partnership with their husbands, Anglo-Indian women actively engaged with the home to contribute to the military and masculine reputations of their spouses. Colonial men and women worked together to use the colonial home as a source of masculine, military authority.

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[69] Ibid., p. 76.

This chapter will also extend the research of scholars who have illustrated the politicisation of the Anglo-Indian home. To date, this work has overwhelmingly focussed on the lives and experiences of civilian officials, with the Anglo-Indian bungalow as its central point. Anglo-Indian military families lived dramatically different lives, in dramatically different environments, from the civilian community. This chapter will therefore explore a different manifestation of the links between the home and imperialism, by exploring how homes were linked to imperialism via the concept of militarism. Overall, this chapter focuses on what domesticity meant for the men who made up the Anglo-Indian army, because although historians have demonstrated that the Anglo-Indian home played a central role in displaying imperial traits—including masculinity—they have stopped short of exploring how this worked in practice for colonial men themselves. As well as making a contribution to scholarship on militaristic masculinity, and the various ways in which this was constructed and lived in colonial India, this chapter will therefore extend our understandings of the imperial significance of the Anglo-Indian home by explaining its relationship with military masculinity.

'Homes?' in Anglo-India

This section will demonstrate that *domesticity* is the correct term for characterising how Anglo-Indian soldiers related to their places of residence. If we are going to say that militarism and domesticity co-existed in socially and politically significant ways, we have first to establish that men really did see these dwellings as 'homes'. It is therefore important to take some care in defining what domesticity meant. I conceptualise domesticity in the same manner as Amy Milne-Smith, as something that exists in spaces where certain emotional and practical needs are met.[70]

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[70] See: Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?', p. 798; 807-809.

Practically, a home provides a place to perform functions such as eating, sleeping, resting, bathing, entertaining, or studying. Emotionally, domestic environments provide places of sanctuary from the stress and worries of the world; they will be a place in which men develop emotional bonds and attachments. This section will first describe the kinds of physical environments in which Anglo-Indian officers lived, before going on to demonstrate the emotional significance of these dwellings to the officers.

The living environments of men serving in the Indian army varied greatly. The experience of one officer in relation to domestic arrangements could be drastically different from another officer, even of a similar rank, as a result of regimental affiliation, posting, and regional location. Over the course of an individual officer's military service, too, his living environments would be likely to change several times, even in a year. This would result from factors including the location of their regiment's postings, the nature of any military engagements they were involved in, whether they were on tour, whether they had to undertake long marches, secondments to other regiments, and other realities of military life. It is well recognised that 'constant moving' was an ordinary part of Anglo-Indian life civilian life. The nature of army service meant that Anglo-Indian officers and their families lead even more peripatetic lives.

The two main types of dwellings that soldiers in colonial India moved between were bungalows and tents. Bungalows were usually rectangular, single-story, white-washed constructions, which were raised a few feet off the ground, and surrounded by a wide verandah, punctuated by supporting pillars.[71] The defining characteristic of the Anglo-Indian bungalow was its openness.[72] Rooms were not

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[71] Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 77
[72] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* pp. 99-103;

linked by passageways, but instead opened into each other, and were separated with curtains rather than doors. Each room generally had access to the verandah, and openings to the exterior were fitted with bamboo blinds (chics) rather than glass panes, which restricted sunlight but permitted ventilation into the bungalow.[73] Bungalows could be located within cantonments—permanent military stations-- or, particularly in the mofussil ('upcountry'), could also be relatively isolated on their own plot of land. They were generally privately rented, but there were also government owned 'dak' bungalows that were available for military officers to stay in temporarily when they were travelling through the country. Officers could live in a bungalow alone, with a 'chum' (male friend), as part of a group of bachelors, or with their wife and/ or family. Although bungalows originated in colonial India as a fixed form of encampment, they were rarely 'permanent' residences for their inhabitants, and officers would stay in them for a maximum of about 3-5 years.

In between residencies in bungalows, officers and their families would generally live in tents. The kind of tent an officer and their families lived in depended on the reason that they were staying in one. If he (or they) were a part of a mobile camp that was marching or tour, or camping as part of a standing camp, it would likely be a large, possibly multi-room tent, with a large amount of camp furniture, including dining tables, chairs, desks, and even pukhas (large ceiling fans). Ruth Coopland recorded her husband visiting the tent of Sir Robert Hamilton and telling her that the tent 'was very luxurious, carpeted with thick Mirzapur carpets, and heated by stoves, and that dinner reminded him somewhat of a Cambridge feast'.[74] In contrast if an officer was living in a tent during the height of military action, the tent would likely be smaller and more basic, and the degree of simplicity depended

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[73] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* p. 63.
[74] Ruth Coopland, *A Lady's Escape From Gwalior and Life in the Fort of Agra During the Mutinies of 1857,* (London, 1859), p. 37.

on the intensity of the fighting and the proximity of the officer. For example, during the Indian rebellion, soldiers in the midst of the violence slept in basic bivouacs, while those more peripherally involved retained reasonable sized tents with camp furniture.

Anglo-Indian officers could also live in even more 'temporary' homes, including boats whilst travelling between postings inland, improvised structures like huts or caves whilst campaigning, and even temples, palaces, or other structures requisitioned during warfare. Earlier in their careers, most officers would also have encountered barrack accommodation. Barracks were large 'dormitory' style rooms which several low-ranking soldiers shared. They were associated with bachelors and 'griffins', or new arrivals to India. Few men stayed in these dormitory style rooms after reaching the rank of officer. If officers were forced to live as part of a barrack, they would have had their own private room attached to (or contained within) the barrack complex.[75]

The peripatetic and transitional nature of living arrangements in Anglo-India has lead to a tradition of historians underestimating the significance of these dwellings as homes. In recent years, this has begun to be remedied in relation to the civilian community via new research into the colonial bungalow.[76] The significance of military homes—and in particular their significance for men – has not been acknowledged. However, even a cursory look through the diaries, correspondence, and biographies of Anglo-Indian soldiers reveals that despite their highly changeable – and untraditional – living environments, they often formed

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[75] As a result of this thesis' focus on Anglo-Indian officers, barracks will only be mentioned here in relation to these private rooms used by officers and their families.
[76] See footnote 33 above.

emotional attachment to these dwellings in ways that makes it appropriate to speak of 'domesticity' and 'homes' within the Indian army.

The emotional attachment soldiers felt towards their living environments is reflected in efforts they made to record and memorialise them. The chapter opened with Walter Coningsby Erskine's drawing of his bungalow, which he also described in detail, and Montage Hall's watercolour painting of his officers' quarters in Rangoon. These drawings were far from unique; many other officers carefully drew images of their bungalows or tents. These drawings served as aides-de-memoir for the officers themselves, but were also often intended to help their family and friends visualise their living arrangements. Drawings of bungalows and tents were accompanied by detailed, or even nostalgic, descriptions of these home environments. For example, during his service in Mandalay, Henry Rawlinson drew an image of his bungalow, which he captioned 'my house in the palace gardens'.
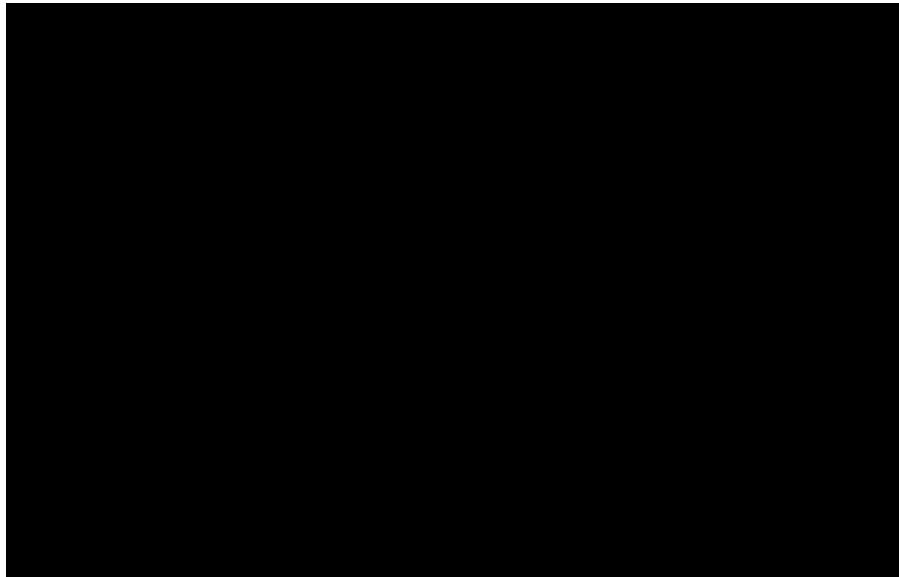
Figure 4: Henry Rawlinson*, My House in the Palace Gardens*. Pen and ink, Mandalay, c. 1887. Bound manuscript journal illustrated with watercolours. National Army Museum (NAM. 1952-01-33-1), London.

Accompanying the sketch, Rawlinson wrote an idyllic description of his bungalow: 'Max and I both lived in a little house in the garden surrounded by trees and perched on top of a rockery, with a sort of stream running at our feet, covered in water lilies'.[77]

The sketch of the home, accompanied by this description, demonstrates Rawlinson's fondness for this 'little house'. Other officers too referred fondly to their homes; one officer of the Madras Native Infantry even nicknamed his bungalow 'my bung'.[78] Major Joseph Fletcher Richardson, of the Bengal Army, was one of many who described with affection the happy times spent in these military residences. He wrote in a journal: 'what happy days we had at Suttenpore, Benares. The station itself on the bank of the ganges, as pretty and green as could be, capital houses'.[79]

Officers' letters also show that bungalows could be homely places, with comforts similar to those found in homes in Britain. These included domestic pets. Whilst serving in the Tirah campaign on the North-West Frontier, Colonel George Jerome Kellie of the Indian Medical Service recorded how he adopted a chicken as a pet for his bungalow: 'I noticed…a nice little white hen. I rescued it from the pot. It used to live in my room and sleep on the foot of my bed'.[80] Adopting a pet into the home was far from the stereotype of the free-wheeling 'manly' soldier fleeing domesticity; Kellie's adoption of the chicken as a pet is an indication of his desire to ensure his bungalow met the 'emotional needs' associated with domesticity, including companionship. This the hen provided. For instance, upon the 'attack of

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[77] National Army Museum, Henry Rawlinson Papers, NAM. 1952-01-33-1, Bound manuscript journal, illustrated with watercolours, 1887-1888, p. 14-15.
[78] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Stoton Papers. Letter from Thomas H. Stoton to his father, 15 March 1857.
[79] National Army Museum, Major Joseph Fletcher Richardson Papers, NAM. 1982-07-94, Journal of Major Joseph Fletcher Richardson, 1848-1859, p. 54.
[80] National Army Museum, Colonel George Jerome Kellie Papers, NAM.1975-07-56, Typescript Memoirs of Col. George Jerome Kellie, p. 184.

fever', he noted that he 'did not like to go to bed', and so 'sat in a long chair, in the verandah'. As he rested, 'my little hen played about…it jumped up on my lap, and made itself comfortable'.[81]

The emotional investment in bungalows is also apparent in the fact that Anglo-Indian men would reminisce about bungalows in which they previously lived. On arriving in Muttra, John Fowler Bradford of the Bengal Cavalry wrote about the preparations he was undertaking to make a home suitable for his wife. He arrived before her, and noted that they had previously lived in the bungalow together on a different posting: 'Eliza is to be here on Thursday by which time I shall have got the house, the same we occupied on 2 former occasions, into tolerable decent order'.[82] Colonel Erskine recorded visiting previous homes he had rented in Delhi when he returned to the area roughly a decade later: 'I reached [Delhi] on the 10th and took a long look at the old Bungalows etc. where I had lived in 1829 and 1832'.[83] The fact that Erskine took the time to revisit and have 'a long look' at places he had lived in over a decade earlier (he re-visited in 1844) demonstrates the emotional importance this dwelling had for him. Overall, the care that Anglo-Indian officers took to draw their bungalows, to describe them, and to reminisce about them suggests the importance that these dwellings had for these men—the very people who, according to Tosh, were fleeing domesticity.

Attachment to temporary homes existed outside of bungalows. Men also became attached to their tents, and these living environments, too, were described by Anglo-Indian soldiers as places that provided comfort. Edward Campbell wrote to

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[81] Ibid., p. 190.
[82] British Library, Sir John Fowler Bradford Papers, Mss Eur D1057, Extracts from a Diary of Occurrences during the Campaign of 1842 in Afghanistan, 11 December 1854.
[83] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Erskine Papers, Journal of Captain W.C. Erskine, 1844-50. Entry dated March 1844.

his wife, Georgina Campbell, in 1856: 'Fury is fast asleep on the bed and snoring and the two pups are to be allowed to sleep inside the tent…the leg of mutton is roasting and I have dug a hole in the tent and lit a fire and am very warm and comfortable'.[84] W.H. Whitlocke of the 5th Madras Native Infantry was subjected to 'chaffing' (mocking) about the tatty appearance of his favoured 'very old tent', which he had got 'patched up' for a journey during the Second Burma War (1852-1853).[85] He wrote that the teasing 'goaded me into the perpetration of the following lines':

My tent I see its proud head rearing

Alike indifferent to praise or jeering

What prompts that praise- an eye that loves

On beauty's form to gaze and never roves

To look on objects of a lesser worth

Tho' many such there be upon this earth

What causes jeering? E'en bitter jealousy

Which envites Whitlock such a tent as he

Has brought with him upon this very tramp

And very rightly named 'The Pride of Camp'

For such it is tho' age has browned the cloth

And filled with scars a tent of so much worth

This tent I hope will soon enjoy repose

Unmolested by white ants or any such like foes

I want to find for it a home to rest its weary bones

[84] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, 11 December 1856. Box 6.
[85] National Army Museum, Lt Gen. W.H. Whitlock Papers, NAM. 1996-01-69. Typescript of the memoirs of Lt Gen W H Whitlocke (1833-1900), pp. 60-61.

I therefore do present it to Lieutenant Colonel Jones

There it will rest secure beneath some arch

For if he <u>can</u> you may be sure he'll always shirk a march! [86]

  The poem was clearly humorous, and designed to exaggerate his love for his tent. At the same time, it displays clearly his affection for it, as well as in his pride at its battered image, which he reminds the reader reflected the tent's age and experience of battle: 'For such it is tho' age has browned the cloth/ and filled with scars a tent of so much worth'. Indeed, the poem ends with jibe at Lt Col Jones, whom he compares unfavourably to his tent ('he'll always shirk a march'). The implication of the poem is that the tent was a true military companion.

Positive feelings about military accommodation were not universal, of course. Some soldiers did not feel the same affection for the temporary homes offered by tents. Assistant Surgeon Juxton H. Jones found them uncomfortable and unpleasant to live in: 'it is so miserably dusty in the tent…sometimes the dust is so great that you can scarcely open your eyes'.[87] He also complained that 'the quantity of sand that gets into your boxes, bed, dinner, and so on is dreadful'.[88] Such complaints in themselves suggest the expectations harboured by officers concerning their accommodation. Military accommodation was meant to provide more than basic protection from the elements, and soldiers were disappointed when it did not.

  Alongside such emotional attachment to the home itself, emotional bonds between those who live in it have been identified by scholars like Milne-Smith as a further element of domesticity. There is considerable evidence of these bonds in

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[86] Ibid.

[87] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, 14 March 1841.

[88] Ibid.

Anglo-Indian officers' homes, even among those who lived with other men rather than families. Many of these men shared stories that reveal domestic bonds and the home-like intimacy shared with fellow officers. For instance, Thomas Stoton, of the Madras Native Infantry, wrote to his father that 'Middleton and myself had just done dinner, for are we not both on the sick list and do we not live in a friendly union together'.[89] Stoton's description of his and Middleton's 'friendly union together' suggests that soldiers did not see living arrangements in purely practical terms. Major Trevor Plowden similarly described the pleasant domestic routine that he shared with his 'fellow traveller, Cecil' whilst voyaging by boat between postings on *The Chaffinch*. He wrote that in the morning:

'*Cecil busies himself over getting breakfast ready whilst I lie down and watch it all. Then we sit down to a regular picnic breakfast of chicken and tongue, bread beer, potted meats, and water for me! After breakfast I sit outside and write this diary up…we get a fairly cool breeze and the scenery on both banks is lovely'*.[90]

Plowden's description celebrates the domestic routine and emotional partnership between the two officers during their travels. As Plowden remarked, 'providence has been very kind in giving me such a capitol fellow traveller as Cecil'.[91]

Evident in Plowden's description of his and Cecil's morning routine is the fact that their temporary accommodation on a boat was viewed as a shared space of partnership; he says that 'we' got a fairly cool breeze. This indicates a sense of togetherness, a shared domestic bond. We also see this in the diary of Henry Frances Brooke. Brooke was a successful military officer who ended his career as a

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[89] Stoton Papers. Letter from Thomas H. Stoton to his father, 29 July 1857, pp. 35-57.
[90] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Plowden Papers, Journal of Major T. C. Plowden, April-July 1892. Entry dated 16 April 1892.
[91] Ibid.

Brigadier commanding the 2nd Infantry Brigade of the Kandahar Field Force in Southern Afghanistan. In his memoir, which will be discussed in more detail below, Brooke carefully recorded details of his life in Southern Afghanistan, in the home he shared with 'chum' Col. Belville. His memoir included the following passage:

'*We have already made our dining room look fairly comfortable by putting down some carpets, and I have no doubt between Colonel Beville and me that we will get rid of as much unnecessary roughness as we can'.* [92]

The space, far from being an all-male retreat from domesticity, was in Brooke's journal a space in which military men mutually built a domestic space. The designation of the dining room as 'our dining room' indicates to the sense of shared male ownership of a domestic space that they contributed to building and improving together.

As well as building and enjoying emotional bonds within the home, Anglo-Indian officers also mourned their loss when postings separated them from their 'chums'. Assistant Surgeon Juxton Jones wrote in 1841: 'I greatly miss my old chum Barton, one of the disadvantages of moving about so much here is that you are soon separated from friends'.[93] Henry Rawlinson, similarly, felt the loss of his chum 'Dick' keenly. He marked the occasion in his journal with a drawing entitled 'goodbye Dick' and described his emotional departure, 'after a tender parting he handed us over to another…and we parted vowing vengeance to the dacoits and a good dinner when we next met'.[94] The feelings of loss on the departure of a 'chum'

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[92] Henry Frances Brooke, *Private Journal of Henry Francis Brooke, Brigadier-General. Commanding 2nd Infantry Brigade. Kandahar Field Force, Southern Afghanistan. From April 22nd to August 16th, 1880,* (Dublin, 1881), p. 68
[93] Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, 18 October 1841.
[94] Henry Rawlinson Papers, NAM. 1952-01-33-1, Bound manuscript journal, illustrated with watercolours, 1887-1888, p. 48.

illustrate the emotional connections forged within Anglo-Indian officers' homes, and thereby the suitability of using the term 'domesticity' in relation to them.

Of course, many officers also lived with their wives and children and established long-term homes in India. For these officers, the emotional bonds that helped make 'home' were with their family members, as well as other soldiers. Edward Campbell, for example, eagerly anticipated his wife's and children's arrival in India. In a letter to his wife, Georgina, he wrote a cosy description of the tented home he planned to create for them:

'I will tell you my own wife for I am very anxious to have you with me. We shall have lots of tents, GG. We shall have that big tent of Thompson's…and I am going to buy his glass doors from him…so you will be very snug and we can have a curtain rigged up all across so as to make two rooms of it- eh? And then we shall be able to have all the babbies with us at night'.[95]

These married officers not only imagined but also developed domestic routines and lives in their bungalows.

The extent of these domestic lives was illustrated when these were disrupted by the realities of military life. For example, Ameila Anderson described that in the First Afghan War, married couples in Kabul were particularly distressed by having to leave their homes and furniture due to an escalation of conflict:

'Property was sorted that the owners might select only such things as were indispensably necessary to carry with them. It was curious to observe the different

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[95] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, 27 November 1856. Box 6.

expressions of regret with which valuable property was cast aside as worthless;

wardrobes, libraries, music, pianos… furniture, crockery horses etc. Indeed it would

be difficult to detail half the losses experienced, particularly by the married people

… most of whom had built houses and made arrangements for long residence at

Cabul. But immense as was the sacrifice the resignation with which it was made

was at least most creditable to the sufferers".[96]

Her account gives no indication that it was the women only who regretted the loss of these possessions. Nor does she imply that the regret was occasioned solely by the financial loss. It was the loss of the anticipated domesticity, as much as the investment in the pianos, that she records.

The diaries, letters, and correspondence of Anglo-Indian officers and their wives demonstrate that many of these men formed deep emotional attachments to their homes. It shows that whether single or married, Ango-Indian men often experienced bungalows and tents as places of comfort and retreat, and formed significant emotional bonds within them. The emotional attachment Anglo-Indian men had to their homes, and the emotional bonds that they nurtured within them, suggest that, contrary to contemporary historiographical understandings of their relationship to home, Anglo-Indian men remained committed to (and built) forms of domesticity within the tents and bungalows of the Indian empire.

Connections between Domesticity and Militarism within the Anglo-Indian Military Community

[96] British Library, William Anderson Papers, Mss Eur C703, Amelia Anderson's Account of the Retreat from Cabul in 1842 and her subsequent Captivity, 1841-1842, p.3.

Domestic Advice Manuals

Having established that Anglo-Indian men experienced forms of domesticity in
nineteenth-century India, this chapter will now demonstrate the links between
domesticity, housekeeping, masculine performance, and militarism within the Anglo-
Indian military community. This section first explores the content of nineteenth
century domestic advice manuals, before moving on to consider the content of mid-
late nineteenth century military regulations. Both of these sources demonstrate the
imaginative connections within Anglo-Indian military culture between domesticity,
masculinity, and militarism.

Anglo-Indian household management advice literature set out a programme
of ideal behaviour and a series of aspirations for domestic arrangement in the
Anglo-Indian home.[97] The manuals prescribed how to furnish colonial homes and
how to implement appropriate domestic arrangements, with particular emphasis on
economy, hygiene and practicality.[98] The advice literature offered a set of ideals
regarded by their authors as essential to Anglo-Indian families, and therefore
illustrate the ideals of colonial domesticity. This is all the more significant because
the majority of these advice manuals were written by people who had lived and
served in India; the texts were therefore produced by and for Anglo-Indian people,
and offer a valuable insight into their perceptions and ideals of domesticity.

Some of the most famous domestic advice manuals were written by, and
produced for, men. Their content demonstrates both the existence of links between
domestic skills and masculine performance in nineteenth-century India, and also
that this was part of an 'ideal' of Anglo-Indian domesticity. This is evident in what is

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[97] Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 92.
[98] Jones, *Interiors of Empire*, p. 92.

perhaps the most famous advice manual for Anglo-Indian men of the century: *The East India Vade Mecum; or a complete guide to gentlemen intended for the civil, military, or naval service of the East India Company.* This was first published by Thomas Williamson in 1810. A condensed version of the manual was re-published by J.B. Gilchrist in 1825. The manual was written to 'promote the welfare, and to facilitate the progress' of 'the statesman, the merchant, the military, or the civil character' serving in India.[99] The manual included advice on everything from customs on board ships to India, to the coins and weights in use and the 'dress and ornaments of the Hindostanee lady'.[100] Advice on home building and management was included as part of the compendium, demonstrating that knowledge to do with the home was considered essential for all Anglo-Indian men, including those 'intended for…military service'.

The manual for example provides a list of 'indispensable' items with which men must expect to furnish their houses. This included chairs, a bedstead, a bookcase upon a chest of drawers, china and glassware, and table cloths. It also explained where men might acquire these items, recommending auction warehouses and a street called 'the China-Bazar' for places to buy European articles of 'china-ware' in particular.[101] Anglo-Indian men's engagement with domestic concerns was not limited to 'setting one's self up' in India; the manual also discussed issues such as managing 'the supply of the table'. This included advice on issues such as what was, and was not, appropriate food for a breakfast table, as well as specific advice on which foods were well-regarded and which were not. 'Pork is by no means considered as a choice dish; sucking pigs are more generally

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[99] Thomas Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum; or complete guide to gentlemen intended for the civil, military or, naval service of the East India Company,* (1st edn, London, 1810), vol.1., p. v, vii.
[100] Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum,* vol. 1, pp. 31-60; 155-160; 417-431.
[101] Ibid., p. 173; Thomas Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum; or complete guide to gentlemen intended for the civil, military or, naval service of the East India Company,* (1st edn., London, 1810), vol. 2, pp. 168-169.

approved', it explained.[102] A key theme of the text is balancing good eating with

economy. For example, the manual gave detailed advice to men as to how to

economically procure veal, while at the same time indicating that men should band

together to improve their domestic economy: 'veal can so very seldom be obtained

in the market of a quality fit for the table, that for our five friends commonly join to

rear calves for their own expenditure, dividing every calf that is slaughtered'.[103]

Household management was in other words an activity that men undertook

together.

The manual argues that this, along with making personal arrangements with

butchers, is 'the best and most economical plan'.[104] Elsewhere, the manual also

suggests a similar arrangement with bullocks to ensure a supply of beef during

winter (when it tended to be scarce) and to 'keep for the supply of their tea-tables a

few goats, which afford milk of a remarkably fine quality'.[105] As well as this, the vade

mecum also gave men instructions as to the prices they should be paying for the

produce they (or their servants) bought at market. Men were for instance provided

with a detailed guide as to what they should pay for various numbers and sizes of

chickens: 'as a general average of fine chickens, called chuiahs, ten could be had

for a rupee; of middle-sized…small roosters seven or eight for a rupee; and of good

sized roosters…five for a rupee'.[106]

The kind of male housekeeper the vade mecum promotes is attentive and

resourceful. It describes an ideal male housekeeper who can cleverly overcome

problems (such as a lack of veal and beef) and who, through attention to domestic

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[102] Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum,* vol. 2, pp. 322-323.
[103] Ibid., p. 323.
[104] Ibid., p. 323.
[105] Ibid., pp. 319-320.
[106] Ibid., p. 330.

economy (by monitoring chicken prices) can eat good food economically. The *East India vade mecum* was sold *to men* as the 'complete guide' to life in India, and so demonstrates that knowledge associated with homebuilding and home management was deemed an important part of men's preparedness for imperial service. The second edition of the manual retained all this information relevant to home building, domestic economy and management, whereas Gillchrist deemed information on topics such as such 'retaining Indian women' out-of-date and so omitted it. Material on housekeeping, in contrast, retained its relevance.[107]

The importance of such knowledge for Anglo-Indian officers is attested by the number of manuals aimed at them that included sections on housekeeping. These volumes were published throughout the nineteenth century. Major S. Leigh Hunt of the Madras Army and his co-author Alexander S. Kenny stressed the importance of housekeeping in their 1882 advice manual for Anglo-Indian army recruits, *On Duty Under A Tropical Sun*. They impressed on their readers that 'errors in this particular may be followed, not only with temporary inconvenience and discomfort, but by permanent injurious results'.[108] Like the *vade mecum*, it providing advice for purchasing produce ('fish…should be carefully inspected before use, as the natives have a way of concealing its stale-ness') and maintaining good economy by making products last ('by adding fifteen grains of bicarbonate of soda to a quart of milk, you may delay its running sour for some time').[109] Written by Anglo-Indian officers for Anglo-Indian officers, the manual demonstrates the level of engagement with the home that was perceived to be necessary for military men.

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[107] J.B. Gilchrist (ed), *The East India Vade-Mecum; or complete guide to gentlemen intended for the civil, military or, naval service of the East India Company,* (2nd edn, London, 1825), pp. 85-90; 235-239; 260-268; 300-350.
[108] Shelley Leigh Hunt and Alexander Kenny, *On Duty under a Tropical Sun…Suggestions for the Guidance of Travellers in Tropical Countries,* (London, 1882), p. 79.
[109] Ibid., p. 85.

The importance of housekeeping knowledge for Anglo-Indian officers is most clearly laid out in *Notes on the Internal Economy of Chummery: Home, Mess and Club* by Major L.J. Shadwell. Whereas other manuals incorporated advice on domestic economy, this can be considered a dedicated domestic economy manual, designed to eliminate the 'irregularities', 'untidiness and discomfort' that could result from inexperienced bachelors trying to run a home, and to prevent young recruits over-paying for services and necessaries.[110] The book covers the management of the home, mess and club. The largest section by far is the one on housekeeping, which contains substantial information on the management of servants, and also covers a broad range of topics from the appropriate type of cooking pots to the appropriate method to avoid the collection of dust under carpets and matting floors.[111] Anglo-Indian men, the very people who were supposed to have fled from domesticity, are advised in the manual, for example, that when choosing cooking pots 'aluminium ones are by far the best' being 'cheaper', 'easy to clean' and with the advantage they 'nest or fit one into the other and are therefore more portable as well as being lighter for camp'.[112] The manual provides detailed instructions on the minutiae of domestic life, none of which is deemed too insignificant for Anglo-Indian men. The manual advises, for example, that a storeroom is 'indispensable if you want to keep house well but economically', instructing men to keep in it stores like 'flour, tea, coffee, sugar, raisins, dried apricots etc.'. It also suggests 'you may also have the linen cupboard' in there.[113]

The manual demonstrates the importance of housekeeping and domestic economy for men and, crucially, also illustrates the ways in which these activities

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[110] L.J. Shadwell, *Notes on the Internal Economy of Chummery, Home, Mess and Club,* (Bombay, 1904), p. v.
[111] Ibid., p. 4.
[112] Ibid., p. 25.
[113] Ibid., p. 38.

were linked with performances of masculinity, via the demonstration of manly

organisational and management skills. Throughout the manual, domestic

organisation is presented as a simple management task, rather than a mysterious

feminine skill. 'It is, I think, a great mistake to imagine that any real difficulties or

vexations beset housekeeping in India', Shadwell insisted.[114] Shadwell provides

extensive advice on the management of various types and ranks of servants,

including advice on how to clothe them, speak to them respectfully, establish their

roles and negotiate their pay. He advises men for example to 'remember that our

characters are recorded by them', and that 'in India a master…who is firm but

sympathetic, never threatens unnecessarily…and who gradually increases the pay

of good servants from year to year' will never struggle to find employees.[115] The

book is therefore partly designed to enable bachelors to establish their authority

within the household, an essential skill for an Anglo-Indian man, with personal

authority being intimately connected with masculinity (see chapter 1).

The housekeeping style the manual recommends is presented by the author

as different from that traditionally associated with women. Although apparently

bowing to female domestic authority ('I am not presumptuous enough to imagine

that any lady who really knows about housekeeping in India will find much…in these

notes with which she is not already acquainted') the author describes a

housekeeping style that he presents as superior to that of women.[116] In the

preparation of tea, for example, he claims 'if a man knows anything at all about

making tea, he makes it better than most ladies'.[117] The reason for this, he explains,

is in the management of the tea-leaves: 'a lady is, as a rule too economical with the

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[114] Ibid., p. 3.
[115] Ibid., p. 4.
[116] Ibid., vi.
[117] Ibid., p. 68.

tea'.[118] He describes the best cup of tea he ever had that was made under the direction of a man and contained 'an amount of tea which would have horrified an economical mistress'.[119] Shadwell also critiqued women for their alleged unwillingness to pay decent wages for good cooks. Ladies, in particular, he noted, wanted a 'really good cook', but when asked what they would be willing to pay they 'mentioned a sum which in these days…will not attract a really good cook'.[120] Good household management, it seems, was best left to men.

The style of housekeeping he recommends for the bachelor in India is therefore distinguished from that of women by its superior management. He offers a vision of professionalised domestic economy, wherein the successful bachelor-housekeeper who cleverly makes the most of his money is the ideal. The successful housekeeper will be rewarded with better finances, improved authority, and, Shadwell argues, the ability to enjoy household management. 'If you…enjoy the humorous side of the many changing incidents in your household life, you will derive pleasure rather than constant worry from your house management'.[121] The manual therefore establishes a connection between housekeeping and the demonstration of organisational, managerial, and people-management skills in a masculinised vision of housekeeping that is also potentially pleasurable for the Anglo-Indian man.

The manual not only demonstrates these links between housekeeping, management skills and masculinity. It also directly connects effective performance in the home to effective performances in other spheres more commonly associated with militaristic masculinity. In the introduction to the manual, Shadwell explicitly links the three spheres the book addresses: the home, mess and club. He writes, 'if

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[118] Ibid., p. 68.
[119] Ibid., p. 69.
[120] Ibid., p. 7.
[121] Ibid., p. 3

the ordinary bachelor finds it difficult to manage his own household, how much more difficult must it be for him to manage a mess or club?'.[122] Rather than being distinct, the home is configured as a crucial realm to be conquered if men are to thrive in environments identified by cultural historians as central to militaristic masculinity. The structure of the manual reflects this; it opens with a discussion of home, before moving on to the mess, and finally the club. Shadwell explains in the introduction that the housekeeping section is the largest, as much of the information in this section is applicable to the other two:

'to avoid saying nearly the same thing nearly two or three times, I have had sometimes to refer the reader to an earlier part of the book… there is a great deal under the head of housekeeping which, with some modifications, applies equally to mess or club management'.[123]

Shadwell makes it clear in this extract that the same household knowledge applies across spheres; he referred readers back to the housekeeping section to avoid 'saying nearly the same thing two or three times'. He therefore makes clear that to manage a mess or a club, it is essential that men are able to 'manage their own households'. Domestic responsibilities and housekeeping proficiency therefore qualified a man for influence and power within two institutions closely associated with militaristic masculinity: the mess and club.

These connections can be illustrated through Shadwell's treatment of domestic economy. As in the *East India Vade Mecum* and *On Duty Under a Tropical Sun,* Shadwell's advice manual stresses the need to manage the home economically, without compromising on quality. The book professionalises

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[122] Ibid., p. vi.
[123] Ibid., p. vii

housekeeping and includes balance sheets and templates for account keeping. It advises intense scrutiny of domestic economy, particularly in relation to purchases made in the bazaar (market) by the cook and the bearer respectively.[124] Later, in the 'mess' section of the manual, Shadwell makes it clear that the same skills are required in the management of a mess. He notes that the most 'comfortable, and the most economical, is the mess in which the mess president or secretary really superintends the working'.[125] The strict attention to detail in the management of domestic economy was therefore a skill that was similar to that which was required in the management of a mess. Indeed, Shadwell recommended managing the cook accounts for a mess in the same way as in a home: 'The cook, having given his bazaar accounts (and payments should be made to him on account exactly as described in 'housekeeping') should bring in various dishes to the storeroom'.[126] The skills and knowledge built up in the home was therefore directly applicable in relation to military jobs and roles.

The importance of mastering domestic economy for Anglo-Indian soldiers is also underscored in an advice manual produced by the wife of Major Clemons, of the Madras Army. Eliza Clemons-- or 'Mrs Major Clemons' as she referred to herself-- published an advice manual in 1841 which included 'Instructions for the Guidance of Cadets'. In this manual, she dedicated an entire chapter to 'economy' and the avoidance of debt. Mrs Major Clemons is clear in the book that 'the practice of a judicious economy' was of 'great importance to your future welfare'.[127] Clemons urged young soldiers: 'never, as you value the comfort of your after years, be induced to get into debt...however trifling the sum'.[128] She made it clear that a poor

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[124] Ibid., pp. 8-9-; 44-45.
[125] Ibid., p. 103.
[126] Ibid., p. 108.
[127] Eliza Clemons, *The Manners and Customs of Society in India; Including Scenes in the Mofussil Stations...to which are added Instructions for the Guidance of Cadets, and other Young Gentlemen during their First Years' Residence in India*, (London. Smith, 1841), p. 307.
[128] Clemons, *The Manners and Customs of Society in India,* p. 298.

command of economy and financial recklessness would ruin a soldiers' career and prospects: 'it is the first sum…that will plunge you into difficulties and ultimate ruin'.[129] Clemons illustrated this point through a five-page cautionary take of a 'Major C who got into debt as an ensign, and whose debts spiralled out of control through the course of his career, ending in his premature death through stress. Through the cautionary tale, Clemons makes clear that good economy can undermine the career of even the bravest, most highly decorated soldier:

'In this short sketch…I have to bring to your observation the errors that caused the difficulties and ultimate death of this highly talented and brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in many engagements- and who conducted himself through his whole career of military life with strict obedience to the rules of the service, and endeared himself to every officer of the regiment, and was beloved by his men…His first debt of 300 rupees was the ultimate cause of his ruin and death'.[130]

This manual therefore makes clear the importance of economy to a soldier; without a grasp of this, their prospects and reputation would be limited, no matter how brave a soldier they were. If a man was to achieve success in a military career, and thereby military masculinity, they would have to master domestic economy. Indeed, when Clemons advises young soldiers and officers to 'economise strictly' she says it will win them praise within the army: 'it is highly honourable, and will be sure to be approved of by your commanding officer, and those who are senior to you'.[131] Domestic economy is portrayed in this manual as 'honourable' skill that was vital to the future prospects of a soldier.

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[129] Ibid., p. 316.
[130] Ibid., pp. 314-315.
[131] Ibid., p. 316.

If Mrs Clemons' handbook were the sole example of a guidebook that advised military men to attend carefully to household management, it might be tempting to dismiss it as an attempt by a female writer to domesticate the wild world of the Anglo-Indian military man. In fact, as we have seen, her advice accords perfectly with the instructions doled out by male writers throughout the long nineteenth century. These manuals stressed that good household management was an important *masculine* skill necessary for success not only within the home but within the military more generally. This was the view of male and female writers alike.

Women and Domestic Advice Manuals

If the domestic environment was presented to men as a sphere in which they could develop and demonstrate the crucial militaristic and manly skills, domestic advice manuals produced for women complimented this perception. With the growth in numbers of women living in India, a flurry of handbooks were published in the mid-nineteenth century to advise them on how to manage their new lives in the empire. Many of these advice manuals produced for Anglo-Indian women presented housekeeping and domestic economy in the colonies as a military or imperial campaign. They employed military language and underscored the importance of the household to the forward progress of empire more generally.

The most popular domestic advice manual for women was *The Complete Indian Housekeeper*, published by Flora Annie Steel and her friend Grace Gardiner in 1888. Steel drew on her own twenty-two year experience living and working in

India to create her manual for Anglo-Indian women. The book was a best-seller, and certainly one of the best-known publications of its kind.[132]

Military metaphors feature prominently in *The Complete Indian Housekeeper*. When describing the necessity of following a simple accounting system and a written inventory of food supplies, Steel and Gardiner note, 'life in India always partakes of the nature of a great campaign'. [133] Steel and Gardinier likewise present the daily supervision of servants as 'an inspection parade', which 'should begin immediately after breakfast, or as near ten o'clock as circumstances will allow.[134] Steel and Gardiner also used military language to describe domestic workload; they advised that women in India that 'light marching orders is a great desideratum, and to therefore avoid the 'multiplication of account books'.[135] (Marching orders are orders to troops to begin movement.) It is striking that the domestic environment was described in such overt military terms.

The presentation of domestic management as a military campaign was also evident in the language Steel and Gardiner used to discuss managing servants. They advise that Anglo-Indian women learn to speak 'Hindustani' because 'the first duty of a mistress is…to be able to give intelligible *orders* to her servants'.[136] The domestic advice is again expressed in militarised language (women are told to give 'orders', rather than 'instructions'), and the logic underpinning this advice replicates that within the army for much of this era; British officers were advised to speak 'native' languages to effectively command the soldiers in their charge.

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[132] Katie Hickman, *She-Merchants, Buccaneers and Gentlewoman: British Women in India,* (London, 2019), p. 331.
[133] Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the duties of mistress and servants, the general management of the house, and practical recipes for cooking in all its branches,* (London, 1888), p. 21.
[134] Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper,* p. 8.
[135] Ibid., p. 37.
[136] Ibid., p. 2.

In her analysis of Steel and Gardiner's work, Marangoly George notes that 'with her home and compound as her domain, the Englishwoman's challenge…is to keep this strange and unmanageable territory under control'. [137] George argues that within their handbook, Steel and Gardinier present the role of the memsahib (literally, 'Madame Boss'), as being to replicate empire on a domestic scale, with the household conceptualised as a benevolent, much supervised terrain where discipline and punishment is meted out with an unwavering hand.[138] The Englishwoman in the Indian empire, however, were not merely decorating the house and self but managing 'base camp'.[139]

This militarised language was not restricted to *The Complete Indian Housekeeper.* After the success of their manual *On Duty Under a Tropical Sun* Major Leigh Hunt and Alexander Kenny in 1883 published a follow-up advice manual aimed at Anglo-Indian women entitled *Tropical Trials: A Hand-Book for Women in the Tropics.* This too presented domestic management in militarised terms. The authors wrote in the manual's introduction that, if properly prepared by manuals such as their own, an Anglo-Indian woman 'will exercise her calm judgement in meeting difficulties as they may arise, there is no reason why she should not come off victorious in her struggle with the tropical trials'.[140] The use of the terms 'victorious' and 'struggle' were words common in Anglo-Indian military parlance and echo the kind of language used by Steel and Gardiner. Later in the manual Hunt and Kenny advise women that 'with careful drilling, natives wait very well at table…'.[141] Drills (and overseeing soldiers carrying out drill) were an

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[137] Rosemary Marangoly George, 'Homes in the Empire, Empires in the Home', *Cultural Critique,* 26, (Winter, 1993-1994), p. 108.
[138] Marangoly George, 'Homes in the Empire', p. 108.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Shelley Leigh Hunt and Alexander Kenny, *Tropical Trials: A Hand-Book for Women in the Tropics,* (London, 1883), p. 7.
[141] Hunt and Kenny, *Tropical Trials,* p. 150.

important part of the role of military officers and this language again echoes that of *The Complete Indian* Housekeeper, which also referred to women giving 'orders' to servants.

These two advice manuals showss that the 'encroachment' of women into domestic spaces did not necessarily undermine the military character of the home, and that the female presence in these dwellings did not so much feminise military life as further militarise the Anglo-Indian household. In the ideal laid out by Steel and Gardiner, and Kenny and Major Leigh Hunt, women would be military partners to their husbands, assisting in the domestic 'campaign', issuing orders, drilling servants, and carrying out 'inspection parades'. The ideal wife – as presented in these manuals written by an Anglo-Indian military wife and an Anglo-Indian army officer-- was herself an exemplar of imperial authority, whose own undertaking of domestic tasks would assist her husband, and support the work of empire.

Steel and Gardiner make clear that the conduct of white British women in Anglo-Indian homes should reinforce the power of the husband, and assert imperial authority generally. Indeed, they note that the very purchase of the book may be held to presuppose 'some desire on the part of the possessor to emulate the wife who does her husband good, and not evil, by looking well to the ways of her household'.[142]

Military Regulations

Domestic advice manuals demonstrate that there were connections between the private, domestic realm and the public, military realm that cultural historians of

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[142] Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper,* p. viii.

colonial India have often cast as distinct. The specific roles and duties of the Anglo-Indian officer class as laid out in army regulations make this equally clear. Descriptions of the roles of Anglo-Indian officers show that officers were required to be able to inspect and maintain the internal economies of regiments as part of their duties. As a result, domestic economy and home management skills used in the home were directly relevant for the success and progression in the very career most closely associated with militaristic masculinity.

In the 1873 Bengal Regulations it is stated that 'an officer entrusted with the command of a regiment is invested with authority which renders him responsible for the maintenance of discipline, order and a proper system of economy in his corps'.[143] As part of the 'general duties in command' the regulations state that officers in command are expected to give their '*personal and unremitting attention* to the interior economy of the corps under their command'.[144] This kind of demand was present in regulations from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in the various presidency armies. For example, the Madras Army Regulations of 1849 state that every officer 'who has been two years in the Service, is expected to be capable of commanding and exercising a troop or company in every situation, and *to be perfectly acquainted with its interior management, economy* and discipline'.[145] According to section eleven of the same regulations, the 'first and principle object of an Officer entrusted with the Command of a Regiment, is the maintenance of that system of discipline, and interior economy, which is essential to the efficiency and character of every Military body'.[146]

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[143] British Library, Bengal Army Regulations, IOR/L/MIL/17/2/443, Regulations and Orders for the Army of the Bengal Presidency 1873, Section 7, p. 84.
[144] Ibid., p. 45.
[145] British Library, Madras Army Regulations, IOR/L/MIL/17/3/491, Regulations and Orders for the Army of the Madras Presidency 1849, Section XI, p. 99.
[146] Ibid., p. 96.

Thus, alongside maintaining discipline and order, managing and inspecting the internal economies of regiments are identified as 'first and principle' duties of an officer. This included ensuring the 'economical management of the mess'.[147] Officers were required to 'insist by every means in his power on a careful and economical management of the mess in all its details', and to regulate the expenditure with 'strict economy'.[148] Regulations demanded intricate engagement with the detail of mess regimental expenses for food, drink, and entertainment, and required that when officers reported on messes they state whether the institution was, or was not, in debt, and if so, from what cause and to what extent.[149] Other duties relating to the interior economy of regiments included managing consumption habits by encouraging, through personal example, a steady endurance of the 'difficulties and privations' inseparable from military service, and 'firmly repressing' any 'extravagant and unnecessary habits of luxury'.[150] Regulations recommended officers do this by maintaining a frequent presence at the mess-table, and checking and controlling all unnecessary expenditure in relation to public entertainments.[151] Officers were also responsible for overseeing the quality, and quantity, of produce used for the men's rations. The 1873 Bengal regulations state this clearly: 'the commanding officer's responsibility for the good quality of men's rations is as great as it is for the maintenance of discipline, or any other essential attribute of his command'.[152]

The military regulations issued to Anglo-Indian officers demonstrate well that the management of domestic economy in the home was linked to successful performance as a military officer. The skills men were encouraged to develop by domestic advice manuals were explicitly called for in the regulations that defined

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[147] Bengal Army Regulations, IOR/L/MIL/17/2/443, Regulations and Orders for the Army of the Bengal Presidency 1873, Section 7, pp. 84-85.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid., p. 49.
[150] Ibid., pp. 84-85.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., p. 578.

their roles as officers. For example, we have seen that in the *East India Vade Mecum* and *The Internal Economy of Chummery*, men were advised to pay close attention to the quality of produce used in their house. The fact that military regulations define checking the quality of produce used for men's rations as an 'essential' attribute of officers' command, and as serious a responsibility as maintaining discipline, points to the importance of practicing these tasks in the home. Similarly, the emphasis on domestic economy and 'economical management' within the military regulations underscores the significance of performing these tasks in a domestic environment.

For military officers, it was vital that they successfully manage a home, because these were the same tasks they would have to undertake on a larger scale, either within a mess, or within a regiment. When men were regulating the expenditure within their own households, and checking the price and quality of the produce for their own household's consumption as directed in the *Internal Economy of Chummery*, they were undertaking tasks that were directly related to their current, or desired, roles within the army. Demonstration of domestic management skills in the home enabled men to demonstrate their current or potential skill as an army officer.

This section has explored the connections between domesticity, militarism, and masculinity that existed in domestic advice manuals and military regulations produced in Anglo-India. In the next section I will demonstrate, firstly, that these imaginative connections between domesticity and militarism also existed outside of domestic advice manuals and military regulations. I will show that in their everyday lives Anglo-Indian men and women linked the two concepts, and connected them to ideas about masculinity. I will then show how men used their successful management of domestic economy to assert themselves as military officers, via

management of provisions, furnishing, etc. I will also explore the role Anglo-Indian women played in supporting these endeavours in the militarised home. Finally, I will demonstrate that Anglo-Indian men also used the management of domestic economy to perform other manly traits, and will explore this in terms of the socially desirable trait of resourcefulness.

Domestic Economy and Military Reputation

Archival evidence derived from letters and journals supports the connections outlined in domestic advice manuals and military regulations between domestic economy, home management and homebuilding on the one hand, and military skills, masculine traits, and military success on the other. In myriad such sources, successful domestic management by officers was generously praised, and explicitly or implicitly linked to their abilities as officers. To begin with, it is evident that military men noticed these domestic skills. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin, for example, recorded effusive praise for his host, one Colonel Land, in his journal during his journey from his base in Cawnpore to a seasonal hill station retreat in 1831. Aplin listed the different components of a 'sumptuous breakfast' Land hosted, and remarked that 'Colonel Land…manages his domestic affairs or house-keeping with much good taste, method and liberality- everything is excellent which appears on his table'.[153] Aplin's comment accords with the evidence provided in domestic advice manuals, that successfully managing the domestic economy was important for reputational purposes; Aplin was impressed by Colonel Land's command of his 'domestic affairs or housekeeping'. The language Aplin used to praise Colonel Land is also significant; as well as taste and generosity, we are told Colonel Land 'manages' his domestic affairs with 'method', or logic. The ability to 'manage' was closely linked

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[153] British Library, Christopher D'Oyley Aplin Papers, Mss Eur B208, Diary kept by Capt. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin 1829-1831. Entry dated 19 January 1831.

with the ability to command, and 'method' was a skill that had long been regarded

as integral to successful military, and consequently masculine, performance.

Through his housekeeping and 'domestic affairs', then, Colonel Land demonstrated

to D'Oyley Aplin the skills and traits associated with military leadership, and thereby

masculinity.

Other men described good hosts using similar language. Reflecting on social

etiquette surrounding attending dinner parties in camp, Henry Frances Brooke wrote

in his memoir: 'when you are asked to dinner in camp you bring your own knives,

forks, plates, glass and generally your chair'.[154] He wrote that your host would

supply 'only the table, food and, if he is a very good manager and very generous,

drink'.[155] This extract again links the ability to put on a good dinner, with being a

'very good manager'. Just as Colonel Land was able to provide 'excellent' food on

his table as he 'manages' his domestic affairs with 'method and liberality', so too

were hosts perceived by Brooke to be a 'very good manager' if they were able to

generously supply drink at a dinner party. Brooke's reminiscences support the idea

that you could demonstrate desirable military skills (and therefore military

masculinity) in the home via domestic economy.

That successful performance in the home was linked to success in military

careers is also clear in a letter written in 1863 by S.A. Hardy of the Bengal Native

Infantry. Hardy recorded staying with a Major Elgin who, he wrote, was a 'nice fellow

and a first-rate officer'.[156] Whilst living with him, Hardy wrote to his wife in England:

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[154] Brooke, *Private Journal of Henry Francis Brooke,* p. 5.
[155] Ibid.,
[156] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, S.A. Hardy Papers. Letter from S.A. Hardy to his wife 'Petty', 12 May 1863.

'we have got to know each other pretty well, and I am picking up all sorts of wrinkles about economy, canteen, etc., to add to my 'moral command' stock of ideas, in readiness for the time, should it ever come, when I may have the opportunity of putting them into practice as a commandant. It would be very pleasant that dear Petty, would it not?'[157]

In this extract Hardy described learning skills relevant to his future from observing the way a 'first rate officer' managed his home. This supports the idea that good domestic management was associated with military ability; Major Elgin, a 'first rate officer', provided Hardy with ideas of how to manage as a 'commandant' simply through running his home. The extract also supports the idea that the home was a learning ground where military skills could be honed; while Elgin performs his military skill in the home, Hardy develops his.

What is clear in the writing of D'Oyley Aplin and Elgin is that military officers who successfully managed their domestic economies were ones to admire and associate with; Hardy and D'Oyley Aplin looked up to the men they described. This is also evident evident in the writing of rifle officer A.G. Bradshaw, who wrote with palpable admiration about a captain he 'chummed with' whilst on campaign in a camp near Cawnpore, in 1858. He explained that as there was not a mess established for their regiment, Bradshaw and the captain ate regularly together. Bradshaw looked up to the (unnamed) captain, and wrote to his parents that the captain saw 'no fun in pigging it even on a campaign', and 'accordingly…keeps up the six o'clock dinner hour, hot-water plates, napkins etc. etc. even to cut glass tumblers'.[158] Bradshaw admired the captain for not 'pigging it' on campaign and for

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[157] Ibid.
[158] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, A.G. Bradshaw Papers. Letter from A.G. Bradshaw to his parents, 16th February 1858.

his ability to manage his domestic situation well enough that they are able to have such luxuries as 'cut glass tumblers' even on campaign. Emulating the desirable masculine traits implied by such domestic management, Bradshaw eagerly associated with the captain, and stressed his own contribution to their domestic arrangements: 'my Madrassee cooks capitally, his Cingalese boy forages, my grasscutter 'finds' wood'.[159] Together, he told his mother: *we get exquisite soup, mutton hash, roast fowl (peacock is excellent eating) or roast beef, tea or coffe, bread and butter, pease, potatoes, toast, jam, guava jelly, ginger biscuits, &c &c.'.*[160]

Conversely, poor management of domestic economy was linked to low military skill and could thereby harm the reputation of an officer and his family. S.A. Hardy attended a dinner party in Muttra in 1863 and recorded a scathing critique of a family referred to as the 'Bradfords'. The family is described as 'worthy, but not polished people'.[161] The husband is described as being 'formerly of the ranks', a low military (and by extension social) position, and his wife as a 'big fat woman, where from it would be hard to say'.[162] He wrote that the couple:

'gave a party to some 25 of us I suppose in honour of their daughter just come from England, and a niece…The dinner was bountiful to a degree, enough of it for a regiment, but all the arrangements as one might have feared were very wretched; wine hot, soup cold, not getting salt or mustard etc. Poor girls, not much chance of a husband for them at Muttra I am afraid'.[163]

[159] A.G. Bradshaw Papers. Letter from A.G. Bradshaw to his parents, 16th February 1858.
[160] Ibid.
[161] S.A. Hardy Papers. Letter from S.A. Hardy to his wife 'Petty', 7 June 1863.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.

In the extract, Hardy reveals an expectation that lower rank men in the military may be incapable of appropriately managing their 'table' well: 'all the arrangements *as one might have feared* were very wretched'. If military success is liked with domestic success; Hardy reveals a counter-association between low-ranking military men and poor domestic management.

The anecdote about the 'wretched' dinner party demonstrates the social dimension of good domestic management for military careers. As we have seen, hospitality was an important part of Anglo-Indian society. Good domestic management was important for Anglo-Indian officers' reputations not only because it gave them a chance to demonstrate socially desirable military skills, but also because it enabled them to engage and network within the tight-knit Anglo-Indian military community. The Bradfords' poor domestic management resulted in a poor dinner party, and a loss of social status. On the other hand, Colonel Land, in D'Oyley Aplin's earlier anecdote, gained status by managing his domestic economy in such a way as to make him a good host.

As we have seen in domestic advice manuals, the management of domestic economy extended beyond the 'table' and to the management of household budgets generally. As a result, general domestic expenditure, including on furnishings, was also scrutinised by the Anglo-Indian military community. Diaries, correspondence, and memoirs of Anglo-Indian officers show that the management of domestic economy in relation to furnishings and home-building could confer or undermine military and masculine status.

This is well illustrated by a cautionary tale in Thomas Quinney's memoir, *Sketches of a Soldier's Life in India,* (1853). In this book, Quinney recorded scathing critiques of his friend Jamie's approach to domestic economy. He writes

that the trouble began with Jamie's wife's unexpected acquisition of one hundred pounds during a trip home to England. When she returned to India, instead of saving the money, 'Jamie soon began to form plans to get rid of the cash as speedily as possible'.[164] Quinney disapproved of the frequent carriage rides the couple spent the money on and 'sported their figures in', and the large amount of alcohol they began to consume. Quinney was especially opposed to this because 'quarrelling and scuffling often ensued, which usually ended in both setting to work and demolishing every breakable item in the room'.[165] Jamie's and his wife's reckless approach to domestic economy resulted in the destruction of the domestic environment, with the 'demolished crockery' Quinney described acting as a material representation of Jamie's failure.[166] Worse, several years later Quinney recorded that he found that Jamie's excessive expenditure on drink meant he and his wife had to sell a house they had managed to acquire and return to the barracks, enduring the accompanying loss of status.[167] In this anecdote, Quinney demonstrates that a reckless attitude to domestic economy- relating to unnecessary expenditure and over-indulgence- directly resulted in a loss of status; having to return to barracks as an officer would have been a great humiliation.

As well as a loss of status, poor management of domestic economy in relating to household purchases was associated with military inexperience more generally. This is clear in an extract of Albert Hervey's self-published 1850 memoir, *Ten Years in India.* In relation to setting up in India, Hervey wrote about the importance of seeking advice from more experienced officers: 'In making purchases at first, it is better to consult some experienced hand…newcomers will always find many ready to put them in the way of obtaining the articles they want in a far more

[164] Thomas Quinney, *Sketches of a Soldier's Life in India,* (Glasgow, 1853), p. 58.
[165] Quinney, *Sketches of a Soldier's Life in India,* p. 58.
[166] Ibid., p. 59.
[167] Ibid*.,* pp. 157-158.

economical manner'.[168] Hervey's advice again shows the perception in Anglo-Indian society of a link between successful management of domestic economy and military status; he makes clear that inexperienced recruits are unlikely to make purchases economically: 'money in the hands of a griffin is generally like two ships in a storm, they very soon part company'.[169] In contrast, more experienced military officers can make more economical purchases. Hervey advises new recruits not to be proud about asking for advice, because 'reckless individuals only get laughed at'.[170] From this we learn that to manage domestic economy poorly, and over-spend on household items, risked humiliation and ridicule.

Erskine, too, linked the mismanagement of domestic funds to youth and inexperience. Reflecting on life in India, he wrote that: 'I would advise all cadets… to keep as much as possible from the bazars, auction rooms etc as they go with money in both pockets and seeing a number of nice things they can't resist buying them at an exorbitant price'.[171] In this case, Erskine is drawing on his own past experience of over-spending as a young, inexperienced military officer. He described how as a new recruit, 'I foolishly went with all the others and spent an enormous sum of money in quite useless things… I spent fully 750 rupees in trash and for which I have not a single thing in the world to show'.[172] This youthful poor decision-making ended up impacting his military career; he wrote that he struggled to afford purchases that were key to his military life and status as a soldier: 'Ever since that I have been very hard pressed to pay many things, for instance for my houses when I came up the country, my servants which I was obliged to have...which cost 350 rupees, my tent 250, my promotion to the mess 200 etc'.[173] A

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[168] Albert Hervey, *Ten Years in India: The Life of a Young Officer,* (London, 1850), vol. 1., p. 56.
[169] Ibid., pp. 41-42.
[170] Ibid., p. 42.
[171] Erskine Papers, Journal of Captain W.C. Erskine, 1844-50. Entry dated June 1844.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

tent was a basic necessity for a solider, as were servants (who were also used to demonstrate authority), and mess was an important part of military culture and regimental identity. Poor management of domestic economy made it hard for Erskine to pay for these essential parts of military life, and threatened his status as a soldier. It is therefore clear that if managing domestic economy signalled skills and traits associated with the hegemonic masculine ideal and 'manly' career of soldiering, mismanaging domestic economy was seen to be linked to youth and military inexperience, extremely undesirable traits for a man to possess.

Demonstrating Military and Masculine Skill in the Home

In the context of these associations between domestic and military success, men were eager to demonstrate their own command of their household economies. Anglo-Indian officers used management of domestic economy and homebuilding to demonstrate desirable masculine skills and traits- specifically, ones which displayed their skill as a military officer and, thereby, their masculinity. In March 1841, for example, Juxon H. Jones wrote to his family describing the expense involved with keeping a house in India: 'could you believe that they charge Rs31, that is £3 for a ham, many other this in like proportion'.[174] He wrote that as a result, 'I am very economical and never spend money on a single indulgence except cheeroots, and they are very cheap, and so very superior to any cigars, only £2 a thousand'.[175] In this letter, Jones illustrated that he carefully noted the price of foodstuffs, and kept a careful watch on expenditure. As we have seen in military regulations, officers were expected to pay 'personal and unremitting attention to the interior economy of the

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[174] Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, 18 March 1841.
[175] Ibid.

corps under their command'.[176] In this letter, Jones demonstrated that he undertook this important practice in his home. Two years later, in June 1843, Juxton Jones wrote to his brother to update him on life in India and included in the letter a description of his economical attitude to choosing home furnishings: 'I always act on the best of principles that what I get should be good if not best, that it may sell again easily and surely'.[177]

As we have seen, the peripatetic lifestyle of Anglo-Indian soldiers meant that officers and their families regularly had to sell up, and move to a different part of the subcontinent. The tactical approach to purchasing furniture that Jones described ensured that he would not be out of pocket after moving between positions. Once again, therefore, we see Jones constructing an image of himself as an economical homeowner. In 1845, Jones was forced to defend this reputation when his mother expressed concerns after hearing that he possessed silk sofas. Jones replied:

'You are quite startled at my talking of silk sofas, I fancy the commonest printed cotton would be more expensive than this Indian silk, it looks very well but it is very cheap. Your fears regarding the the extravagant rebel will speedily subside my dearest mother when I tell you that the whole of my furniture carpets tables chairs couches etc cost me only 1904 Rs, i.e. £14!! And the carpets cost one half of this….Don't for a moment think that I have forgotten to be economical. I pay my servants and then my debts without reserving a halfpenny for myself…The first of January 1846 will find me without a single debt'.[178]

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[176] Bengal Army Regulations, IOR/L/MIL/17/2/443, Regulations and Orders for the Army of the Bengal Presidency 1873, Section 7, p. 45.
[177] Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, 6 June 1843.
[178] Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, 31 August 1845.

In the letter, Jones went to considerable effort to convince his mother that he had carefully managed his domestic budget; he compared the price of the silk to another cheap fabric to show the expense was reasonable, he then listed the plethora of furnishings he had purchased for an extremely low price, and then finally expressly urged her not to think of him as an 'extravagant rebel'. The considerable effort he expended in the letter to prove that he was an economical homeowner suggests his identity as one was important to him, and reflects the social consequences of being viewed as 'economical' or not. As we have seen, failing to manage domestic economy and overspending on luxury items was associated with youth, inexperience, and poor military ability. This social context is likely to be why Jones urged his mother not to think 'for a moment' he was mismanaging his domestic economy, and instead stressed his domestic achievements.

Indeed, Jones cultivated a reputation as an economical homeowner over several years. Another two years later, in 1847, he was still writing to his family proudly of his housekeeping achievements, this time boasting: 'I have bought a most beautiful house, the cheapest and nearly the best in the station for £30….I got it dirt cheap…'.[179] Jones continued to take pride in his ability as a thrifty housekeeper, gaining satisfaction from managing his money wisely: ' I have formed something of a habit of economy and I promise myself the pleasure of saving lots of money while here'.[180] We know from domestic advice manuals, military regulations, and records of Anglo-Indian individuals that a mastery of domestic economy was key to being, and being perceived to be, a successful military officer. In letters sent over several years, Jones carefully and consistently demonstrated his command of domestic economy. I argue, these were attempts to prove his own militaristic masculinity.

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[179] Juxton H. Jones Papers. Letter from Juxton H. Jones to his mother, January 1847.
[180] Ibid.

Thomas Stoton of the Madras Native Infantry also wrote about his close attention to domestic economy. In a letter to his father he listed some of the expenses involved in 'setting up' in India: 'I have a house to furnish- a horse (a necessity in India) to buy and keep saddled and bridle to buy…I must get fresh shoulder cords-have the new tunic etc- buy about a dozen of white trousers and jackets'.[181] Nevertheless, despite all these expenses (or 'list of horrors' as he described them) he concludes the letter by writing proudly: 'I have, however, about 420 rupees of personal property….paid my debts as well as I could before leaving England and have since managed by a great Economy to save some money'.[182] Stoton therefore emphasises in his letter to his father his success in managing domestic economy as a new recruit; despite the financial challenges he faced, through 'great economy', he managed to accrue some savings. Through his letter, we learn that Stoton acted in line with the advice of writers like Shadwell and Clemons, and managed his money carefully as a new recruit. The strong cultural and practical links between success in the home and success in the military make it likely Stoton was using his successful management of domestic economy to demonstrate to his family his potential to succeed in the socially desirable military career.

This dynamic is evident not just among individuals who owned their own homes, but also with the few officers who lived in barracks. Kendal Coghill, for example, wrote to his sister in April 1857 with not inconsiderable self-satisfaction of an inspection carried out by the Commander-in-Chief: 'when he inspected the barracks and interior economy he said he had never seen a Regiment so clean and

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[181] Stoton Papers. Letter from Thomas H. Stoton to his father, 9 March 1857.
[182] Ibid.

well regulated'.[183] Coghill not only proudly recounted this to his sister, but also noted

that the praise of the Commander-in-Chief—the highest ranking officer in India--

regarding their living space, and management of interior economy was socially

desirable: 'all this was great kudos to us'.[184] Their successfully managed, or

'regulated' domestic environment enhanced their standing within their regiment, won

them 'kudos', and enabled them to secure the positive attention of the Commander-

in-Chief who, Coghill wrote, usually 'never has a good word for anyone'.[185]

Some of the writing by Anglo-Indian men links their management of

domestic economy in the home to their successful performance as a military officer

even more directly. Joseph Fletcher Richardson of the Bengal Army, for example,

recorded details about how he had saved money whilst travelling up country by

establishing a mess with another group of officers. After leaving Calcutta,

Richardson met up with friends travelling on the same stretch of water: 'we arranged

to mess together, being more sociable and at the same more economical'. He was

extremely pleased with this decision, 'for this plan enabled us to discharge one of

the cooking boats'.[186] Here, Richardson proudly records a decision associated with

domestic economy; he would mess with other officers, and save money on food in

his home for the upcoming months. In doing so, he was able to reduce the number

of boats in their fleet, and thereby reduce the money expended on servants.

Richardson's decision therefore reflected his ability as a military officer; he

illustrated his skill at managing domestic economy, and showed his authority as a

commander by reducing unnecessary expenses. This story was a particularly

powerful demonstration of military skill via engagement with domestic life, because

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[183] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Coghill Papers. Letter from Kendal Coghill to Zoey (his sister), 6 April 1857.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Major Joseph Fletcher Richardson Papers, NAM. 1982-07-94, Journal of Major Joseph Fletcher Richardson, 1848-1859, p. 9.

it described a scenario that could easily have been faced by an Anglo-Indian officer; Anglo-Indian officers were required to regularly travel with regiments and manage troops' provisions whilst doing so. In travelling with his servants and managing provision for his household and staff, Richardson was undertaking an almost identical task to those carried out regularly by Anglo-Indian officers. Recording his success at it, given the cultural associations between domestic and military success, was a way of demonstrating his abilities as an officer.

Other officers recorded similar instances where the management of domestic economy closely mirrored managing a regiment. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin described in his journal a situation where some of his boat crew and servants absconded as he travelled between postings. He recorded on 26 December 1829 that his initial efforts to re-establish discipline amongst his domestic staff failed: 'I have this evening taken the opportunity to read the whole crew a scolding lecture upon the shameful and darstardly conduct of the absconding parties in leaving a service…I doubt much their paying heed to my fine speeches'.[187] A couple of days later he recorded a more successful way he had found to win their loyalty: 'to encourage the crew to use their best exertions I ordered by servant to purchase at Colgong 40 of meal (Indian corn roasted and then ground to a powder) and to distribute it. The men were much delighted and enjoyed a hearty repast'.[188] Here, D'Oyley Aplin described utilising his skills in domestic economy to maintain loyalty, and establish his authority, among his personal domestic staff. He notes that he carefully chose a cheap, simple dish that was none-the-less effective: 'it is easily

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[187] Christopher D'Oyley Aplin Papers, Mss Eur B208, Diary kept by Capt. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin 1829-1831. Entry dated 26 December 1829.
[188] Christopher D'Oyley Aplin Papers, Mss Eur B208, Diary kept by Capt. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin 1829-1831. Entry dated 28 December 1829.

prepared requiring only the mixed with a little water to the consistency of dough and then eaten'.[189]

This was not the first time D'Oyley Aplin proudly recorded his success in managing domestic provisions in order to manage his servants. Earlier that same year, he recorded an incident which, again, demonstrated similar skills. D'Oyley Aplin recorded haggling with a fish seller who initially didn't want to sell fish to him: 'on enquiring of the men if they had any fish to sell…they replied "no fish for sahib log, only very small fish", in a tone which conveyed the additional information "I want to have no dealings with you"'.[190] Aplin recorded that eventually, after the fishermen tried to overcharge him, 'we bargained and I effected a purchase of about 24 lbs weight of small fish for 14 ½ anas, or 2 sh and 4d'.[191] He recorded that 'the basket of fish afforded to each person with me (including the four boats' crews and my own servants, 60 souls) a comfortable meal and a treat with the rice which would be cooked up with it'.[192] At the end of the evening, he wrote, "my feelings in witnessing the busy alacrity with which they set about lighting their fires and cooking were amply satisfied and…made the current of my blood run freer'.[193]

In this diary entry, D'Oyley Aplin describes the domestic incident in a way that demonstrated that he had a variety of skills necessary for a military officer. As we have seen in the military regulations, 'the commanding officer's responsibility for the good quality of men's rations is as great as it is for the maintenance of discipline, or any other essential attribute of his command'.[194] D'Oyley Aplin's

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[189] Ibid.
[190] Christopher D'Oyley Aplin Papers, Mss Eur B208, Diary kept by Capt. Christopher D'Oyley Aplin 1829-1831. Entry dated 15 December 1831.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Bengal Army Regulations, IOR/L/MIL/17/2/443, Regulations and Orders for the Army of the Bengal Presidency 1873, p. 578.

description shows that he was able to do this for his travelling retinue of 60 boatmen and servants. His anecdote also reveals his possession of a command of domestic economy; he resisted an unfair price, and bargained for a fair one, as domestic advice manuals advised. And finally, in this diary entry he demonstrated his ability to command authority and respect; his actions ensured his staff set about their tasks with 'busy alacrity'. In the context of domestic advice manuals that emphasised the importance of these skills for a military career, and social attitudes which equated success at domestic economy with soldiering ability, D'Oyley Aplin's diary entry can be interpreted as an attempt to affirm his status as a skilled military officer, both to those who read his journal, and to himself. After all, successfully managing the domestic economy of a household fleet of four boats and sixty people, was not far off commanding a corps of men. D'Oyley Aplin's and Fletcher's diaries show how close the tasks of managing a home and managing a regiment were, and how blurred the boundaries could be, imbuing tasks in the home with real significance for men and masculinity.

As well as providing a space for Anglo-Indian officers to construct and perform socially desirable traits and skills associated with running a regiment and commanding as a military officer, the home also offered opportunities for men to demonstrate traits associated with militaristic masculinity more generally. Resourcefulness, for example, was closely associated with the ideal of the manly soldier and men utilised the—often challenging—living conditions associated with military life to demonstrate their possession of this trait.

A.G Bradshaw, for example, recorded in detail the clever purchases he made for his tent in Allahabad in 1857, during the Indian rebellion. He recorded:

"*Soon after I landed in the country I bought a wooden bedstead called a charpae (four-legged) supports my envelope cased bedding, and also serves as a couch, sofa and table. I bought two native goodries (quilts), one forms a mattress and the other a coverlet. A wine bottle makes a good candlestick, a trunk acts as a sideboard and two cane stools of sizes do for chair and table*".[195]

He continued:

"*At Raneegunge I bought a breakfast cup and saucer made of enamelled iron a first rate purchase, the saucer being used as a plate; three spoons costing a shilling each, two tin plates, two knives and forks, a Britannia metal teapot, a quart saucepan, a few [earthenware vessels] compose my domestic goods and chattels*".[196]

In this passage Bradshaw expends significant effort demonstrating his resourcefulness in furnishing his living environment; he describes how he minimised purchases by putting furnishings to multiple uses—for example, using a bed as a coach, sofa, and table, and using a saucer as a plate. He also shows his problem-solving ability by describing how he substituted simple objects for furniture that it was not possible to obtain in Allahabad; he used a trunk (an item in possession of every soldier) for a sideboard, and two stools to create a chair and table. By describing the way he furnished his temporary home, Bradshaw portrays himself as resourceful, practical, and inventive, attributes that we have seen were highly valued in war and closely associated with manliness. This passage is particularly interesting because it was written in December 1857, during the height of the Indian Rebellion. The fact that he wrote this during perhaps the most high-profile colonial

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[195] A.G. Bradshaw Papers. Letter from A.G. Bradshaw to his parents, 17 December 1857.
[196] Ibid.

war of the century reflected the important social work that domestic economy could perform for men; the fact that Bradshaw recorded details about furnishing his home alongside the details of his wartime 'adventures' suggests that he perceived that both things illustrated desirable qualities.

The memoir of Henry Francis Brooke similarly provide insight into how the domestic environment was mobilised in service militaristic masculine identities by demonstrating resourcefulness. Brooke went into considerable detail describing his quarters in Kandahar in 1880. He began the description by explaining the living conditions for officers in Afghanistan, and what his room was like on arrival:

'Quarters of a not very luxurious description are provided for the officers, that is to say, they are given a room without doors or windows, and with a mud floor, and any improvements they wish to make they are required to do themselves. There is, of course, no furniture, and any luxuries one wants in that way we have to get for ourselves… The room, when I came into it was horrid; the floor was six inches deep in dust; there were no doors or windows, and altogether it was most unpromising'.[197]

In this passage Brooke establishes the challenge he faced: his living quarters in Afghanistan had 'no doors or windows', and the mud floor was 'six inches deep in dust', and any changes had to be made by himself. Although this was not the kind of challenge faced by the heroes of penny weeklies, he does demonstrate that he was faced with some imperial adversity that he had to overcome. Brooke then goes on to describe how he improved his domestic environment:

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[197] Brooke, *Private Journal of Henry Francis Brooke*, pp. 66-67.

'I have, however, had a floor made for it, the passage and dining room, of a wonderful kind of stuff like Plaster of Paris which abounds here… I have had windows put in, and hope to have a door soon; and having bought a few pieces of rough native carpeting in the city, and a couple of tables and chairs, my room begins to look very fair indeed… in the small recesses I have had a few wooden shelves put up which quite do to hold my very scanty wardrobe.[198]

In Brooke's description of the changes he made to his room he established himself as resourceful by demonstrating that he was able to meet the challenge presented by his frontier surroundings and make a pleasant living environment in challenging circumstances. Although he did not make the floor, put in the windows, or put up the shelves himself, and rather 'had' someone do that for him, he clearly regarded this as a personal achievement. In relation to civilian Anglo-Indian homes, Mary Procida has argued that cajoling, coercing or conniving to get a landlord to perform repairs was seen not only as a victory for the tenant, but as a demonstration of the cleverness and determination of the British imperial rulers.[199] Brooke, similarly, presented his transformation of his domestic environment-including his instruction/ management of those whom he 'had' to perform tasks for him- as a demonstration of his resourcefulness and ability to overcome adversity, and therefore an illustration of his ability as an officer. Indeed, In the latter part of the extract, Brooke describes how he bought 'rough native carpeting' and furniture in Kandahar, which made his room look 'very fair indeed'. He informs the reader that this was not a simple undertaking:

'*we cannot here wander about and go into the shops and ransack them for curiosities, as the people have a nasty trick of watching till a person is busy looking*

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[198] Ibid.*,* p. 67.
[199] Procida, *Married to the Empire,* pp. 60-61.

at things in a shop, and then coming up quietly and stabbing one in the back. It is

consequently necessary, when we go shopping, to go in parties of 2 or 3, or take an

escort, so as always to have someone on the watch against treachery, and as long

as one takes this precaution they are too cowardly to attack in the open'.[200]

In this extract Brooke demonstrates his bravery, as well as resourcefulness, by describing how he and his comrades risked being stabbed in order to improve his living environment. He also illustrates, once again, his ability to cleverly overcome obstacles by describing how he and his friends avoided the danger presented by (real or imagined) Afghan adversaries by out-smarting them and ensuring there was 'always…someone on the watch against treachery'. His description of the 'rough native carpeting' and furniture in his room can therefore be interpreted as evidence of this bravery and resourcefulness through his domestic environment.

As a result of the over-reliance on adventure fiction as a source of knowledge about militaristic masculinity, and the resultant romanticisation of military life, it could appear that Anglo-Indian officers demonstrated their resourcefulness only through acts of 'daring do' in war. Engaging with Anglo-Indian officers' diaries, correspondence and memoirs makes clear that these men actively used their domestic environments to illustrate this socially-desirable masculine trait. Anglo-Indian officers' homes were environments which could be mobilise by men in a variety of ways to construct militaristic masculine identities.

Anglo-Indian Wives: Imperial Partners in Domestic Economy

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[200] Brooke, *Private Journal of Henry Francis Brooke,* pp. 70-71.

In emphasising the importance of domestic economy for Anglo-Indian officers and exploring their socially (and militarily) significant engagement with housekeeping, it is important that the role of Anglo-Indian women in the military home is acknowledged. It would be reductive and inaccurate and replace the previous historiographical binary of 'men/public sphere' vs 'women/domestic sphere' with another that associates all housekeeping and management with Anglo-Indian men. Instead, it is more appropriate to apply Mary Procida's concept of the 'imperial partnership' between Anglo-Indian husbands and wives within the civilian community to Anglo-Indian military families and their management of the home. Within the military community, Anglo-Indian women played an important role managing domestic economy alongside their husbands. This work helped practically sustain the home, but crucially also supported the masculine reputations of their husbands.

Given the harsh realities of military life, it was often hard for Anglo-Indian officers to maintain the much praised 'well managed table', stocked with good food for the consumption of themselves and their guests. In many of the letters from women to their husbands, or their own diaries or memoirs, we find evidence of Anglo-Indian women routinely sending provisions to their husbands. On Sunday, 17 May 1857, shortly after the outbreak of the Indian Rebellion, Maria Germon recorded in her diary: "I got up at sunrise and after sending off provisions to Charlie went to church at 6, breakfasted at 10 and then finished my overdue letters".[201] For Germon, this had become an unremarkable part of her life.

There is similarly evidence of a consistent exchange of provisions between Georgina Campbell and her husband Edward in 1856-1857. Crucially, many of

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[201] Maria Germon, *A Diary kept by Mrs R.C. Germon at Lucknow, between the months of May and December, 1857,* (London, 1870). Entry dated 17 May 1857.

these exchanges enabled Edward to win favour and reputation with his fellow soldiers. On 9 October 1857, Edward wrote from the Palace in Delhi (which the British forces were occupying following the Rebellion), thanking her for the 'jellies and hams' she had sent him.[202] Food supplies were tight on the front lines, and Edward was able to gift these items to an injured officer: 'I sent young Michael who lost his arm some of the apple jelly and he was very grateful'.[203] Similarly, the previous year, Edward Campbell wrote to Georgina explaining he had realised that 'rum and garlic is a really wonderful remedie for coughs' after making two other officers who 'both had horrible coughs…eat three cloves of garlic'.[204] According to him, both officers said 'it was wonderful' and 'did not cough again all the night'.[205] Edward instructed his wife to, 'write to Anderson's for a bottle of Jamaica Rum and make a bottle of Garlic and rum' so he could continue the practice.[206]

In both cases, Georgina's supply of provisions enabled Edward to undertake exchanges that would boost his reputation. Making and sending the jellies enabled Edward to gift them to an injured officer, enabling him to demonstrate generosity, and the garlic and rum bottle enabled him to 'help' soldiers with a cough, again allowing him to portray himself as a caring officer. On both occasions, the provisions also enabled Edward to demonstrate his status and means; to be able to acquire such items, where others could not, would have set him apart from other officers and illustrated that—even through the disruptions of war—his household economy held up.

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[202] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, 9 October 1857. Box 6.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Campbell-Metcalfe Papers. Letter from Edward Campbell to Georgina Campbell, 20 November 1856.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.

Supporting their husbands with extra provisions was just one aspect of the broad collaboration between Anglo-Indian women and Anglo-Indian officers in relation to domestic economy. Women often took on considerable roles within the home, including managing provisions, furnishings, and domestic finances. This work was carried out both in partnership with their husbands, and also independently, depending on the military postings or duties of their husbands.

Honoria Lawrence, for example, helped manage the domestic economy of the various mobile and static households she shared with her husband Henry Lawrence-- an officer who became an iconic figure of the 1857 rebellion. She, like Maria Germon and Georgina Campbell, helped ensure her husband had the provisions he needed whilst on campaign. In a letter of 10 March 1842 she wrote to him of her plans to send him some provisions: 'I have written to Capt Thomson to ask if I can have a camel, and if he can give it I will send the stores to you'.[207] Later that year, Honoria also took responsibility for ensuring the couple had the provisions they needed when they moved back in together after several months apart. On 8 November 1842 she wrote confidently: 'About produce. I have 14 sheep and will buy fowls on the way down- we have the Bombay stores and I see Gibbon has opened a house at F.poor. where we can order what we want to'.[208]

As well as provisions, Honoria Lawrence was closely involved in domestic finances, and she regularly sent her husband updates when he was on campaign. In November 1842, for example, she wrote to him describing the cost of their most recent posting: 'I have just been making out an account of all that Kussowlee has

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[207] British Library, Letters to and from Honoria Lawrence, MSS EUR/ F85/ 70, Vol. 70b. Letter from Honoria Lawrence to Henry Lawrence, 10 March 1842, p. 14.
[208] Letters to and from Honoria Lawrence, MSS EUR/ F85/ 70, Vol. 70b. Letter from Honoria Lawrence to Henry Lawrence, 18 October 1842, p. 286.

cost us'.[209] She summarised that 'first and last it comes to Rs. 1880', before breaking down particular expenses, for example 'I have left in the house furniture to the amount of 1071'.[210] In other letters she discusses with her husband the likelihood of selling their house: 'I don't know that there is much chance of selling our place, being out of Calcutta, but we shall see'.[211] Honoria was also closely involved in managing the living arrangements of herself and her husband. In the letter of 18 October 1842, she wrote:

'I will stop a few days at Loodiana and then can remain between the boat and your own place until your arrival at Ferozepoor. You speak of my stopping in tents, but we have just the old single pole, which must be almost in smithereens now, and we need not buy any new…the hill tents you have with you will be enough for us…Mr F has never occupied the dak bungalow and I can go there'.[212]

Honoria's letters evidence not only the skill with which Anglo-Indian women managed various aspects of domestic economy, but also the partnerships that existed between Anglo-Indian officers and their wives in managing the home. The discussions between Henry and Honoria Lawrence regarding provisions, finances, and living arrangements provide evidence of the fact that Anglo-Indian officers were supported by engaged and able wives in their management of domestic economy. Indeed, as Honoria Lawrence wrote to Henry: 'One would fancy my little world was full of business as yours is at Peshawur darling'.[213]

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[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Letters to and from Honoria Lawrence, MSS EUR/ F85/ 70, Vol. 70b. Letter from Honoria Lawrence to Henry Lawrence, 18 October 1842, p. 278.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Letters to and from Honoria Lawrence, MSS EUR/ F85/ 70, Vol. 70b. Letter from Honoria Lawrence to Henry Lawrence, 18 October 1842, p. 17 February 1842.

Honoria's confident engagement with domestic economy was shared by other military wives across India. These women, too, collaborated and worked with their husbands to manage the domestic economy of their homes. However, it often took time to build up to Honoria's level of experience and confidence, and Anglo-Indian soldiers often trained their wives to be their partners in managing domestic economy. Frances Wells for example, wrote detailed letters to her family in England in relation to setting up home with her husband in India. Her letters show her growing into her role as an Anglo-Indian wife and taking on increased responsibility within the home, with help from her husband.

In a letter sent to her father in January 1854, shortly after her arrival in India, she wrote that she was 'getting on fast with the language and am able to do a good deal in the housekeeping department'.[214] However, she wrote that she was unable, as yet, to properly manage the cook's account: 'until I know the proper prices of things in this country I have no control over him'.[215] She wrote that as a result 'my husband looks over his account together with me every day'.[216] In this letter we see evidence of the collaboration between Anglo-Indian officers and their wives in the management of domestic economy; Frances Wells' husband coached her to understand the cook's account and enable her to take on a greater role within the home. Indeed, within just a couple of months, Frances wrote again to her father explaining that she now managed all their accounts:

'the pay came in yesterday and it certainly is a very agreeable thing to see a bag full of rupees emptied out on the floor…we put 200 Rs…to the regimental treasure

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[214] Berners Papers. Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox, 26 January 1854.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.

chest; the rest is all in my possession, as I keep all the accounts and pay everything'.[217]

By March 1856, Frances Wells was able to arrange the packing and transportation of all their household goods when she was required to join her husband in Lucknow:

'all the arrangements for going have fallen upon me…last night I despatched everything, all my furniture, 20 boxes, all my servants, carriage horse etc..I have been so busy paying all my bills and settling all my affairs and this morning…I shall tell Walter that all this fuss has developed my business faculties a good deal".[218]

She later wrote to her father that 'all this has made me very independent' and remarked that 'India reveals a great deal that was before hidden'.[219] Her husband agreed that she had become a successful domestic manager, writing to her father: 'you have no idea what a good manager she is in all her domestic affairs'.[220]

As the praise of Frances Wells' husband indicated, Anglo-Indian officers valued wives who were able to act as their partners in managing domestic economy. In fact, in an article in the *Navy and Army Illustrated* published in 1896, strong domestic management was described as one of the characteristic traits of a soldier's wife. [221] According to the article, the typical soldier's wife had 'an honest, true devotion to the man with whom she had thrown in her lot', and a 'rough exterior'

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[217] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Berners Papers. Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 2 March 1854.

[218] Berners Papers. Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 12 March 1856.

[219] Berners Papers. Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 21 October 1855; Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 12 December 1857.

[220] Berners Papers. Letter from Walter Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 2 September 1855.

[221] Anon., 'Tommy Atkins Married', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* Volume 2. No. 20, 18 September 1896, pp. 131-132.

with a tongue 'as rough as a nutmeg grater'.[222] Alongside these characteristics, the article notes 'married soldiers frequently have large families, and it is here, perhaps, that the wonderful management, which I have referred to as being characteristic of the soldier's wife, is brought into greater prominence'.[223]

Women who met this ideal were often described as valuable or 'useful'. S.A. Hardy, for example, attended a dinner party in 1863 and wrote detailed assessments of two officers' wives who joined the party. He described the wife of the 23rd Colonel as being 'a capital regimental lady and a most valuable personage among them all'.[224] He then moved on to discuss a Mrs Prichard, whom he criticised ferociously for her looks ('her light graceful figure looks youthful at a distance but a 'tree' on coming nearer') but recorded liking her 'very much', and nothing that 'she is a most valuable wife' to her husband.[225] When women did not, or were not able, to be a 'useful' partner in managing domestic economy with their husbands, they were heavily criticised. Frances Wells recorded meeting a Captain James in February 1856 who complained that his wife was 'the most useless wife anyone ever had and cannot keep an account'.[226] She also could not 'speak a word of Hindostanee', couldn't keep the servants 'in order' and as a result was sent home by her husband.[227]

Rather than damaging an Anglo-Indian officer's reputation by acting as a 'feminising' presence in the army home, Anglo-Indian women acted (and were expected to act) as crucial partners in domestic economy. Women helped their husbands cultivate reputations as a 'good manager' of domestic economy through

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[222] Ibid., p. 131.
[223] Ibid., p. 131.
[224] S.A. Hardy Papers. Letter from S.A. Hardy to his wife 'Petty', 12 May 1863.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Berners Papers. Letter from Frances Janet Wells to Frances Ker Fox Frances Wells, 5 February 1856.
[227] Ibid.

performing specific tasks such as sending them extra provisions, as well as generally managing domestic economy day-to-day. In the context of the associations between domestic and military success, and military success and masculinity, Anglo-Indian women's activities in the home should be considered an important intervention in the cultivation of militaristic masculinity. By engaging with domestic economy and ensuring that the homes they shared with their husbands ran successfully, they contributed to their husband's construction and performance of militaristic masculinity.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the existing historiographical representations of domesticity being incompatible with militaristic masculinity do not reflect the lived experiences of Anglo-Indian men who served in colonial India. Despite the fact that military lives within empire have been presented as inherently anti-domestic, I have showed that the home was an important site for the construction and articulation of Anglo-Indian officers. Management of the home, and a strong grasp of domestic economy, were inextricably linked with military success in domestic advice manuals and officers regulations. Social attitudes reflected this, with Anglo-Indian men and women linking judgements on men's housekeeping and domestic economy to their military ability. Homes therefore were spheres in which men sought to demonstrate military skill, and thereby militaristic masculinity, through domestic economy and home building. I have shown, crucially, that Anglo-Indian women played an important role managing domestic economy alongside their husbands, which served to enhance their masculine reputations.

The role of domesticity in the construction of militarism and militaristic masculinity has therefore been significantly underestimated. The historiographical perception of the 'flight from domesticity', and the binary of militarism, empire and masculinity on one hand, and domesticity on the other, is drawn from cultural histories that focus solely on Victorian literature. This chapter contributes to the scholarship on militaristic masculinity by showing how the subjective experience of militaristic masculinity in the context of colonial India differed considerably from the representation of the metropolitan ideal, while still adhering to its core values. It demonstrates the need for social histories of militaristic masculinity to exist alongside cultural histories to interrogate how this masculine ideal played out in the realities of colonial life.

CHAPTER 5

Military Dress, Martial Race Ideology, and fantasies of Masculinity, 1840-1900

During the turbulent Rebellion era (1857-1859), Sir Dighton Probyn posed for a portrait photograph. He was the commander of Probyn's Horse, a regiment of Sikh soldiers associated with the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and had recently been awarded the Victoria Cross for several acts of gallantry in the conflict.[1]
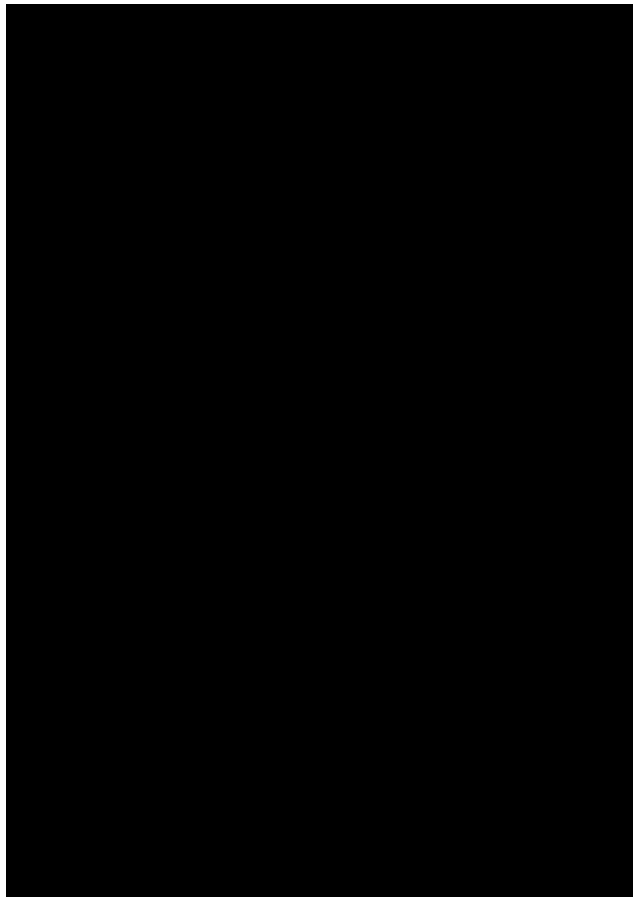
Figure 1: 'Dighton Probyn, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, in Indian dress', 1857 (c). Photograph, India, c.1857. From album owned by General Sir Sam Browne. National Army Museum (NAM.1999-09-42-63), London.

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[1] Iain Stewart, 'Medal Entitlement of General Sir Dighton Probyn', Victoria Cross Winners, 23 September 2005. http://www.victoriacross.org.uk/bbprobyn.htm (20 October 2020).

In the photograph, Probyn stares defiantly at the camera and poses in what the caption records as 'Indian dress'. This was comprised of a turban, a long fur-lined Afghan poshteen (coat of sheepskin), and a paisley patterned kamarband tied around the waist. Probyn also wore a kashmir paisley scarf and held a tulwar — a style of sword associated with Indian soldiers.

The photograph of Dighton Probyn in Indian dress is one of hundreds of military portraits of Anglo-Indian men in Indian clothing that were taken, or painted, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Changes in military fashion saw the uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers become increasingly orientalised as the century progressed. Where Anglo-Indian officers' uniforms were once designed to accord with the uniforms of the metropolitan army, by the end of the century they were a fantastical colonial pastiche; items of dress from different regions and cultures on the Indian subcontinent were put together in elaborate imaginations of 'native' military dress.

This chapter will trace the development of Indian army uniforms and describe how items of Indian dress spread from being confined to the uniforms of the irregular cavalry to playing crucial roles in the uniforms across all arms of the presidency armies. I will argue that the progressive orientalisation of Indian Army uniforms was connected to the interaction of militaristic masculinity—and its demand for manly, rugged, men—with the late nineteenth century ideology of martial race discourse. Martial race discourse was a recruiting strategy and political ideology that constructed and valorised certain ethnic and religious groups such as the Sikhs, Gurkhas and Punjabi Muslims as hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic. During the Indian rebellion, British soldiers and Indian Army authorities constructed martial race soldiers as the ideal colonial subject, with many 'manly' traits in common with the British themselves. Indeed, martial race discourse ascribed many

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of the characteristics most highly prized within militaristic masculinity—bravery, daring, courage—to these soldiers. The so-called martial races were constructed as perfect imperial partners for the British, their loyalty outweighing the fact that their ethnic predisposition for war was based on inherent 'savagery'.[2]

As well ascribing certain traits to the 'martial races', the Anglo-Indian soldiers and authorities also ascribed them certain aesthetics. From the Rebellion era onwards, martial race soldiers became inextricably connected in British minds with certain garments such as turbans, cummerbunds, and kurtas. These garments were associated with the excessive militarism—and, ultimately, the savagery—of martial race soldiers.

In this chapter, I argue that the orientalised army uniforms worn by Anglo-Indian officers after the Indian Rebellion were an example of a colonial elite 'embracing barbarism' in strategic cultural cross-dressing. These uniforms allowed Anglo-Indian men to perform militarism and masculinity in ways that went beyond the possibilities offered to them by European army uniforms, which were associated with older forms of masculinity. Indian Army uniforms allowed men to indicate their possession—individually and collectively—of the hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic traits associated with militaristic masculinity, thought to be represented in the extreme by martial race soldiers. The fantastical uniforms designed by the Indian Army for South Asian soldiers allowed the British to institutionalise their fantasy of martial race soldiers' racialised masculinity.

Indian Army uniforms from the 1860s onwards were thus sites where two inter-related fantasies of colonial masculinity were played out. The uniforms of

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[2] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914,* (Manchester and New York, 2004), p. 68.

South Asian soldiers reflected the British and Anglo-Indian ideal of an idealised hyper-masculine, hyper-aggressive, and loyal, but ultimately savage, colonial subject. These uniforms also reflected the closely related fantasy of a rugged, hyper-masculine Anglo-Indian soldier who could 'out savage' the savages when he put on a turban and carried a tulwar.

Bradley Deane has shown that the 'embrace of barbarism' was an empowering fantasy for British men in nineteenth century literature.[3] As militaristic masculinity took hold, and the 'standard of manliness' came to be carried by the 'untamed frontiersman, the impetuous boy, and the unapologetically violent soldier', the 'barbaric' was incorporated into ideals of masculinity.[4] Within popular stories, he argues, the stereotypes of savagery that had previously been used to denigrate the colonial other became potent symbols of masculine possibilities, and were adapted to suit new masculine ideals. Men looked to other races for symbols of masculine virtue, and to foreign men as signifiers of qualities that were worthy of emulation by British men.[5] Indeed, Deane argues, imperialist masculinity was articulated around images of foreign men, and even non-white, 'uncivilised' colonial subjects, as exemplars of proper manliness.[6] Within popular stories, 'embracing barbarism' gave form to masculine desires that were un-representable in older images of manhood.[7]

In this chapter I will demonstrate that this embrace was not confined to works of literature, but also played out with real men in real colonial settings. Martial race soldiers and the uniforms associated with them were considered symbols of hyper-masculine virtue, and Indian Army uniforms were designed and consumed

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[3] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914,* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 8.
[4] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 3.
[5] Ibid., pp. 15, 56.
[6] Ibid., p. 3.
[7] Ibid., p. 3, 8.

around fantasies of these exemplars of 'savage' manliness. Anglo-Indian soldiers wearing orientalised Indian Army uniforms indicated that they possessed the gendered qualities associated with martial race soldiers, and thereby asserted their militaristic masculine identity.

The chapter will therefore demonstrate that although militaristic masculinity is associated with the hardening of racial taxonomies and racist attitudes towards South Asian people, the clothing used within the Indian Army to articulate a superior, white colonial identity within the Indian Army included clothing associated with other ethnic groups. I will show that for officers, performing the 'racial superiority' associated with militaristic masculinity required more than the European fashions used in the civilian community. The florid Indian Army uniforms of the late nineteenth century are therefore markers of the complex understandings of race and masculinity within the Indian Army.

The Clothing of Anglo-Indian Men in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The historiography of colonial India positions cultural cross-dressing as something confined to the eighteenth century. Scholars have stressed the fact that in the eighteenth century the lives and appearances of East India Company servants braided English and Indian elements. Men associated with the East India Company were referred to as 'Nabobs', a term derived from the word 'Nawab' (the title given to aristocratic regional leaders within the Mughal empire).[8] The term was used to call attention to the hybridised identities these men often developed through imperial service. Historians like William Dalrymple have demonstrated that the eighteenth

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[8] Tillman Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Cambridge, 2010), p. 11.

century in India was characterised by 'intermixing and impurity', and a 'succession of unexpected and unplanned minglings of peoples and cultures and ideas'.[9] In the eighteenth century the absence of rigid ethnic, national or religious boundaries allowed for interracial relationships and cultural exchange, especially within the arts.[10] The Anglo-Indian approach to colonial governance at this time also encouraged the inter-mixing of English and Indian culture; Lizzie Collingham has argued that in the eighteenth century the English ruled in an 'Indian idiom', seeing themselves as the successors of the Mughal elite, and surrounding themselves with Indian signifiers of nobility.[11] The eighteenth century Nabobs thus embraced various aspects of Indian culture: they ate curries and drank arrack, travelled in palanquins, attended nautches and cock-fights, and adopted Indian practices like shampooing, bathing, and smoking hookah pipes.[12] The hybridity of the nabobs was evident in the clothes they wore. Nabobs spent and consumed ostentatiously, integrating splendours of East and West into their dress. Nabobs revelled in the sartorial opportunities offered by empire, and commissioned portraits in which they appeared in Indian garb.

The dominant narrative within imperial history is that this changed radically in the nineteenth century. Lizzie Collingham is a particularly influential proponent of this perspective. In *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, 1800-1947,* Collingham argues that increased British influence on the Anglo-Indian community in India, and an associated rise in evangelical, free trade and utilitarian ideology,

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[9] William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in the Eighteenth-Century,* (London, 2003)*,* p. xi.

[10] See for example, Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East, 1750-1850,* (London, 2006).

[11] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* pp. 14-16.

[12] See for example, Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* pp. 13-29; Nechtman, *Nabobs,* pp. 60-92, 185-221; J.M. Holzman, *Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785,* (New York, 1926); Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, 'Our Execrable Banditti: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 16:3, (1984), pp. 225-241. See also: Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India,* (New York, 1998)*,* p. 36; Robert Travers, 'Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century India', *Past and Present,* 196:1, (2007), pp. 83-124.

resulted in a process of Anglicisation through which Anglo-Indian individuals gradually 'sloughed off the orient' and constructed an altogether more British Anglo-Indian persona.[13]

Collingham argues that in the context of evangelical and utilitarian ideologies that cast Anglo-Indian officials as carriers of western civilisation to India, the body of the Nabob was no longer appropriate; if, as colonial ideologies insisted, the British held India by the force of their moral integrity, then every British official must be seen to embody British superiority.[14] Consequently, Collingham argues, by the 1810s and 1820s, only a few old hands still wore Indians items of clothing during the daytime, and even then only in the privacy of the bedroom or when relaxing on the verandah in the morning.[15] The Indianised body of the Nabob was now discredited, and residents now took pride in the Britishness of their bodies.[16] The respectable Anglo-Indian man now wore the black broadcloth worn by the middle classes in the metropole, black having become, by 1810, a representation of decency, self-respect, importance and power[17]. Anglo-Indian man was expected to be thoroughly British, and his dress is said to have reflected this imperative.

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[13] Ibid., p. 52.
[14] Ibid., p. 52.
[15] Ibid., p. 41.
[16] Ibid., p. 53.
[17] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
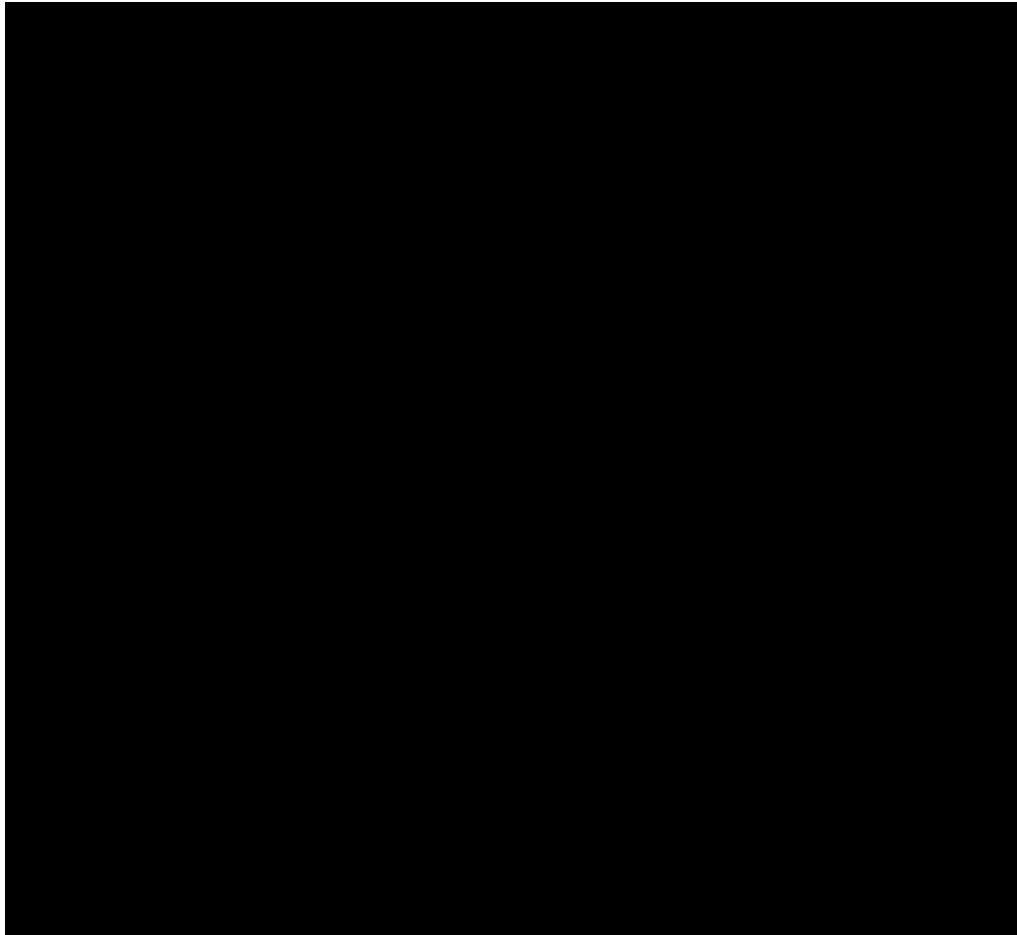
Figure 2: Photograph showing 'The Ootacamund Hunt'. From the scrapbook of Milicent Pilkington, 1893. The Cambridge South Asian Archive, Cambridge.

The dress photographed in Figure 2 encapsulates what existing historiography regards as the typical appearance of manly men of the nineteenth century. The photograph was taken at the Ootacamund Hunt breakfast in 1893 and was included in the scrapbook of Millicent Pilkington. The men are dressed in smart, Anglicised suits and black hats and are poised to prove their manliness in the hunt, a thoroughly English country pursuit.

Other dress and material culture historians have supported Collingham's narrative. Nupur Chaudhuri, for example, argues that to protect their status as rulers and defend British culture in India, Anglo-Indians during the nineteenth century chose racial exclusiveness and altogether rejected Indian material culture and

food.[18] Safely home in Britain, Chaudhuri argues, the same Anglo-Indians embraced Indian material culture and commodities, but whilst residing in the colony they distanced themselves from these cultural artefacts, in what she refers to as expressions of 'intransigent ethnocentrism'.[19]

Emma Tarlo, too, argues that material culture became closely intertwined with nineteenth century ruling ideology and politically loaded notions of civilisation. Like Collingham, Tarlo argues that in nineteenth century India, British clothing became increasingly homogenous as a result of the decline in cultural mixing and intermingling. She argues that most Anglo-Indian men and women took it for granted that their customs and lifestyles were part and proof of their superior place on the evolutionary ladder, and, by the same logic, that the 'otherness' of Indian clothes was not only proof of Indian effeminacy and barbarism, but also justification for British imperial rule.[20] Maintenance of sartorial differences was important for British self-esteem and authority, she argues, and it was feared that a lapse in sartorial standards would result in a British man being morally weakened.[21] Christopher Bayly likewise argued that the wearing of Indian styles became increasingly unacceptable, a sign of 'eccentricity' and even a cause of 'discredit'.[22]

Such scholars in short argue that the ideology of rule in nineteenth century India prompted the rejection of clothing practices that had mixed European and Indian cultures.[23] Imperial ideology, imperial masculinity, and Anglicised dress were closely linked so that through their sartorial practices, men presented a particular,

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[18] Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry and Rice in Victorian Britain', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (ed.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance,* (Bloomington, 1992), p. 231.
[19] Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry and Rice in Victorian Britain', p. 232.
[20] Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* (London, 1996), pp. 23, 35.
[21] Tarlo, *Clothing Matters,* p. 35-36.
[22] Christopher Bayly, *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1946,* (London, 1990), p. 110.
[23] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* p. 60.

thoroughly British, vision of empire and masculinity. The picture that this research presents of civilian dress is compelling and convincing. These analyses, however, focus only on civilian dress; the narrative of progressive Anglicisation almost entirely ignores military dress.[24] By tracing the development and consumption of uniforms of the East India Company and Indian Army, I will demonstrate that the racial superiority associated with militaristic masculinity was expressed differently in the military and civilian communities, adding depth to understandings of the sartorial expression of militaristic masculinity, as well as to our understandings of militaristic masculinity's relationship with race.

Army uniforms are a particularly appropriate source to study militaristic masculinity because of their strong association with masculinity and power. In recent decades, historians of empire, war, fashion, dress and design have positioned army uniforms as sitting at the intersection of ideas about race, gender and power. Army uniforms were once neglected in the history of fashionable consumption, their study confined to regimental histories, and histories of military tactics and strategy written by specialist military historians and amateur enthusiasts. More recently, however, army uniforms have attracted attention from beyond these quarters, and within academic publications, conferences and museum exhibitions, army uniforms have been used to ask questions about identity, community and control. [25]

This new history of military uniforms stresses several points. Firstly, historians have demonstrated that military uniforms were simultaneously 'fashion'

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[24] Collingham notes that military dress was an exception to her narrative, but does not explore this.
[25] For example, the theme of the 2018 Association of Dress Historians' conference was 'Dress and War: Clothing and Textiles at home and Abroad during the First World War Era'. Fashion and the Army is part of a permanent exhibition in the Society Gallery at the National Army museum, and has been included, for example in the 2015 exhibition fashion on the Ration, Imperial War Museum.

and 'fashioned by' masculinities. Jane Tynan, a design historian specialising in military uniforms, has argued that military uniforms are critical to understanding how normative masculinities are shaped.[26] In *British Army Uniform and the First World War: Men in Khaki,* Tynan focuses on how images of men in uniform mobilised British society for war. Tynan demonstrated how khaki uniforms were used to militarise civilian men, and instil in new recruits a militaristic, patriotic masculine identity suitable for warfare.[27] Similarly, Amy Miller has demonstrated that throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century the links between naval uniform and fashion shaped the masculinities of the officers of the Royal Navy. Admiralty regulations in the early eighteenth century incorporated developments in civilian fashion. 'Dandy' fashion influenced naval uniforms: padded rounded chests, puffed shoulders, wasp waists, and exaggeratedly high cut trousers were all incorporated into military uniforms.[28] The associations of dandy fashion with effeminacy and flamboyance made the attire a controversial fashion choice, and stimulated debate a over the masculine identity of the dandy and the extent to which dandies were suitable for Royal Navy service.[29]

The work of Miller and Tynan demonstrates the power of military uniforms to construct individual and public perceptions of masculinity, while at the same time reflecting and embodying hegemonic masculine ideals. These are themes picked up by theorists studying non-military uniforms. Jennifer Craik, for example, argues that attributes of masculinity are inscribed in uniforms of all sorts, and there is a close fit between these and normative, or hegemonic, masculine roles and attributes. According to Craik, uniforms create portable identities specifically designed for

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[26] Jane Tynan, *British Army Uniform and the First World War: Men in Khaki,* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 15.
[27] Tynan, *British Army Uniform,* p. 55-87.
[28] Amy Miller, 'Clothes Make the Man: Naval Uniform and Masculinity in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal for Maritime Research,* 17:2, (2015) p. 148-9.
[29] Miller, 'Clothes Make the Man', pp. 149-150; 153.

public consumption, and exist in a dialectical relationship, simultaneously representing and constructing perceptions of what constitutes manliness.[30] They demonstrate to us the social characteristics, skills, and attributes valued in society.[31]

Secondly, this historiography has also stressed the importance of military uniforms in relation to the construction of state power. Scott Myerly's work on the 'military spectacle' is particularly relevant, here, as a result of his focus on uniforms and military power in the nineteenth century. Myerly argues that within the nineteenth century British forces 'the most elaborate attention was given to every aspect of outward appearance' and that 'an ideal of visual perfection' was consistently prioritised over practicality.[32] The priority given to appearances in the British armies reflected the fact that uniforms are, for Myerly, symbols of state authority.[33] He argues that military uniforms in the nineteenth century 'displayed the state's martial glory and power as well as the army's discipline', military dress is therefore 'representative of the state it serves'.[34]

As sites for the construction and representation of hegemonic masculinities, as well as representations of the power of the colonial state, then, the uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers can provide important insights into the nature of militaristic masculinity in nineteenth-century India. The chapter will move on to demonstrate how the uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers changed from being thoroughly European in the years before the Indian Rebellion, to becoming increasingly orientalised with the advent of militaristic masculinity and martial race ideology.

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[30] Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression,* (Oxford and New York, 2005), p. 29.
[31] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* p. 29.
[32] Scott Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea,* (London, 2013), pp. 15, 27, 44.
[33] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 34.
[34] Ibid., p. 34.

Pre-1857 Uniforms

The uniforms of the regular armies in the pre-Mutiny period were marked by two major impulses: to replicate as far as possible the designs of the uniforms of the British Army, and to maintain hierarchical distinctions between European and colonial soldiers. As noted, uniforms are now recognised as being powerful sites for the articulation of collective identities, and have been defined as 'the legitimating emblem of membership within an organisation'.[35] The infantry, artillery and cavalry uniforms of the regular presidency armies in the pre-Mutiny period closely followed the designs of the British army, and reveal an impulse to establish an affinity (and collective identity) with this metropolitan force. At the same time, the designs of the uniforms worn by locally raised troops acted to exhibit, and foster, the racialised boundary between 'Briton' and 'Indian'.[36] The dress of the presidency armies in this period thus signalled an affiliation with European counterparts, while sartorially distancing the British officers from their locally raised troops.

The majority of troops in the East India Company presidency armies were infantry soldiers. The Anglo-Indian infantry troops wore red coats from at least the 1750s and in so doing aesthetically tied East India Company infantrymen with those of the British Army.[37] Red coats had been the distinguishing feature of English troops since the reign of Elizabeth I, the red colour being associated with the red cross of St George.[38]

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[35] Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing* (New York, 1986)*,* pp. 1-2.

[36] Sylvia Hopkins, 'A Compromise in Clothing: Uniform of the East India Company and Indian Armies, c. 1700-1947', in Alan J. Guy and Peter B. Boyden (eds.), *Soldiers of the Raj: The Indian Army 1600-1947,* (London, 1997), p. 125

[37] Stuart Reid and Gerry Embleton, *Armies of the East India Company 1750-1850,* (Oxford and New York 2009), p. 16.

[38] W.Y. Carmen (ed.), *Richard Simkin's Uniforms of the British Army: Infantry, Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and other corps,* (Exeter, 1985), p. 109

Dress regulations and portraiture show that red jackets were retained within the infantry regiments of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies throughout the pre-rebellion period. The Bombay's Army Regulations from 1801, for example, ordered scarlet jackets, with silver embroidery, and yellow cuffs and collars.[39] The Code of Bengal Military Regulations 1817 also ordered red jackets, and introduced white buff leather belts and sashes of crimson silk to accompany them.[40] These, too, linked East India Company uniforms to those of the British Army; white leather belts were a distinguishing feature of British army uniforms throughout the nineteenth century.[41] By the 1840s the infantry jackets had become standardised; the Madras Army Dress Regulations issued in November 1838 and the Standing Orders for the Bengal Native Infantry in 1840, for example, used identical language and called for a scarlet coat, with 'two rows of uniform buttons, ten in each row, in pairs' for dress uniform.[42] The dress uniforms (worn on formal occasions) also contained iconic European design features from this period; dress tunics were for instance issued with gold epaulettes.[43] Epaulettes are ornamental shoulder pieces that are designed to communicate the rank of the wearer. Their origins extend back to Greco-Roman military dress, but they were popularised in the eighteenth century French cavalry.[44] Regulations in January 1832 show that the Bombay Native Infantry officers' uniform also followed this pattern.[45] Figure 3 is a watercolour from a series of paintings of

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[39] National Army Museum, Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, General Code of Military Regulations in force under the Presidency of Bombay, 1801.

[40] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, General Code of Military Regulations in force under the Presidency of Bengal, 1817.

[41] See for example: Bruce Bassett-Powell, 'Accoutrements for Lancer Other Ranks, 1881-1885', Lancers Weapons, Equipment, and Horse Furniture, http://www.uniformology.com/LANCERS-11.html (6 June 2020); Bruce Bassett-Powell, 'Accoutrements for Other Ranks, 1881-1885', Dragoon Guards and Dragoons- Uniforms, Arms and Equipment, http://www.uniformology.com/HEAVY-CAV-11.html (6 June 2020).

[42] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Madras Army Dress Regulations November 1838; Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Standing Orders for Bengal Native Infantry, 1840;

[43] Ibid.

[44] John Mollo, *Military Fashion: A Comparative History of the Uniforms of the Great Armies from the 17th Century to the First World War,* (London, 1972)*,* p. 49

[45] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Supplement to the General Code of Military Regulations Bombay, 1832.

military uniforms by Charles Lyall that depicts a Madras infantry officer from this era. The red jacket, gold epaulettes and buttons, as described in the regulations, are visible.

Figure 3: Charles Lyall, Madras Light Infantry European Officer India, 1844. (1903). One of a suite of 136 numbered original watercolours of uniform figures. Anne S.K. Brown Military collection, Brown Digital Repository, Brown University Library.

The colour of the jacket was not the only element that linked it to the Royal infantry regiments. By 1801, the Bombay regulations refer to 'facing' colours on the scarlet jackets of the Native Infantry. The inclusion of a facing colour was a common tailoring technique for European military uniforms and involves the visible inside lining of a military jacket, coat or tunic being made a colour different from that of the

garment itself.[46] Facing colours became widespread among European armies during the eighteenth century, and enabled visual distinction between different regiments, each having their own colours. The British army used facing colours in all arms, and the inclusion of facing colours on East India Company jackets was a subtle, yet important, addition that ensured the company soldiers' uniforms were part of the same visual and material language.

East India Company infantry trousers also followed the fashion of the British army. At the beginning of the nineteenth century regulations called for the white pantaloons that were traditionally associated with royal infantry regiments.[47] During the latter stages of the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815) the infantry of the British Army abandoned the white colour in favour of greyish-blue trousers for winter wear, and subsequently (in 1828) adopted very dark blue, so called 'Oxford mixture' trousers.[48] The infantry regiments of the presidency armies followed the same trajectory. Between the 1820s and 1830s, infantry officers wore light blue trousers with a scarlet stripe, emulating the grey-blue trousers of the British army in the Napoleonic era. [49] Dress regulations for the Bombay infantry provisionally introduced trousers of Oxford mixture in 1832, and by 1838 and 1840 trousers for dress and undress uniforms in the Bengal Native Infantry and the Madras Native Infantry were ordered to be of 'oxford mixture, with a stripe of scarlet cloth down the outward seam'. [50] As in the British army, the presidency armies retained white linen trousers for hot weather.

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[46] Otto Von Pivka and Richard Hook, *Napoleon's German Allies*, (London, 1979). Online edn.
[47] See for example: Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Madras Code of Military Regulations, 1806.
[48] R.M. Barnes, *A History of the Regiments & Uniforms of the British Army*, (London, 1972), p. 249, 253.
[49] Boris Mollo, *The Indian Army,* (Dorset, 1981), p. 66.
[50] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Supplement to the General Code of Military Regulations Bombay, 1832; Standing Orders for Bengal Native Infantry, 1840; Madras Army Dress Regulations 1838.

The headwear of British officers in presidency infantry regiments also closely followed the changing British patterns, and regulations sometimes directly stated that headwear should be 'of the pattern in use in H.M's service'.[51] British officers of the infantry wore shakos; tall, cylindrical military caps, usually with visors and usually adorned with some kind of ornamental plate or badge on the front, and often with a feather, plume or pompom attached at the top.[52] The Shako was based on the Hungarian *csakos ssuveg* (or *csákó),* which was adopted by the British army in emulation of the Hungarian Hussar troops. Hussars were fast, light cavalry troops whose uniforms became associated with the light cavalry role they performed, as well as with their independence, speed, and glamour.[53] From 1800 until the mid-nineteenth century, the shako was a common military headdress, worn by the majority of regiments in the armies of Europe, within both cavalry and infantry regiments.[54]

Figure 4 is a portrait from around 1838 of Lieutenant Robert Hay, of the 50th Bengal Native Infantry. In the background, we can see the bell-top shako, with the 'gilt star plate with regimental ornaments…feather, white, upright hackle, with a gilt socket' as described in the Standing Orders of 1840.[55]

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[51] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Madras Code of Military Regulations, 1806.
[52] Carmen, *Uniforms of the British Army,* p. 220.
[53] Thomas Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress: European Empires and Exotic Uniforms,* (Oxford, 1999), p. 46.
[54] Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress,* p. 44-46.
[55] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Standing Orders for Bengal Native Infantry, 1840.
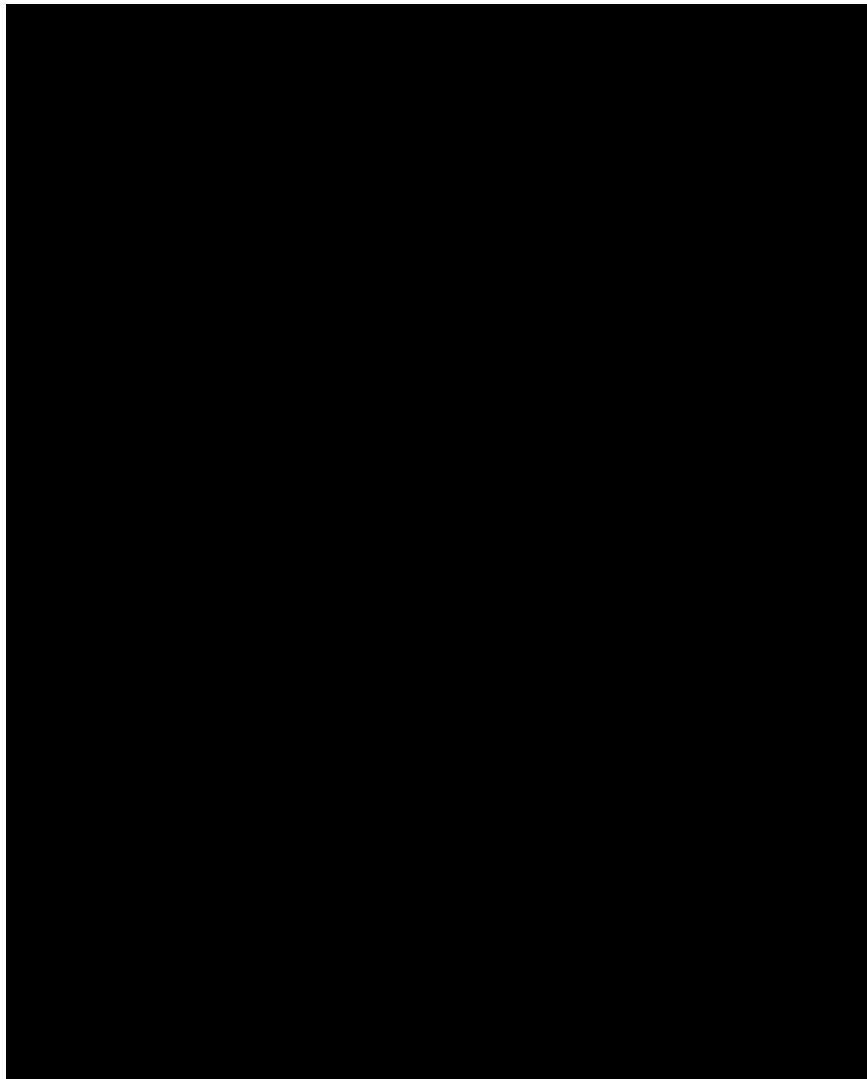
Figure 4: Unknown artist, Lieutenant Robert Hay, 50th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, 1838. Oil on canvas, c. 1838. National Army Museum (NAM.1959-12-224-), London.

The emulation of British army uniforms and inclusion of European design elements was a feature of all arms of the presidency armies. Horse Artillery uniforms, for example, were also closely aligned to their British Army counterparts. The Standing Orders of the Brigade of Horse Artillery, Bombay, 1829, note that the dress jacket had been 'made according to a pattern…understood to be the same as that of the Royal Horse Artillery'.[56]

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[56] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Standing Orders of the Brigade of Horse Artillery, Bombay, 1829.

Accordingly, the uniforms for the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Horse

Artillery regiments replicated the flamboyance of British horse artillery uniforms, and

incorporated the same European elements that made up the British design. The

dress jackets were dark blue, round shell jackets, with scarlet Prussian collars.[57]

The Prussian collar was to be laced 'entirely round the edges with gold lace and

ornamented with an edging of narrow Russia braid', a style of braiding popular

within European armies in the nineteenth century, and extensively used in the

British Horse artillery, as well as the light and heavy cavalries.[58] They were

characterised by heavy gold braiding and lace. Figure 5 is a portrait of Colonel

Francis Strange, of the Royal Horse Artillery, painted in 1869. Below it is a portrait

of 'An Officer of the Eagle Troop' from the Bombay Horse Artillery, circa 1850.

Despite the nineteen-year gap between these portraits, they give a sense of the

similarities between the Royal and Presidency Horse Artillery dress jackets. We can

see, for example, the heavy use of gold braiding and the similar combination of gold

buttons and hooks and eyes.

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[57] See: Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, Standing Orders of the Brigade of Horse Artillery, Bombay 1829; Madras Army Dress Regulations 1838; Bombay Artillery Standing Orders, 1844; Standing Orders for the Regiment of Artillery, Bengal 1845; Dress Regulations of the Madras Army, 1851.

[58] Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731 Bombay Artillery Standing Orders, 1844; Bruce Basset-Powell, 'Full Dress Tunics', Heavy Cavalry Uniforms, Arms & Equipment- Dragoon Guards and Dragoons, Uniformology. http://www.uniformology.com/HEAVY-CAV-02.html (1 June 2020).
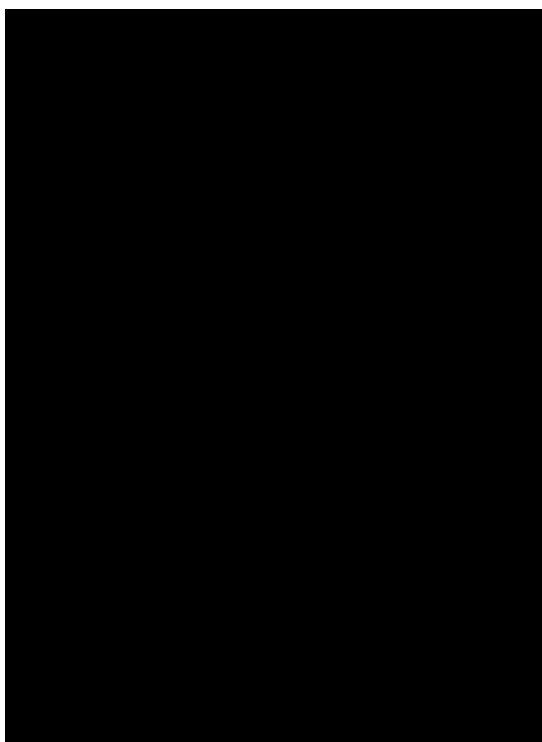
Figure 5: Colonel Francis Strange, Royal Horse Artillery, 1869. Oil on canvas by an unknown artist, 1869. National Army Museum (NAM.1968-10-33-1), London.

Figure 6: Unknown artist, *An Officer of the Eagle Troop, Bombay Horse Artillery*. Oil on canvas 1850 (c). National Army Museum (NAM 1969-07-37-1), London.

The uniforms of the regular cavalry regiments of the East India Company presidency armies were also based on European designs. The regular Cavalry regiments of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay armies had a distinctive French grey uniform. This was first brought in for Bengal in 1810, for Madras in 1817 and Bombay in 1819.[59] The French grey colour was associated with Hussar and Dragoon uniforms in the British army, and associated with light cavalry regiments across Europe. The general order that established the French grey uniform in the Bengal Cavalry read: 'the uniform of the native cavalry is to be French grey with orange coloured facings, white buttons and lace'.[60] Below, a watercolour sketch by C.P. Lawson (Figure 7) illustrates this dress uniform. The watercolour also details the bell-top shako with a red and white feathered plume, the crimson sash and the black trousers with two silver stripes down the outer seam, which were the mainstays of the uniform for the rest of the pre-Mutiny period.[61] The undress jacket was dark blue with broad silver lace down the front and orange or black facings, and didn't become French grey until 1847.[62]

This uniform was largely the same for the British officers of the Madras and Bombay cavalries, aside from some small differences in facing and trouser colour.[63] The overall appearance of East India Company regular cavalry uniforms was very similar—and thoroughly European—across all presidency armies in the pre-rebellion era.

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[59] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 21.
[60] General Order of the Commander in Chief (G.O.C.C.), 5 March 1810, quoted in Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Code of Bengal Military Regulations, 1817.
[61] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 55.
[62] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* pp. 52-55.
[63] Facing colours were silver and white, rather than the orange and red colours of Bengal. The Madras and Bombay dress trousers were also either sky or dark blue, with sky blue undress trousers, rather than the black trousers worn in the Bengal Cavalry's dress uniform. See: Mollo, *The Indian Army,* pp. 61-62.

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Figure 7: C.P. Lawson, 7th Bengal Light Cavalry. Watercolour, undated. National Army Museum, London.

Uniforms Worn by Locally Raised Troops

The emphasis on European styles within the regular presidency armies extended to

the uniforms of the locally raised officers and soldiers, which became progressively

'Europeanised' in the pre-rebellion period. So-called 'native' soldiers and officers

wore jackets that were based on European styles and patterns, and were often very

similar to those of their European commanding officers. However, there appears to

have been a desire to distinguish between the British and South Asian soldiers of

the East India Company via their trousers and headwear. Consequently, at the

same time as the uniforms drew locally raised soldiers and officers into a shared

European visual culture, this was qualified via leg wear and headwear that acted to maintain racial differences and hierarchies. This occurred from the earliest days of the East India Company and into the nineteenth century via garments such as jangheeas, otherwise known as shorts or cholnas. Visible in Figure 8, jangheeas were white shorts that sat above the knee, often with a pattern around the base.
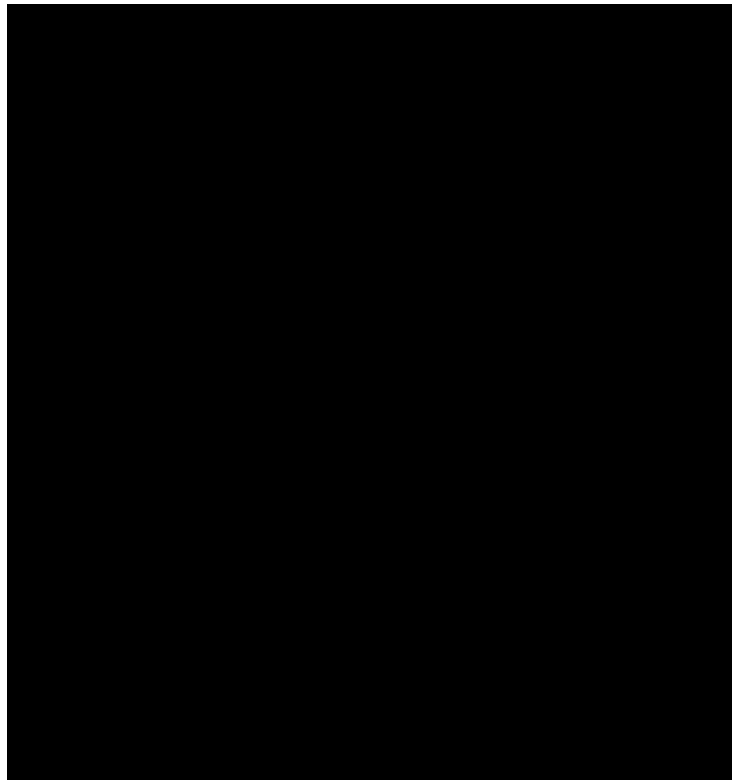
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Figure 8: Unidentified Company Artist *, 7th Bengal Light Cavalry.* **Watercolour, 1815, Patna. National Army Museum (NAM. 1982-04-291-1). London.**

Wearing jangheeas, as opposed to pantaloons or trousers, was indicative of lower status. At first it was compulsory for locally raised troops to wear jangheeas at all times, but by 1802 it was possible for Indian officers to wear pantaloons instead, provided they could pay for them themselves.[64] Locally raised soldiers in the early

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[64] See: G.O.C.C. 1 November 1796, quoted in Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Code of Bengal Military Regulations 1817; G.O.C.C. 11 November 1802, in Code of Bengal Military Regulations 1817.

nineteenth century thus had the privilege of wearing pantaloons associated with the British only if they had the appropriate rank and financial capability.

The British granted the right to wear pantaloons to locally raised soldiers only slowly, and there was considerable anxiety surrounding these changes. In 1813, for example, there was a flurry of orders issued concerning jangheeas. In May an order stipulated that pantaloons could not be provided to other ranks (i.e. those who were not officers) without the authority of the commander in chief.[65] A further order in October of that year dictated that pantaloons could be worn only between 1 October to 1 April, and that in all other seasons, men should appear in jangheeas.[66] This was hastily rescinded six months later.[67] The flurry of orders regarding jangheeas reveals an anxiety over relaxing the visual boundaries between native and European troops. The jhangeeas were finally replaced by pantaloons in the early 1820s, but distinctions between British and native troops remained in the headwear.

'Turbans', as can be seen in Figure 8, were sanctioned for much of the pre-mutiny period. These were seen as a compromise between the turban styles of South Asian people, and the shakos worn by the British, and came in many shapes and sizes, from 'sun dials' to a slanting version of the bell-topped shako, and bulbous round hats with a ball in the centre of the crown.[68]

Uniforms within the regular units of the presidency armies consequently acted simultaneously to associate the British officers with their counterparts in the

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[65] G.O.C.C. 1 May 1813, quoted in Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Code of Bengal Military Regulations, 1813.
[66] G.O.C.C. 1 October 1813, quoted in Typescript Transcripts of the Dress Regulations for the Indian Presidency Armies 1791-1873, NAM. 1982-04-731, Code of Bengal Military Regulations 1817.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Hopkins, 'A Compromise in Clothing', p. 121.

British Army, and also to establish a visual language that at once linked and stratified European and Indian troops. As Jude Fokwang observed, uniforms are a special type of clothing because they express both similarity and difference.[69] This can be seen clearly in the uniforms of the pre-Mutiny period; the uniforms at once established a common identity between British and native troops through the use of European designs, but also expressed and reinforced colonial and racial hierarchies through the qualifications to this 'European-ness' in native soldiers' garments.

Irregular Cavalry Regiments

The exception to the European image of the regular armies were the units of irregular cavalry which incorporated elements of 'Eastern' design into their uniforms throughout the pre-Mutiny period. As described in chapter 2, irregular cavalry regiments were non-standard regiments that were distinct from the regular presidency armies, although they generally remained associated with of one of them. The majority of irregular cavalry regiments in this period were associated with the Bengal army, and made up the Bengal Irregular Cavalry. These included famous and highly decorated regiments such as Skinner's Horse. Irregular cavalry regiments were not irrelevant, nor considered backwards or inferior; they were prestigious and desirable regiments for ambitious British soldiers.[70] The systems of promotion under the East India Company meant that promotion in the regular armies was extremely slow; career advances were based on regimental seniority and length of service, rather than merit.[71] Ambitious soldiers consequently often sought employment in the irregular cavalry where advancement was easier. The popularity of irregular cavalry regiments meant that while the number of regular light

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[69] Jude Fokwang, 'Fabrics of Identity: Uniforms, Gender and Associations in the Cameroon Grassfields', *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute,* 85:4, (2015), p. 679.
[70] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 55.
[71] Streets, *Martial Races,* pp. 26-27.

cavalry regiments remained relatively static until 1857, the irregular regiments of the Bengal Cavalry steadily increased from 1825.[72]

As we have seen, irregular cavalry regiments were organised on the silladar system, meaning recruits supplied their own mount, as well as their attendants, accoutrements, clothing and some of their weapons.[73] Uniforms were therefore not regulated and Indian recruits wore their indigenous military dress. Regulations for the British officers in irregular cavalry regiments covered no more than the basic uniform details, and officers wore elaborate uniforms inspired by the dress of their troops. Due to the dearth of textual sources to reconstruct the dress of British officers in these units, it is necessary to rely on visual sources, and work by military historians, to gain an understanding of their costume.

One of the most famous regiments of irregular cavalry from the pre-mutiny period was Skinner's Horse. James Skinner raised the regiment in 1803, and from the first the uniform was distinctive- the rank and file wore red turbans and kummerbunds with yellow kurtas. Skinner was of mixed European and Indian ancestry, his mother being Rajput and his father Scottish, and his choice of yellow kurtas is believed to have been based on an ancient Rajput custom; warriors riding into battle would vow to win or die in the attempt, and would anoint their faces with saffron and put on 'clothes of the dead': yellow robes tied over their armour with yellow sashes.[74]

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[72] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 55.
[73] Lord Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816- 1919,* (London, 1983), Vol.2.: 1851-1871, p. 240; Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 18.:
[74] National Army Museum, 'Skinner's Horse at Exercise, c.1840', https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1968-12-31-1 (4 April 2019).

Anglo-Indian soldiers of Skinner's Horse wore yellow kurtas. A kurta is a straight-cut, loose-fitting upper garment that falls either just above, or somewhere below the knees of the wearer, often with either a small collar or no collar at all.[75] Kurtas were traditionally worn by men in present-day Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, and in this period associated with the Indian rank and file.[76] In Skinner's Horse, Anglo-Indian officers also wore red kamarbands. The kamarband, anglicised to 'cummerbund', literally meaning 'waist-band' (from the Persian words 'kamar' and 'band') was a broad waist sash of South Asian origin.[77] The garment's history and aesthetic was inextricably entwined with that of the loincloth, having originally been a loin band tied between the legs. The British had long seen the loincloth as evidence of the inferiority of the Indian race, and something that symbolised its 'backwardness and barbarism'.[78] The kamarband was thus associated with this perception of otherness. Further, because of the way it was tied, the kamarband was also an example of the draped clothing that Emma Tarlo argues was understood as both 'graceful' and 'disgraceful' by Anglo-Indian society.[79] Draped clothes and garments were seen as indicative not only of barbarism (disgrace) but also the effeminacy (grace) of Indian men.[80] Within the regular armies, the kamarband was confined to the dress of native soldiers and officers, and were one of the garments that acted to distinguish sepoys from Anglo-Indian officers. The use of kamarbands and the traditional Rajput yellow kurta in Skinner's Horse meant that these Anglo-Indian officers, who were following the dress of their indigenous recruits, cut a distinctly 'oriental' appearance, and looked quite different from their analogues in the regular Bengal, Madras, and Bombay armies.

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[75] Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p. 163.
[76] Ritu Kumar, *Costumes and Textiles of Royal India,* (London, 1999), p. 248.
[77] Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* p. 33.
[78] Ibid.; Hopkins, 'A Compromise in Clothing', p. 121-122.
[79] Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* p. 33.
[80] Ibid.

According to Mollo, officers of the 2nd regiment of Skinners Horse, otherwise known as the 8th Irregular Cavalry, also wore an elaborate blue and gold pagri.[81] A pagri, or turban, is a long length of material that was worn wrapped around either the head or the helmet. The inclusion of pagris in officers uniforms was a departure from European headwear, and was a feature of several irregular cavalry uniforms in this period. As we have seen, within the regular cavalry regiments, turbans, or British-sanctioned hybrid versions of them, were used to distinguish locally raised troops from their European commanding officers and were tools that maintained racial hierarchies. The adoption of turbans, or pagris, alongside kurtas and kamarbands, within the irregular cavalry regiments meant that British officers blurred the strict colonial hierarchies maintained within the regular units.

The dress uniform of Gardner's Horse (also known as the 2nd Irregular Cavalry) was similarly elaborate (Figure 10). Gardner's Horse was an irregular cavalry unit raised by William Linnaeus Gardner on 12 May 1809.[82] A portrait of Lieutenant General Sir John Bennet Hearsey held in the National Army Museum indicates the (dress) uniform style of the British officers. The portrait shows him wearing a long alkaluk with gold cuffs and collar, lined with red and heavily laced with silver.

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[81] Mollo, The Indian Army, p. 55-56.
[82] W.Y Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms Under the British from the 18th Century to 1947: Cavalry,* (London, 1968), p. 56.
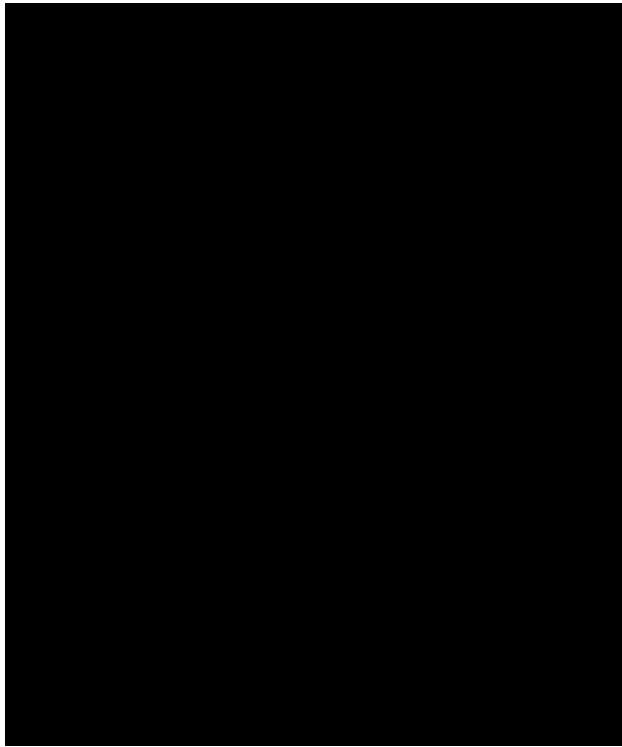
Figure 9: Henry Martens, An Officer of the 1st Bengal Irregular Cavalry. Oil on canvas, c. 1850. National Army Museum, (NAM. 1964-10-4-1), London.
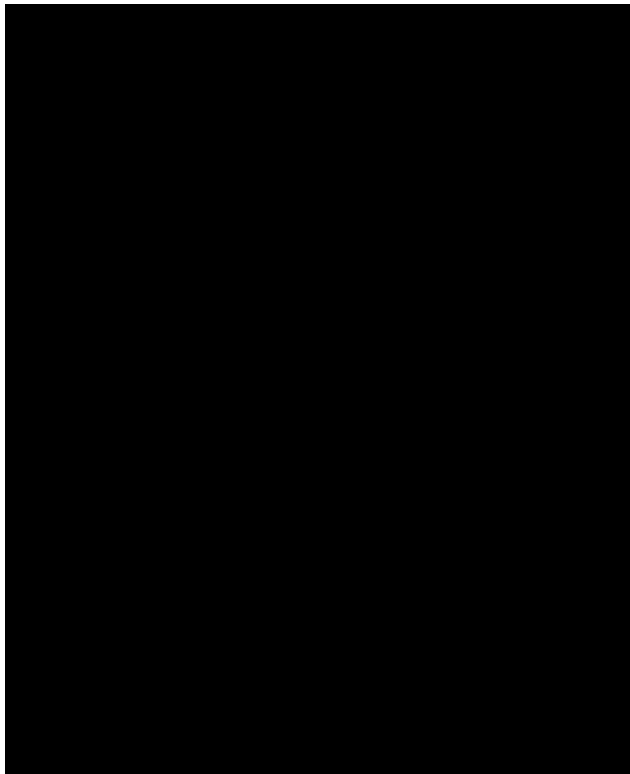
Figure 10: Unknown artist, Lieutenant General Sir John Bennet Hearsey, 2nd Bengal Irregular Cavalry (Gardner's horse). Oil on canvas, c. 1839. National Army Museum (1984-11-227-1).

The alkaluk was introduced to India from Persia, and is a collarless garment worn over a shirt and reaches below the knees.[83] Hearsey is also depicted wearing a heavily embroidered and beaded kamarband and red pajamas. The kamarband, combined with the alkalulk and pyjamas creates a striking image. The uniform is remarkable both for the degree to which it departs from the British-style uniforms so stringently adhered to in the regular cavalry regiments, and also for the degree to which it flouts contemporary civilian fashion etiquette.

The uniform worn by Gardner was not exceptional. Kamarbands featured in almost all irregular cavalry uniforms and were often brightly coloured, or paisley patterned, and heavily embroidered. The pyjamas featured in the picture of Gardner were replicated in the uniforms of British officers in other irregular cavalry regiments such as the 9th and 10th, 12th and 18th Irregular Cavalry regiments.[84] Lavish embroidery and decoration was replicated across other regiments; the uniforms of Hawke's Horse, 2nd Skinner's Horse and the 15th Irregular Cavalry were all decorated with gold lace, and the uniform of officers in the 10th irregular regiment was decorated with heavy gold embroidery.[85]

Designs similar to the orientalised uniforms of the irregular cavalries would, as the century progressed, become prominent within the regular regiments of the Indian Army. However, in the pre-mutiny period, uniforms that incorporated elements of Indian design remained in the minority. The uniforms of most Anglo-Indian officers (i.e. those in the regular army regiments) were closely linked to those of the British army, and so materially performed the officers' British identity. In the pre-rebellion period, East India Company uniforms generally identified the wearers

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[83] Toolika Gupta, 'The influence of British rule on elite Indian menswear: The Birth of the Sherwani', (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016), p. 21.
[84] Mollo, The Indian Army, p. 56.
[85] Mollo, The Indian Army, pp. 55-56.

as belonging to the white colonial elite and to a broader, pan-imperial British militaristic identity.

1857- 1859- Indian Rebellion and the Cultural Phenomenon of the Martial Races

The 1857 Indian rebellion was a significant turning point in the history of Indian Army dress. This is for two reasons: firstly, in the chaos of war and absence of supervision, uniforms were less regulated and soldiers made improvisations to their uniforms. Secondly, the social, cultural, political and military phenomenon of the martial races took hold. The former encouraged the move away from rigidly aping the dress of the British army, resulting in the British officers' taking on a more 'colonial' appearance. The latter greatly influenced the direction of Indian Army fashion after the rebellion. In this section I will describe the shift away from strictly European style uniforms among British soldiers, and then move on describe how during the rebellion era, an association was built up between martial race soldiers' idealised militarism and masculinity, and a particular aesthetic. This colonial fantasy of the ideal colonial subject formed the basis of the Indian Army uniforms that were introduced after the rebellion, and that will be explored in the final section.

Adoption of Khaki by British Soldiers

During the rebellion of 1857-1859 adherence to dress regulations was inconsistent and soldiers, officers, and regiments often improvised changes to their dress. These changes were only patchily recorded; during the chaos of war little time remains to

record changes and simplifications of uniform.[86] However, it is clear from visual and written sources that the 1857-1859 period was an era in which Anglo-Indian army uniforms began to move away from European-style uniforms. In particular, there was a move towards looser garments that were khaki.

Khaki uniforms were a product of colonialism. The first use of khaki predated the Mutiny and was associated with Harry Lumsden and the Corps of Guides.[87] When Lumsden raised the Corps of Guides, he was allowed to select the uniform for the recruits.[88] One narrative is that Lumsden bought mud-coloured clothing from the local bazaar for the regiment.[89] Another is that he bought up white cloth at the bazaar at Lahore, and took the white cotton cloth down to the river bank where it was soaked in water and rubbed with mud, before being dried and ironed, and cut into loose blouses and trousers.[90] Either way, by 1848 William Hodson, the second-in-command and adjutant of the Corps of Guides, ordered 'drab' cloth from Britain for the expanding guides, after being told by Lumsden, 'we must do them all brown'.[91]

During the rebellion, the use of khaki coloured clothing increased markedly. Regiments shed their dress and undress uniforms and adopted khaki clothing in an ad-hoc manner; often with regiments copying other regiments. For example, Whitehorne has described in detail how the 52nd and 61st regiments dyed their white uniforms before leaving Silakot and Ferozepore respectively to join the army in front of Delhi.[92] They were copied in turn by other British regiments who arrived at Delhi

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[86] Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms Under the British*, p. vii.
[87] Charles Allen, *Soldier Sahibs: The Men who made the North-West Frontier,* (London, 2000), p. 100.
[88] Tynan, *British Army Uniform,* p. 1-2.
[89] Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p. 114.
[90] A.C. Whitehorne, 'Khaki and Service Dress', *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research,* 15, (1936), p. 181.
[91] Patrick Cadell, 'The Beginnings of Khaki', *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research,* 31, (1953), pp. 132-133.
[92] Whitehorne, 'Khaki and Service Dress', p. 181.

and also dyed their white uniforms khaki.[93] Figure 11, a watercolour by George Franklin Atkinson, gives some idea of this ad-hoc process. The picture shows infantry officers 'hastening to Umbala' after the outbreak of the Mutiny. It shows troops abandoning their red undress jackets in favour of shirtsleeves, and it appears that some of the men inside the bullock carriage are wearing khaki shirts. The illustration captures the transitional, improvisational nature of the Mutiny for uniforms.
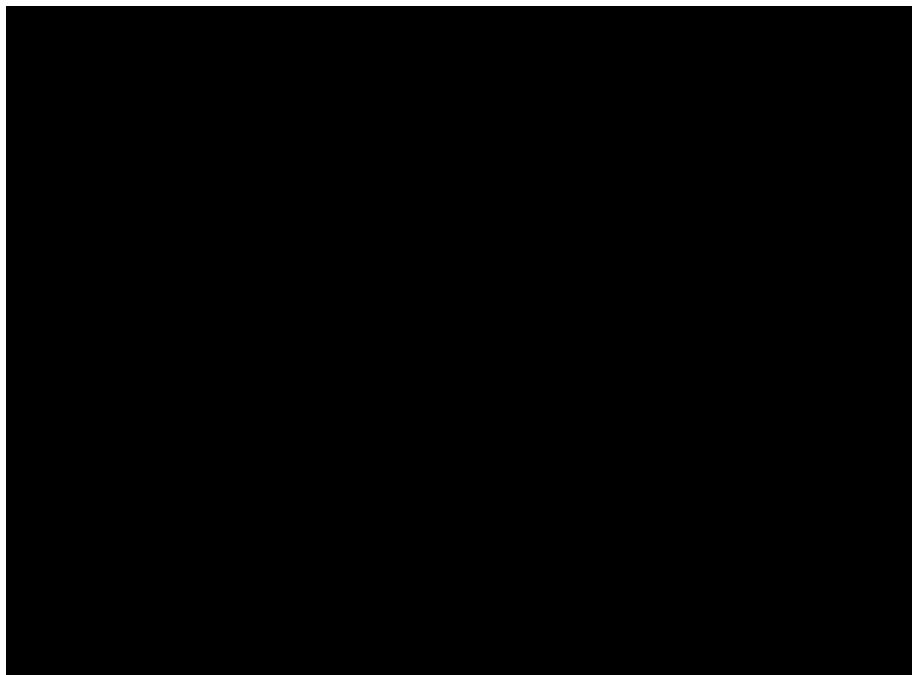
Figure 11: George Franklin Atkinson, Troops hastening to Umbala. From the series, The Campaign in India, 1857-58. Engraving, London, 1859. Image courtesy of Wikimedia. Commons.

Atkinson's watercolour also captures the white cap covers that were introduced for British soldiers during the rebellion. An order of 17th November 1857, for example, authorised the free issue of two cap covers to all European troops on their first arrival in India.[94] Another, dated 21 May, sanctioned the provision at public

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[93] Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p. 116-119.
[94] General Orders by the Commander in Chief (1857), IOR/L/MIL/17/2/306, 17 November 1857, p. 763.

expense of 'turbans for all the European troops of the force, who are at present unprovided with them'.[95]

As well as cap covers and pagris, the replacement of European-style forage caps (undress cloth caps) with wicker helmets also contributed to the 'colonial' appearance of the British officers in the Indian Army. An order of July 1859 required all regimental officers to provide themselves with a light felt or wicker helmet, which was to be worn on all duties upon which the forage cap was previously worn.[96] Wicker versions of the pith helmet had been in use for some time, but it was during the rebellion that soldiers were first widely dressed and depicted in these colonial-style helmets.
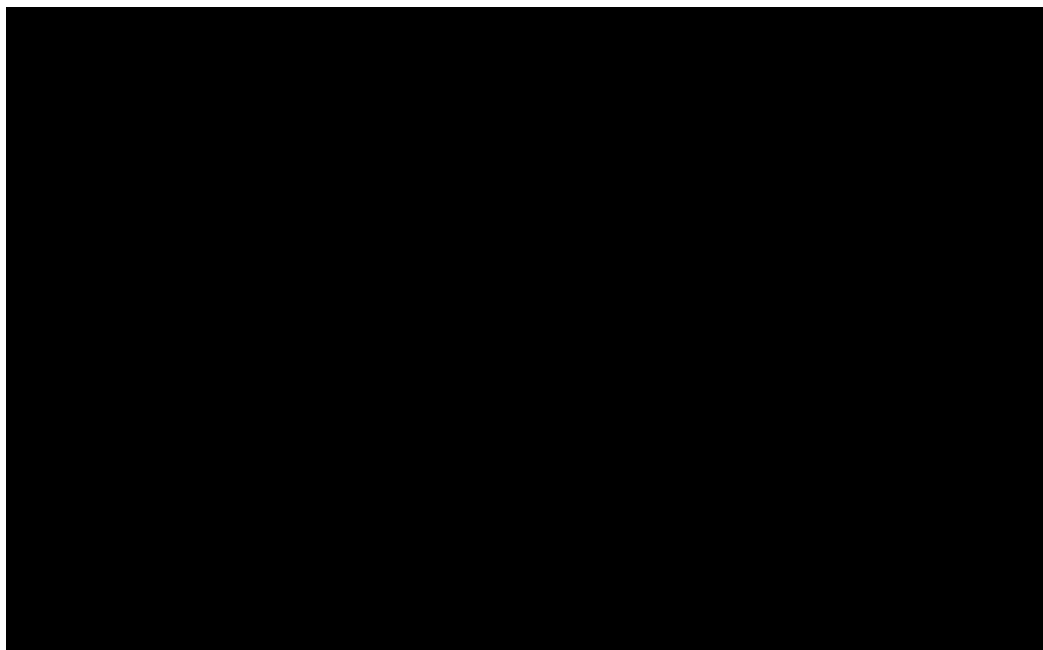
Figure 12: George Franklin Atkinson, *Hodson's Horse at Rhotuck*. From the series, *The Campaign in India, 1857-58.* Engraving, London, 1859. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 12 (see above) shows an Anglo-Indian officer in summer dress (prior to the adoption of khaki) with a red pagri wrapped around his wicker helmet (known

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[95] General Orders by the Commander in Chief (1857), IOR/L/MIL/17/2/306, 21 May 1857, p. 674.
[96] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 98.

as a pity helmet). Figure 13 (below) shows a British officer of Hodson's Horse with a white pagri wrapped around the helmet, illustrating the variation in colours that existed in different regiments.
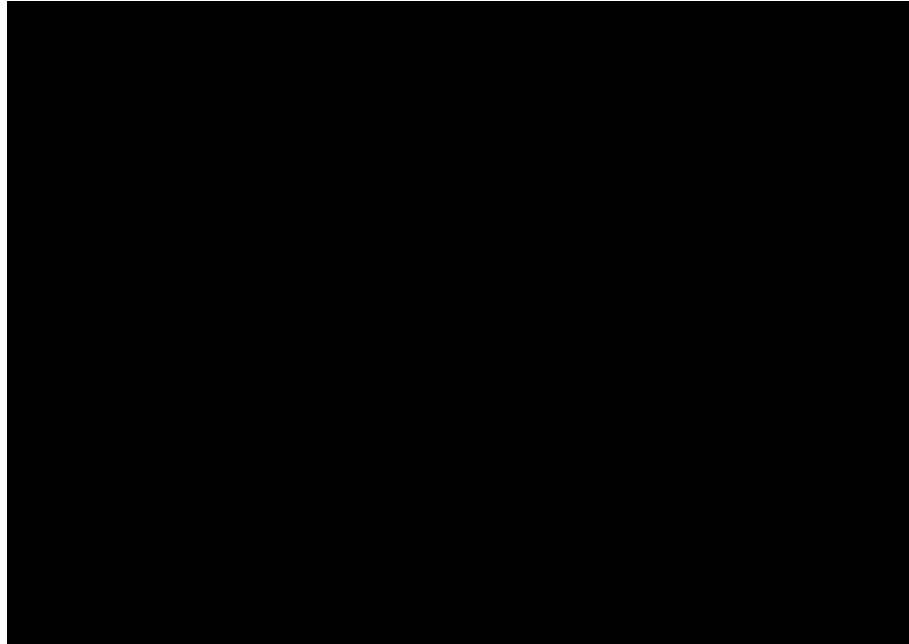
Figure 13: George Franklin Atkinson, *The Search for the Wounded*. From the series, *The Campaign in India, 1857-58.* Engraving, London, 1859. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

The changing direction of military fashion is also indicated by the choices officers made in selecting uniforms for new regiments raised during the mutiny. Several new regiments of irregular cavalry were raised during the rebellion to offset the shortage of cavalry caused by the defection of the regular cavalry regiments. These included three regiments of Hodson's Horse (1st-3rd), four regiments of Sikh cavalry (1st-4th Sikh Irregular Cavalry), Jat Horse Yeomanry and Fane's Horse, among others.[97] In these new units, Anglo-Indian officers generally wore wicker helmets in a drab colour, with pagris tied around them. Tunics were usually in drab or khaki colours, and drab overalls (i.e. trousers), or white breeches, and boots were

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[97] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* pp. 93-95.

worn.[98] Anglo-Indian officers of some other regiments also wore actual turbans, rather than pagris wrapped around helmets. For example, officers of the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry wore blue turbans, and the officers of Robert's Horse wore red ones.[99]

Historians of dress have typically put these changes of clothing solely down to the influence of 'battlefield realities'.[100] However, it is clear that soldiers also enjoyed the cultural rewards of shedding the constraints of British-style army uniforms. In her rebellion era memoir, Julia Inglis quoted a soldier named 'Birch' who described-- with palpable pride-- the difference between soldiers who had been fighting in the protracted Residency siege (such as himself), and those soldiers sent to relieve them:

'He was buttoned up to the chin in a blue coat. We of the old garrison had long deserted red and blue, and with flannel shirts, white clothing dyed dust-colour and soiled with gun powder, we looked more like buccaneers than officers of the British army'.[101]

This attitude was common across the armed forces in the nineteenth century; veterans of battle often preferred their campaign uniforms which had lost their glossy newness.[102] It became fashionable among officers across the world to favour uniforms that looked a little worn; new uniforms, in contrast, could be associated with new, untried, inexperienced officers sent out from Britain.[103] Battle-worn garments acted as reminders of heroic deeds and symbols of valour.[104] In the

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[98] Ibid., pp. 93, 95; Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms Under the British,* p. 75.
[99] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 95.
[100] See for example: Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* pp.121-124.
[101] Julia Selina Inglis, *The Siege of Lucknow: A Diary,* (London, 1892), p. 70
[102] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 117.
[103] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 117.
[104] Ibid.*,* p. 117.

context of colonial India, the hybrid uniforms associated with the Indian rebellion similarly acted as signs of bravery and participation in an emotionally-charged war. Soldiers in the irregular armies— particularly the newly formed irregular regiments that had adopted more items of Indian dress than those soldiers of regular regiments-- enjoyed the experience of cultural cross dressing and were admired for doing so. When J.W. Sherer recorded meeting Dighton Probyn, it was clear that his colonial style dress added to his impressive appearance:

'By his side was sitting a tall, broad, and full-fleshed man in khakee uniform dress and a turbaned helmet…very free spoken, animated enough in his manner, and defiant rather in gesture. He was a man about whom interest was automatically excited…As it was the first time I had seen him I did not know who he was. But the rumour soon spread…Of course, one looked more minutely at him then, for he was quite the hero of the hour, and certainly for decision, command, dash, and that is necessary to inspire confidence, and ensure obedience, he looked every inch his reputation'.[105]

The khaki uniform and 'turbanded helmet' worn by Probyn made a significant enough contribution to Probyn 'looking every inch his reputation' as a hero for Sherer to include it in his description of him. The uniform was thus linked to his commanding and dashing appearance, which 'inspired confidence' and 'ensured obedience'.

The quote from Sherer neatly encapsulates both major changes surrounding uniform during the Indian rebellion. Firstly, it describes an Anglo-Indian soldier wearing khaki and a turban, and then, secondly, moves on to link these garments to

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[105] J.W. Sherer, *Daily Life During the Indian Mutiny: Personal Experiences of 1857,* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 58.

socially desirable masculine traits. The association between garments like the turban and drab clothing, and 'command' was significantly strengthened during the Indian Rebellion as a result of the development of martial race discourse. The following section will explore martial race discourse, and describe the particular aesthetic that became associated with soldiers from specific ethnic and cultural groups. Martial race ideology and the aesthetics associated are integral to understanding the orientalisation of British officers' uniforms in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Martial Race Soldiers and Marital Race Aesthetics

Historians have described the Indian rebellion as an essential event in the development of martial race ideology.[106] Martial race theory was a recruiting-doctrine-cum-political-theory that held that some races of men were inherently militaristic. The Indian rebellion closely influenced which religious and ethnic groups were defined as martial, and which were identified as effeminate.[107] Those who had rebelled against the British—high caste Bengali men, for example-- were cast as 'unmanly cowards', and fell out of favour with the Anglo-Indian officers.[108] Major Stoton, for example, wrote that Anglo-Indian officers should 'throw the high caste Rajhpoots of Bengal to- well, never mind where'.[109] In contrast, groups that were conspicuous for their roles in quelling the rebellion—chiefly the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Jats, Pathans and Punjabi Muslims-- became identified with a hyper-masculine and hyper-militarised form of masculinity.[110] After the Mutiny, British recruitment patterns shifted so that by the end of the century, the army was recruiting almost solely from

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[106] Heather Streets has written most extensively on this.
[107] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 11.
[108] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 11.
[109] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, T.H. Stoton Papers. Letter from T.H. Stoton to his father, 12 July 1857.
[110] David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: Indian Army, 1860-1940,* (London, 1994), pp. 10-35.

so-called martial race groups.[111] Sikh soldiers from the Punjab were particularly targeted for recruitment.[112]

Martial race soldiers were considered inherently gallant, disciplined, bold, and strong.[113] They were praised, within both military and popular culture, for their ardour, fierceness and untiring zeal.[114] Where high-caste Hindus were cast as effeminate enemies of the empire, sneaky and vengeful, martial race soldiers were the ideal partners in empire for the British.[115] Martial race soldiers were thought to have many of the characteristics and traits that were becoming increasingly prized by British men themselves—bravery, courage, and physicality-- as a result of militaristic masculinity becoming an increasingly hegemonic form of masculinity.[116]

During the rebellion, no group attracted as much attention as the Sikhs from the Punjab.[117] Sikhs were valorised as a particularly loyal, martial, courageous and stalwart group.[118] As discussed in chapter 2, they were first admired by the British during the Anglo-Sikh wars, but became revered during the Indian Mutiny. Sources describing Mutiny battles are peppered with exhortations of Sikh courage and heroic deeds. For example, in a letter describing the death of William Hodson, Commander of Irregular Cavalry regiment Hodson's Horse, Assistant Surgeon Thomas Anderson, described a 'large and powerful Sikh' (Nihal Singh) picking up the injured Hodson and carrying him 'in his arms out of danger'.[119] The cartoon in Figure 14

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[111] Omiss, *The Sepoy and the Raj,* p. 9.
[112] Tan Tai Yong, 'Sepoys and the Colonial State: Punjab and the Military Base of the Indian Army, 1849-1900', in Partha Sarathi Gupta and Anirudh Deshpande (eds), *The British Raj and its Indian Armed Forces,* 1857-1939, (Oxford, 2002), p. 18.
[113] Douglas Peers, 'The Martial Races and the Indian Army in the Victorian Era', in Daniel Marston and Chandar Sundaram (eds.), *A Military History of India and South East Asia: From the Company to the Nuclear Era,* (2008), pp. 34-53; Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 138.
[114] Streets, p. 66-67.
[115] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 68.
[116] Ibid.,. 66.
[117] Ibid., p. 63.
[118] Richard Gabriel Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making,* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 2.
[119] National Army Museum, Thomas Anderson Papers, NAM.1959-03-146. Letter from Thomas Anderson to unknown, March 1858.

encapsulates how Sikh soldiers were viewed after 1857; ideal colonial subjects—or as Streets puts it—the 'perfect complement to British power in India'.[120] Although there was broad understanding that martial race soldiers' racial proclivities for war and hyper-masculinity were based on an inherent barbarism, they were also generally regarded as essential allies in the maintenance and expansion of the Indian empire.
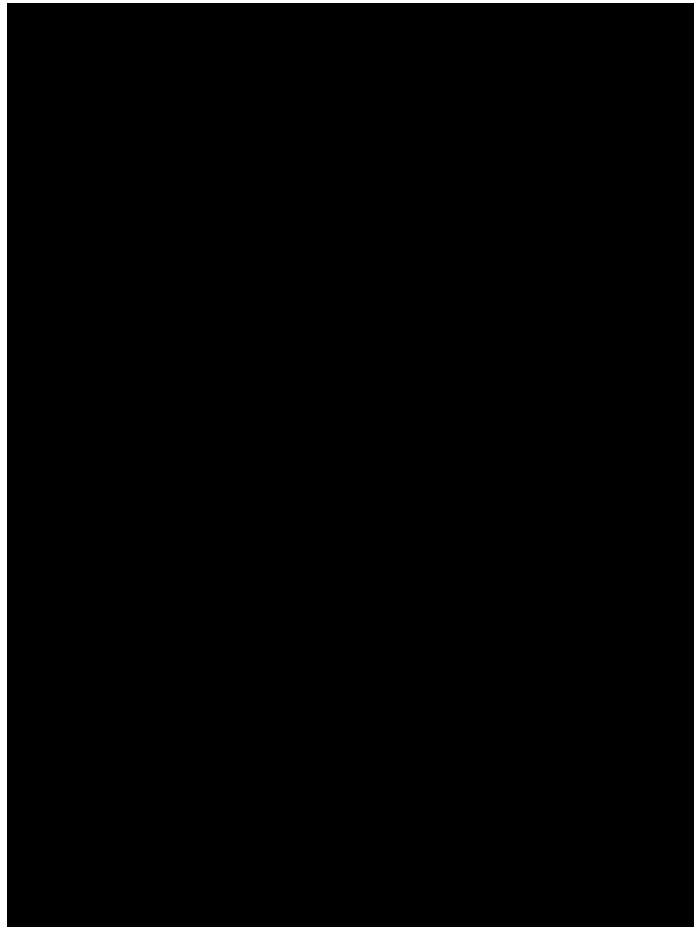
Figure 14: Anon., 'Brothers in Arms', ***Punch, Or the London Charivari,*** **18 September 1897.**

During the rebellion era, martial race soldiers were not only associated with certain characteristics, but also with a particular aesthetic. For the Sikh soldiers who made up the bulk of the so-called martial race troops this, too, had its roots in the Anglo-

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[120] Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 68.

Sikh Wars. During these wars, stories of the Sikh soldiers' impressive militarism sent to the newspapers by British officers and correspondents paired stories of their excellence with illustrations and descriptions of their uniforms. When the Khalsa army crossed the Sutlej triggering the First Anglo Sikh War, for example, the *Illustrated London News* featured an article entitled *Alkalees of the Sikh Army.* This described Sikhs as 'excellent soldiers, brave and vigilant, and are quickly rallied after a defeat'.[121] Alongside this was a description of their military dress: 'almost every one of the Sikh officers was dressed according to his own taste…some wore turbans, or caps with shawls and others helmets and chakos…some wore white trousers, and others coloured pantaloons'.[122] Accompanying these descriptions, was an illustration of the soldiers (Figure 15). The drawing depicted them dressed in cholas, with large cummerbunds tied around their waist, and wearing large, pointed turbans with quoits draped around them. Articles like this constructed and reinforced an association between the martial race soldiers' abilities, and their distinctive dress.

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[121] Anon., 'Akalees of the Sikh Army- From Von Orlich's Travels', *Illustrated London News,* 7 February 1846, p. 92.
[122] Ibid.
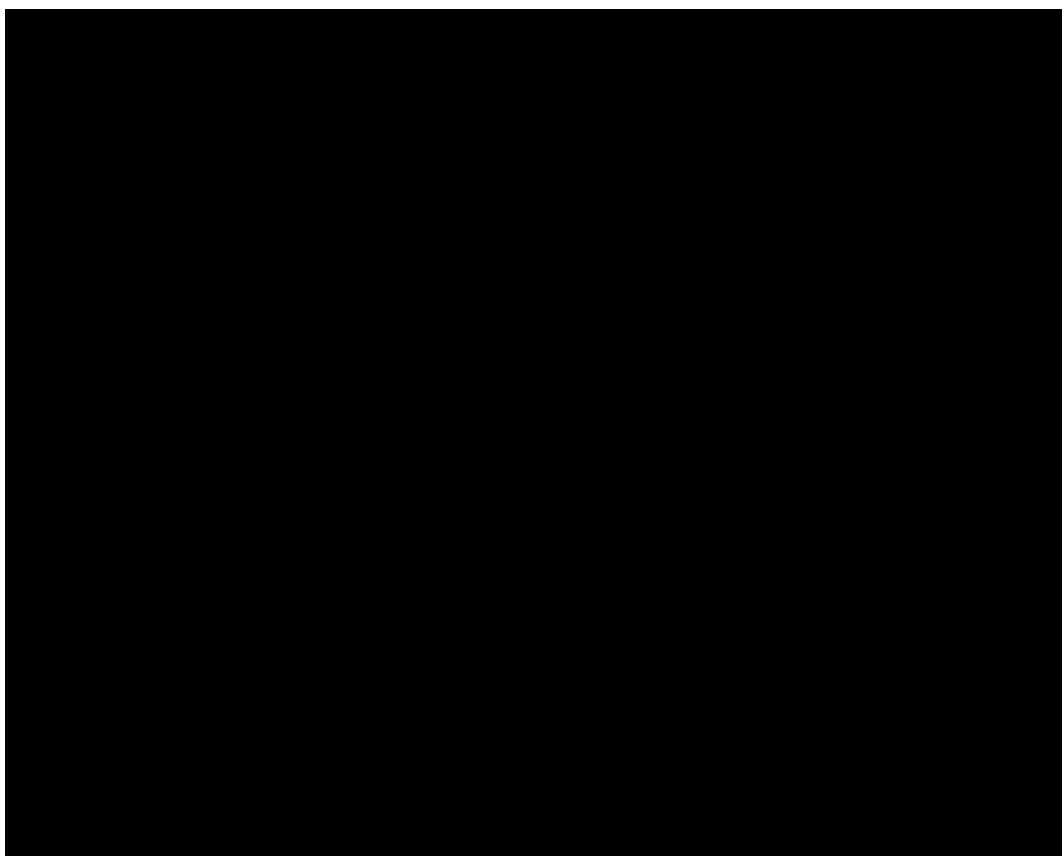
Figure 15: Anon., 'Akalees of the Sikh Army- From Von Orlich's Travels', *Illustrated London News*, **7 February 1846, p. 92. Image courtesy of the British Newspaper Archive.**

The pairing of Sikh soldiers' idealised character traits and abilities with descriptions of their dress continued during the rebellion era, further encouraging an association between the two. In August 1857, *The Illustrated Times* published an article simply entitled 'The Sikhs'. This described the bravery of the Sikhs as 'proverbial' and noted that when speaking to soldiers and officers 'not one [word] is found questioning the loyalty of the Sikh troops'.[123] The article moves on to describe their lesser known 'characteristic' features: 'their love of loot and drink', thereby hinting at the hyper-masculinity and degree of barbarity also associated with Sikh soldiers.[124] The article ends by describing the Sikh cavalry's militarism in an anecdote detailing their contribution to a mission 'cutting down all natives who

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[123] Anon., 'The Sikhs', *The Illustrated Times*, 29 August 1857, p. 148.
[124] Ibid.

showed any signs of opposition' with the British.[125] Accompanying this article was an illustration of a two members of the Sikh cavalry on such an expedition (Figure 16). The illustration foregrounds two Sikh soldiers, both wearing tall, triangular turban covered in quoits, which are also hung around their necks. Being places to store weapons and, because of the nature of their weapons, the turbans appear as a sign of 'barbarous' militarism. Both soldiers wear loose jackets and cholas that reveal their well-developed calf muscles, indicating their bodily strength. Both soldiers have the prominent facial hair that the British also associated with martial race soldiers' 'wildness and fierceness', as well as pointed facial features drawn to indicate barbarity. The article therefore associated the 'proverbial' bravery and loyalty of the Sikh soldiers, as well as their ability to 'cut up' enemies, with a particular image of their appearance.

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[125] Ibid.
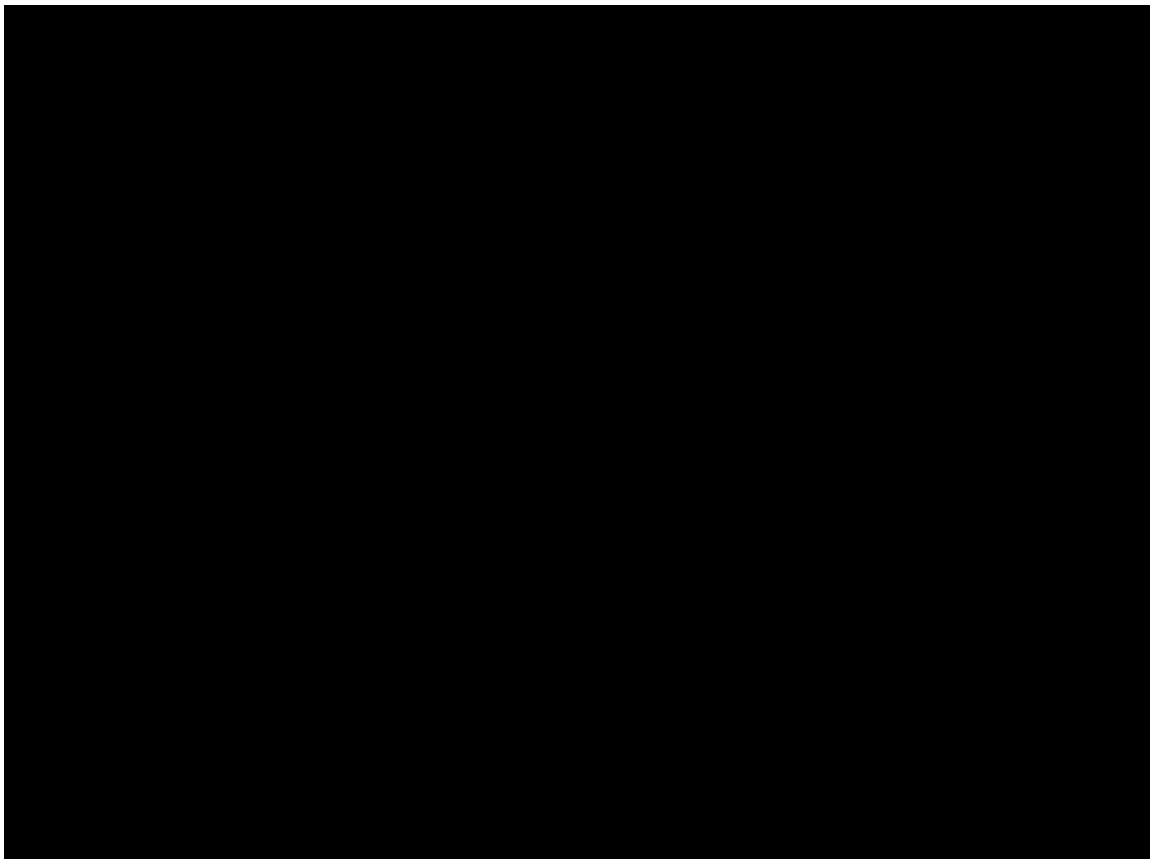
Figure 16: Anon., 'The Sikhs', *The Illustrated Times*, **29 August 1857, p. 148.**
Image courtesy of the British Newspaper Archive.

Similarly, an article in the *Illustrated London News* in 1857 praised the

abilities of Sikh troops for their work on the western frontier, nothing that their

contribution to over-aweing the tribes 'infesting that area' was 'so well performed

that a tranquillity now reigns there never before known'.[126] The article describes how

their 'steady loyalty' has made them desirable troops, called on to aid the British in

other theatres of war.[127] Following this praise was a description of their military dress

and sketches of a Sikh and Afghan officer. As well as noting the gold and silver

elements of the dress, the description of their uniform notes the 'white or grey cotton

clothing' worn by the Sikh, as well as the scarlet turban, which is described as giving

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[126] Anon., 'Affghan Native Officer, 5th P.C., Sikh Trooper, 5th P.C., 19 September 1857', *Illustrated London News,* p. 300.
[127] Ibid.

them a 'very picturesque appearance'.[128] Again, we see an article presenting the

military abilities of Sikh soldiers alongside illustrations of their appearance.
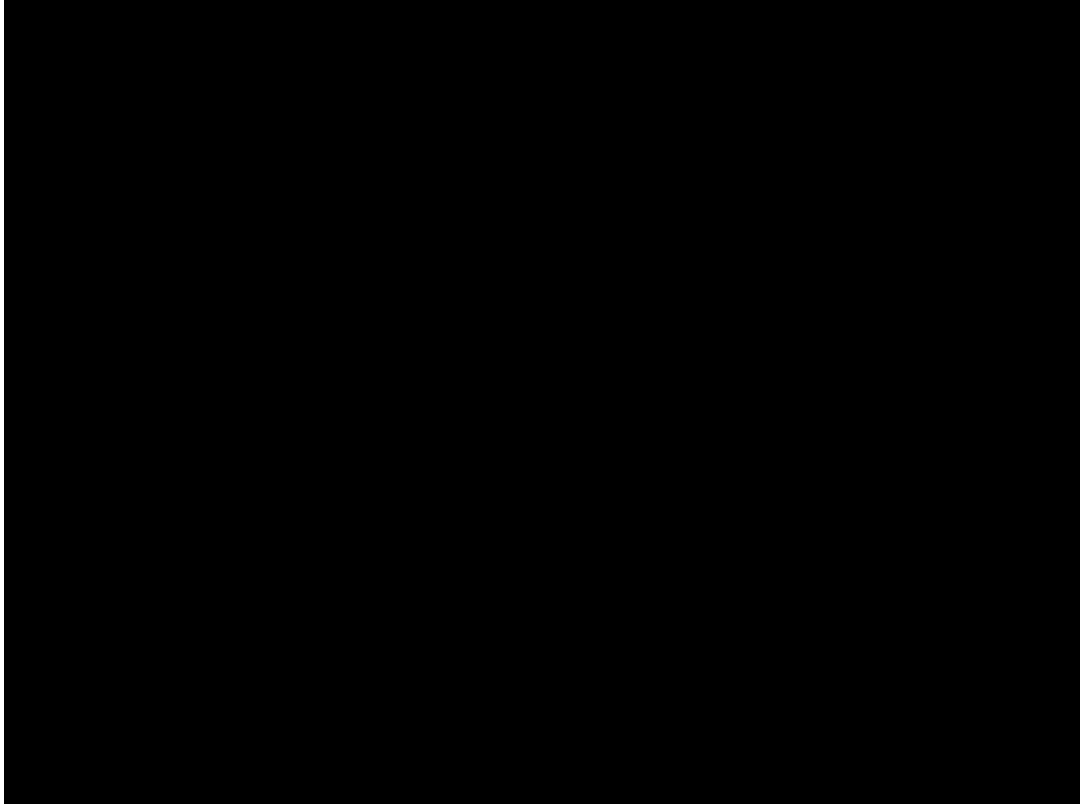
Figure 17: The Illustrated London News, 'Affghan Native Officer, 5th P.C., Sikh Trooper, 5th P.C., 19 September 1857, p. 300.

This kind of reporting ensured that the mystique or legend of the martial

races created during the mutiny included their dress. Just as Hussars' uniforms

were associated with the toughness of Hungarian soldiers, items of dress worn by

martial race soldiers—such as turbans and loose clothing-- became associated with

their supposedly hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic character.[129]

This is evident in the published memoirs and correspondence of British men

and women associated with the Indian army. J.W. Sherer, for example, recounted a

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[128] Ibid.
[129] For the associations between Hussars regiments and the 'toughness' of Hungarian soldiers, see: Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* pp. 23-47.

carriage journey with two martial race soldiers assigned to him for protection during the rebellion era. His description of the two soldiers binds descriptions of the soldiers' dress with a fetishistic account of these 'alarming warriors'' hyper-masculine bodies:

'*they were the most extraordinary creatures- huge frames with exaggerated muscles, tawny faces, surmounted with long hair hanging in thick strips…ferocious moustaches, steel caps under red turbans, voluminous waistbands in which were two pistols…The first one of these alarming warriors got into the carriage, and established himself in a corner, then I took my seat, and the other warrior sat…their hirsute legs, with knotted fibres were wonderful to behold, and emerged from loin cloths with a worked border, terminating in red shoes…'*.[130]

In this case, the garments worn by the soldiers accentuate and reveal the soldiers' masculine attributes, such as their 'exaggerated muscles', 'hirsute legs', and 'tawny faces'. The turban completes the orientalist description of the soldiers' facial features, and the 'voluminous waistband' – presumably a cummerbund—is also a gendered (and militarised) garment as it is a place to store weapons. The description of the 'loin cloth' is particularly striking, as it wrapped around their 'hirsute legs with knotted fibres'.

The description also indicates how the martial races were described as excessively masculine— even more so than the British men—as a result of their status, ultimately, as barbarous, despite their aggressive loyalty to the British. They not only have moustaches, but 'ferocious' moustaches; they are not only warriors, but 'alarming warriors'; they not only have muscles, but 'exaggerated muscles'.

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[130] Sherer, *Daily Life During the Indian Mutiny,* pp. 96-97.

Ultimately the description also describes them as 'creatures', reflecting the fact that martial race ideology ultimately positioned Sikh soldiers as racially inferior.

This is echoed in military wife Ruth Cooplands' description of Sikh soldiers, whom she described as 'tall, stout, fierce-looking men, larger and more muscular than many in Europe'. [131] During the Indian rebellion she, too, saw the clothing worn by martial race soldiers as an outward sign of their 'wildness and fierceness'. She described in her narrative of the Indian Mutiny witnessing 'robust, warlike' natives in the town of Dholpur who were 'well dressed' in 'gay turbans' and armed with 'short daggars, matchlocks and swords'.[132] She wrote that when she saw 'these tall, stout, fierce-looking men' she 'couldn't help thinking' that the notions of people at home who thought 'India is solely peopled with mild Hindus dressed in white garments, gliding about with graceful movements' were 'absurd'.[133] The dress of the martial race soldiers, including the turban, helped convinced Coopland of the masculinity of martial race soldiers. The turban was part of military garb that signalled ferocity and power to Anglo-Indian military personnel and civilians alike.

In summary, during the mutiny the uniforms of British officers took on a distinct, 'colonial' appearance. The widespread use of khaki, cap covers, and pagris, signalled that British officers' uniforms were beginning to depart from those of the metropole, and incorporate South Asian influences. The violence and intense disruption generated by the Mutiny meant that dress regulations were issued, and followed, less systematically. Although it is for this reason hard to document via dress regulations, the mutiny era marked an important stage in the evolution of

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[131] Ruth Coopland, *A Lady's Escape From Gwalior and Life in the Fort of Agra During the Mutinies of 1857,* (London, 1859), pp. 28-29.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

uniforms and signalled a shift away from military uniforms in India simply aping those of the British army.

The rebellion was also crucial in directing the subsequent direction of Indian Army fashion. The mystique around the so-called martial race soldiers that developed during the Mutiny included fantasies of their dress and appearance. At the same time as the British constructed idealised hyper-masculine, hyper-militaristic colonial subjects who possessed many traits valued by militaristic masculinity, they also constructed fantasies of martial race aesthetics. These fantasies, and associated gender ideals, were essential to understanding the designs of Indian Army uniforms in the post-rebellion era.

Post-Rebellion Uniforms

'*One of the first results of the Mutiny of the old Bengal Sepoy army was, fortunately for the future comfort and improved appearance of the native soldiers, to abolish every article of European dress, except boots and shoes from their uniforms, and to go further by introducing the use of the comfortable and becoming native costumes for the European officers when on active service'.*[134]

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the imperial troops were extensively re-organised and control transferred from the East India Company to the British crown. Alongside the various structural reforms undertaken in the wake of the rebellion (described in chapter 2) there was also a large-scale sartorial transformation, affecting both the Anglo-Indian and locally raised troops. Dress regulations reveal

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[134] Alexander William Gordon, *Recollections of a Highland Subaltern, during the campaigns of the 93rd Highlanders in India, under Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, in 1857 and 1859,* (London, 1898), p. 24.

that a priority of the adjutant-general's office appeared to be ensuring that the Anglo-Indian officers emulated the imagined aesthetics associated with the martial race soldiers who had proved their loyalty—and militarism—during the Indian Mutiny. Significant parts of the uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers thus became 'orientalised'. Specifically, the uniforms incorporated aesthetics associated with martial race soldiers. Increasingly flamboyant items of dress were incorporated into Indian Army uniforms, and as a result uniforms diverged from both Anglo-Indian civilian fashion, and military dress in Britain itself. Over time the uniforms of the Indian Army came to resemble the British fantasy of the dress of marital race soldiers.

After the Mutiny, 'A' and 'B' uniforms were introduced for Anglo-Indian officers. As a general rule, the B uniforms were worn by Anglo-Indian officers in the presence of the locally raised troops, and the A uniforms were worn when the officers were away from the rest of the regiment.[135] While A uniforms remained primarily European in design, B uniforms drew strongly on aesthetics associated with martial race soldiers.

[135] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 115.
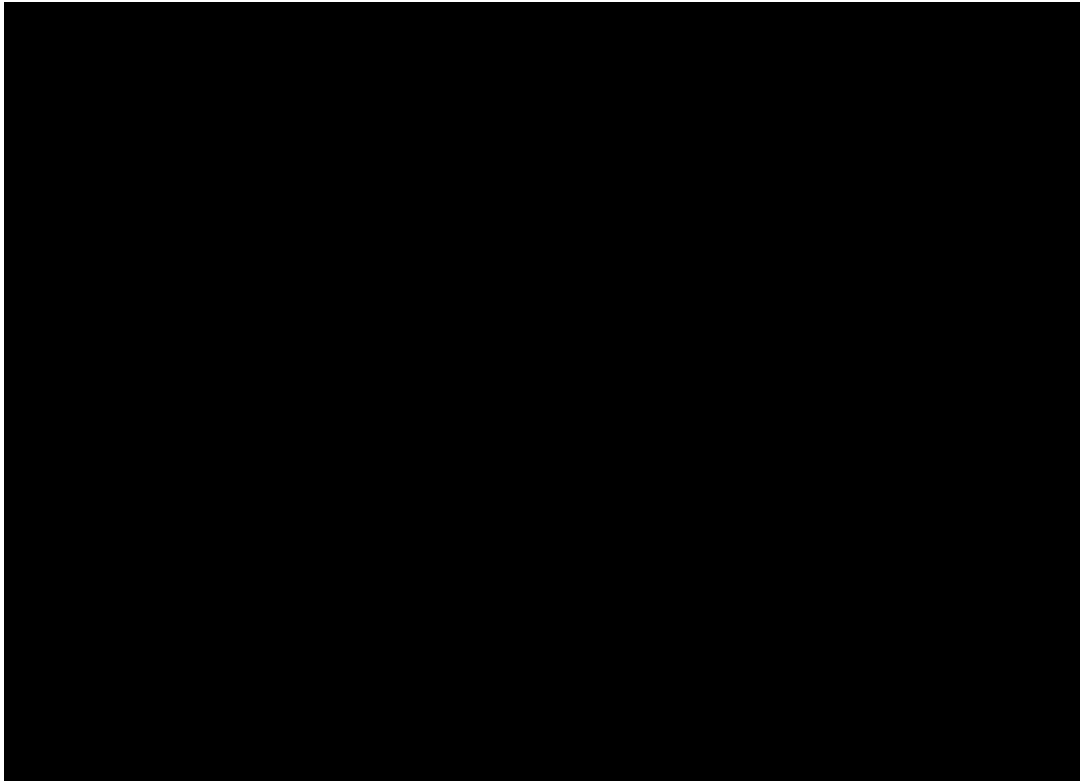
Figure 18: Major A.C. Lovett, *Bengal Cavalry.* **Watercolour, 1890. National Army Museum (NAM.1959-06-24), London.**

The painting in Figure 18 by military water-colourist Major A. C. Lovett captures the key features of British cavalry officers' B uniforms in the second half of the nineteenth century. The most striking transgression of Anglo-Indian civilian fashion norms were the large and brightly coloured turbans worn by Anglo-Indian officers. As we have seen, turbans were considered a key marker of martial race soldiers, and were linked with ideas of savagery, militarism and hyper-masculinity. From the First Anglo-Sikh War, and particularly after the Indian rebellion, the turban was linked with the wildness, fierceness, and the 'distinctive' attributes of martial race soldiers. The inclusion of turbans for Anglo-Indian officers was therefore an abrupt break with headwear worn by the British army.

These headdresses first appeared for Anglo-Indian officers in the 1863 Bengal army regulations.[136] As the century progressed, many regiments adopted their own 'regimental pattern' fabric for the turbans.[137] Figure 19 shows an example of the regimental pattern fabric that formed a British officers' Bengal lancers turban. The colours and designs of fabrics varied between presidency armies as well as between regiments. For example, in the 1870s, British officers in the Bombay cavalry were distinguished from regiments in Bengal by wearing a red and gold twisted turban.[138] Anglo-Indian officers wore the turbans around a cone-shaped cap called a kullah, with the tasselled end at the top.
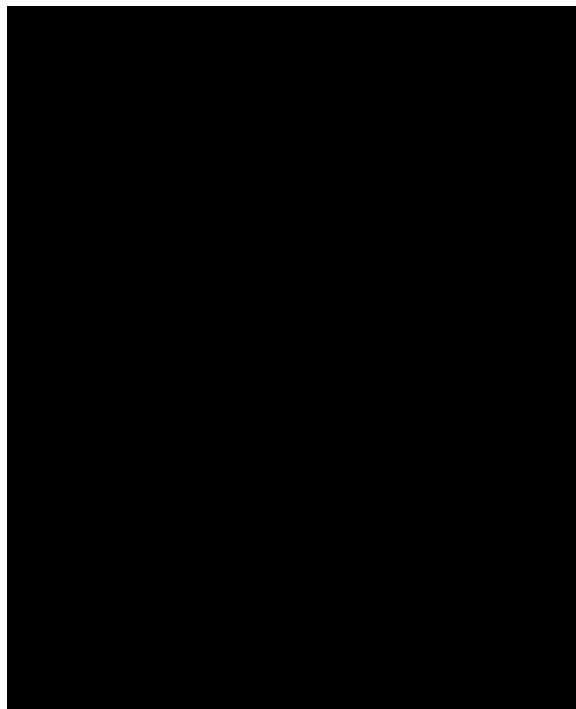
Figure 19: Pagri, Lieutenant-Colonel C.P.G. Griffin, 1st Regiment of Bengal Lancers, c. 1900. National. National Army Museum, (NAM. 1964-08-75-12), London.

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[136] General Orders of the Commander in Chief (G.O.C.C.), 14 October 1863 quoted in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* p. 33.
[137] Regimental patterned turbans are referred to in multiple dress regulations. See for example orders on headwear in Bengal Dress Regulations 1874 reproduced in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* p. 39.
[138] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* pp. 121-122.

The turbans worn by Anglo-Indian cavalry officers were designed to match those issued to locally raised troops, and thereby aesthetically link Anglo-Indian and so-called martial race soldiers, who after the Indian Rebellion made up the majority of the army. Dress regulations even specified that they were be identical to those worn by so-called native soldiers in their regiment; in 1891 Bengal Cavalry dress regulations ordered that the turban should 'look as much as possible like the men's loongies' ('loongie' being another word for turban at the time).[139] These however were rarely an authentic copy of their locally raised troops' headwear. The turbans of the native troops in the post-rebellion period were made from regimental pattern fabric and, whereas during the rebellion many of these troops would have worn their own turbans in their own style, they were now governed by dress regulations. Figure 20 is a photograph of Punjabi soldiers recruited during the mutiny, wearing their own clothing. The photograph is an example of a photographic idiom that emerged in India in the nineteenth century-- described by Christopher Pinney as the 'salvage' paradigm-- which sought to record, 'capture' document, and classify cultures and communities.[140] This was part of the concern with capturing 'type' or 'typicality' that became prominent from the 1850s.[141] Although this photography was 'enveloped in a discourse of scienticity and indexicality', in practice photographers often manipulated photographs to stage visions of an 'authentic primitiveness'.[142] As a result, the image of Sikh soldiers may not truly capture the reality of Sikh soldiers' garments prior to the introduction of dress regulations, but can provide some insight if the colonial context of production is kept in mind. In documenting 'Sikh soldiers', the photograph 'captured' the diversity of tying styles used by Sikh soldiers to tie

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[139] General Orders by the Government of Bengal/Government of India.
IOR/L/MIL/17/2/364-405 : 1859-1900, Army Regulations, India, 1891. Section XL.
[140] Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*, (Reaktion, 1998), p. 54.
[141] Pinney, *Camera Indica,* p. 64.
[142] Ibid., p. 55.

turbans prior to the introduction of dress regulations. The images illustrate the

extent to which turbans had become uniform both in fabric and tying style, and also

show the extent to which the headwear of native soldiers after the rebellion was

dictated by the British perception of what martial race soldiers' headwear 'should'

look like.
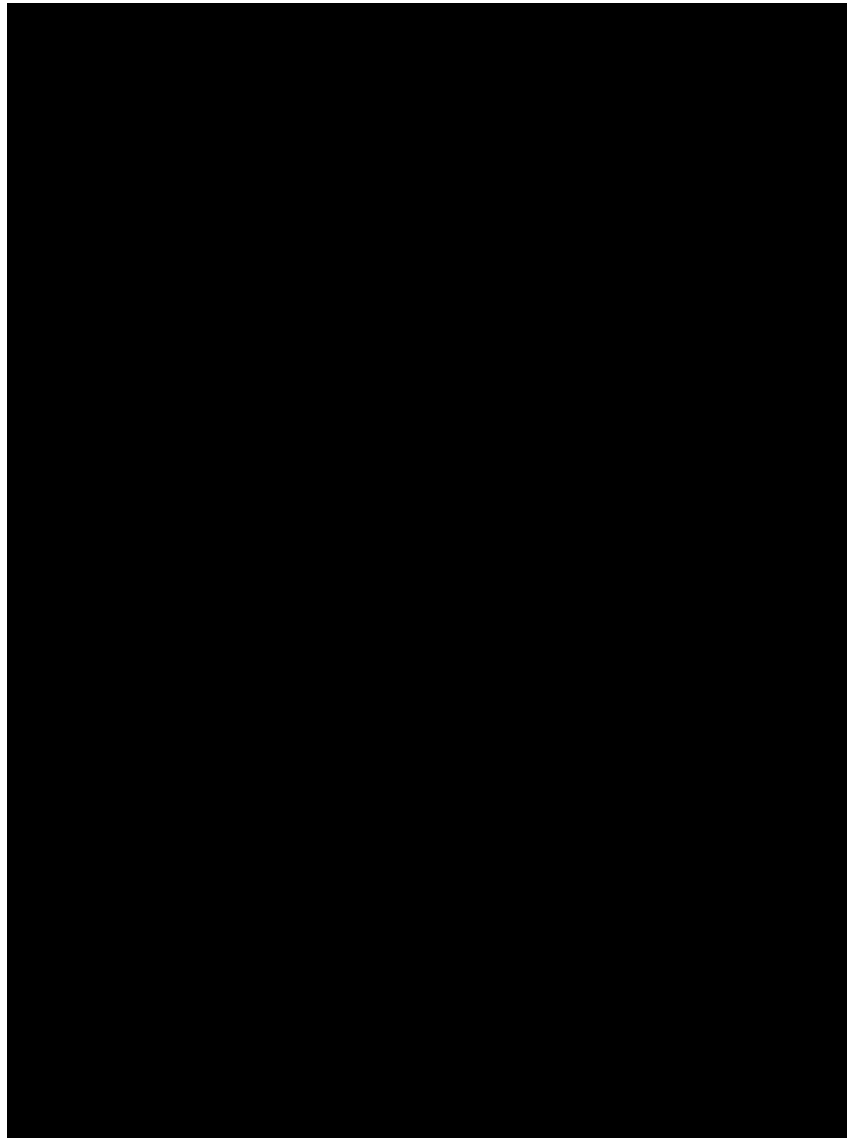
**Figure 20: Unknown photographer, Sikh soldiers 1857. National Army
Museum, London.**
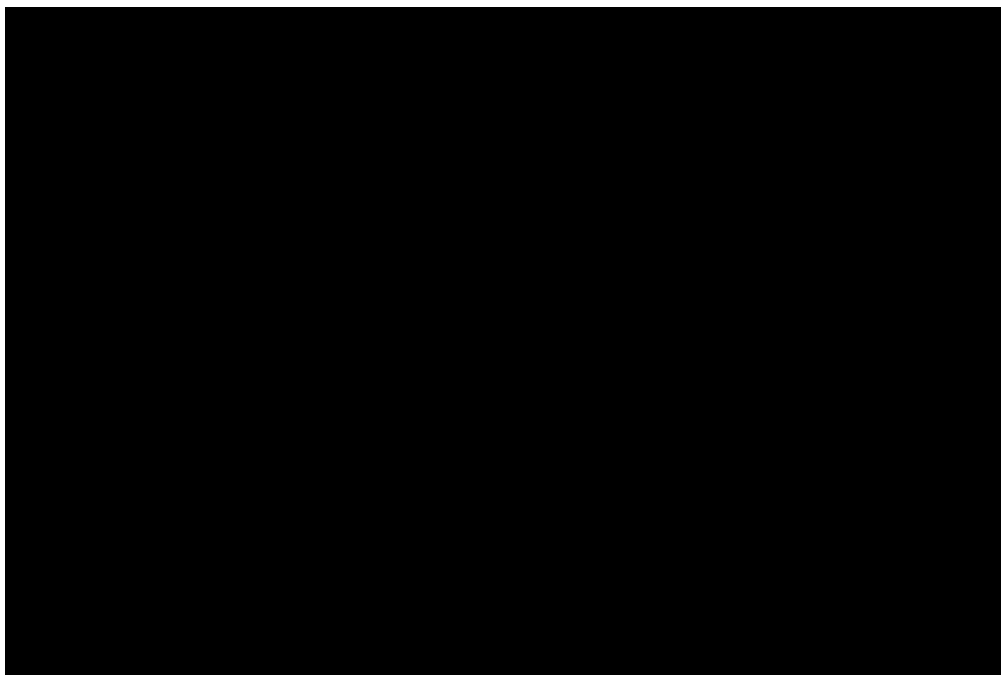
Figure 21: Raja (Lala) Deen Dayal, *45ᵗʰ (Rattray's Sikh) Regiment of Bengal Infantry during the Delhi Camp of Exercise.* **Indore, Central India, c. 1886. National Army Museum, (NAM. 1978-10-46: 14), London.**

For Anglo-Indian cavalry officers, the uniform that was worn with turbans in B order uniforms included other garments associated with martial race soldiers such as kurtas and cummerbunds. The kurtas worn by Anglo-Indian officers were generally as described in the 1874 regulations: knee-length; buttonless; with a low collar; open 'down the front sufficiently to admit the head', and edged with silver or gold regimental lace.[143] Figures 22 and 23 are examples of these kinds of garments; the first is associated with the Bengal Lancers, the second was a kurta from 11ᵗʰ King Edward's Own Lancers (formerly Probyn's horse). Visible in these examples is the regimental lace around the collar, cuffs, and opening. The length and loose fit of the garments evoked the garments that had become associated with so-called martial race soldiers, and were a stark contrast to the close-fitting, highly tailored garments associated with the British army. The jackets were far removed

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[143] Bengal Dress Regulations 1874 reproduced in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* p. 40.

from the tight, fitted jackets associated with the gentlemanliness of the European

armies of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.
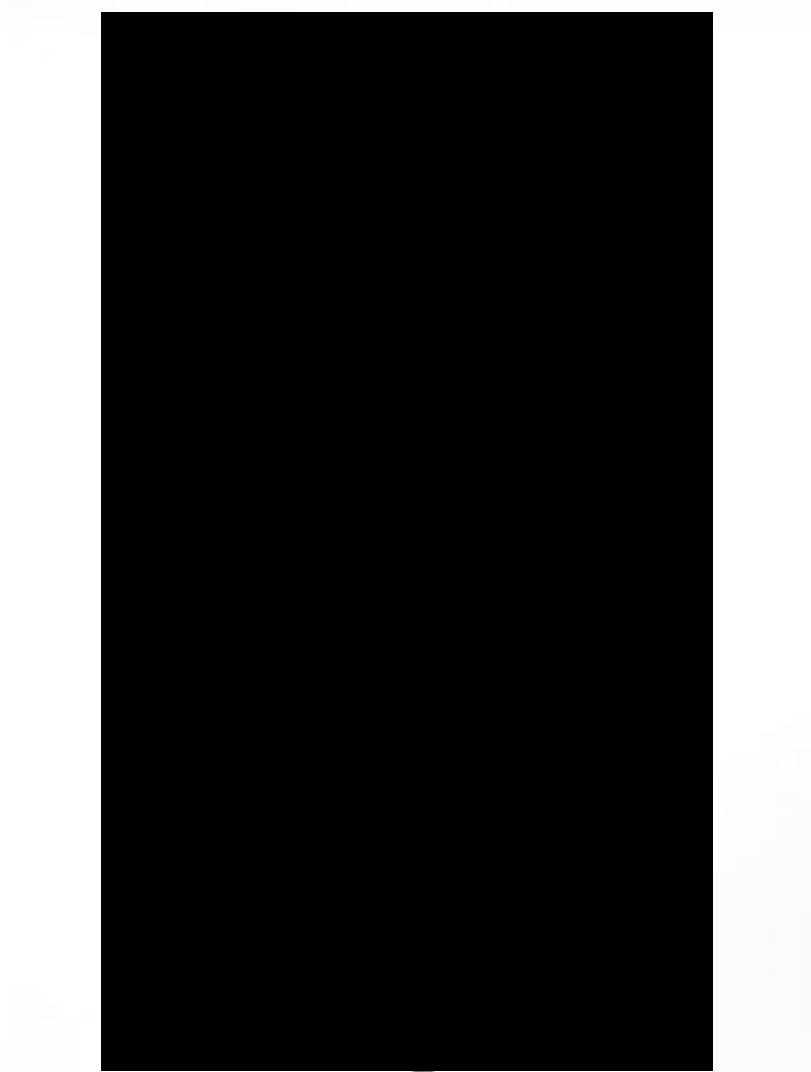
Figure 22: Full dress kurta, Lieutenant-Colonel C.P.G. Griffin, 1st Regiment of Bengal Lancers, c. 1900. National Army Museum, (NAM.1964-08-75-2), London.
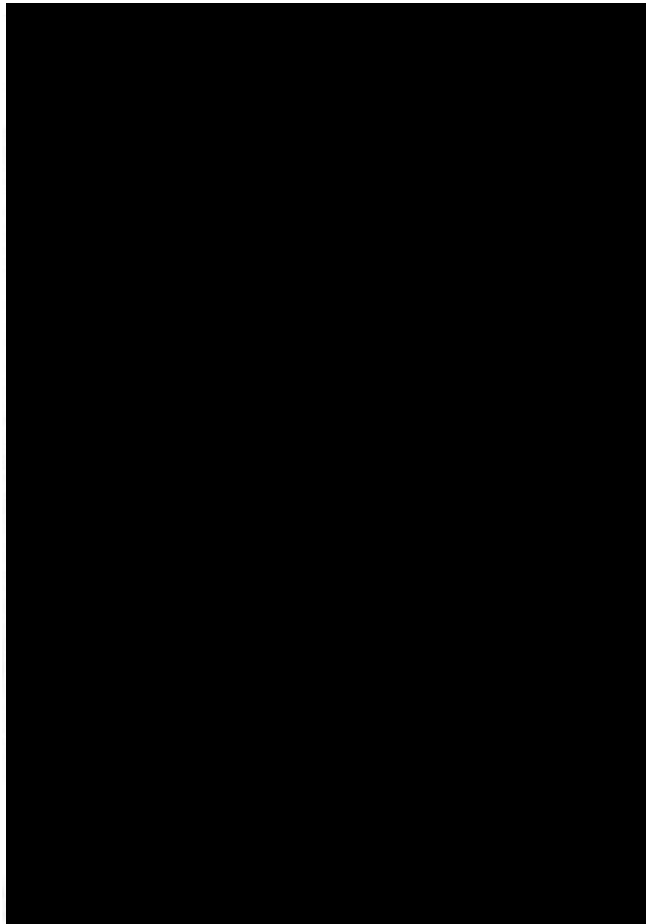
Figure 23: Kurta, Major J. A. C. May-Somerville, 11th King Edward's Own Lancers (Probyn's Horse), c. 1913. National Army Museum, (NAM.1956-02-882-2), London.

Another crucial addition to the 'orientalised' aesthetic of British officers' uniforms were the kamarbands worn tied around the waist. As we have seen, kamarbands were inextricably tied up with ideas of savagery and barbarism in the minds of Anglo-Indians, via their association with the loincloth. The loincloth, and by association cummerbund, had been regarded as symbols of 'backwardness and barbarism'.[144] The incorporation of these garments into Indian Army uniforms was therefore striking; garments that had previously been used to other native soldiers, and to racially distinguish them from British soldiers, were now prescribed en masse

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[144] Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* (London, 1996), p. 33. Hopkins, 'A Compromise in Clothing', p. 121-122.

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for Anglo-Indian officers. Figures 24 and 25 show the Bengal Lancers and Probyn's

horse kurtas discussed previously, with the addition of the kamarbands.
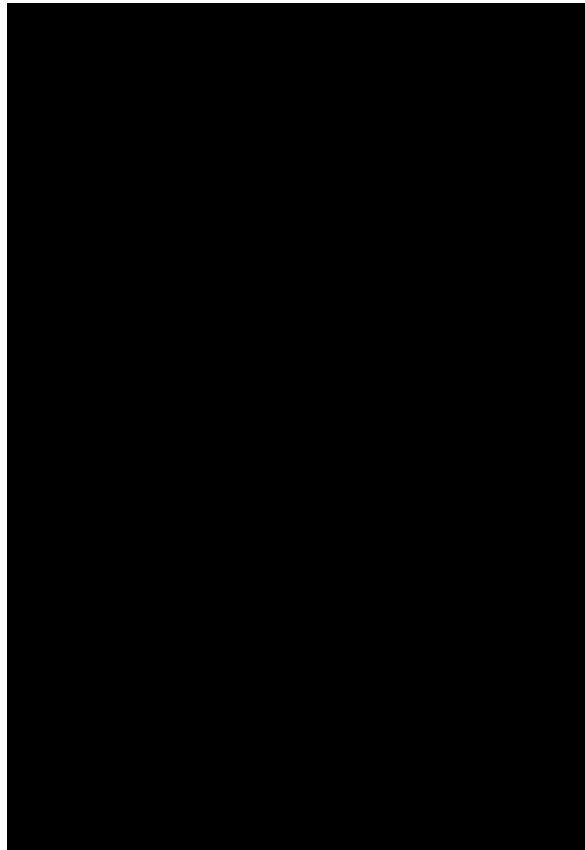
Figure 24: Full dress kurta with kamarband, Lieutenant-Colonel C.P.G. Griffin, 1st Regiment of Bengal Lancers, c. 1900. National Army Museum, (NAM.1964-08-75-2), London.
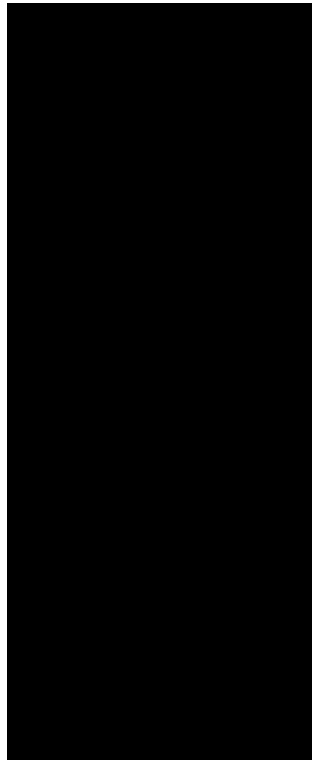
Figure 25: Kurta and kamarband, Major J. A. C. May-Somerville, 11th King Edward's Own Lancers (Probyn's Horse), c. 1913. National Army Museum, (NAM.1956-02-882-2), London.

The B uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers were designed to visually link them with the martial race soldiers they commanded. In the post-Mutiny period, the uniforms of 'native' soldiers formally institutionalised the British fantasy of martial race aesthetics. The 1863 dress regulations directed that South Asian cavalry soldiers' uniforms would comprise a turban, loose blouse, kummerbund, and a South Asian version of the European great coat called a poshteen.[145] The uniforms were of regimental pattern and were required to be worn strictly as directed in the dress regulations. As a result, the kummerbunds that had previously been selected relatively informally by locally raised soldiers themselves in the irregular cavalry and Punjab regiments were now of a prescribed pattern and type of textile. Military accoutrements were of a directed pattern and the kurtas worn by Indian cavalry

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[145] G.O.C.C., 14 October 1863 quoted in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* pp. 35-37.

soldiers were of a regulated cut, and even length ('3 inches above the knee').[146] Comparing the dress of Sikh soldiers recruited during the mutiny in Figure 26 and the dress of sowars in Figure 27 again shows the difference in uniform. The sappers in Figure 26 wear cummerbunds of various designs, and tied in various ways. Their loose white shirts are worn with a variety of necklaces and earrings, and, again, their turbans are tied in various ways. In contrast, the kurtas worn by soldiers in Figure 27 follow the precise dress regulations in design, length and turban style, and represent a British perception of martial race soldiers.

Figure 26 : Felice Beato, *A group of Sikh sappers of the Indian Army.* Bengal, 1858. Image courtesy of Hulton Archive via Wikimedia Commons.

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[146] G.O.C.C., 14 October 1863 quoted in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* pp. 35.
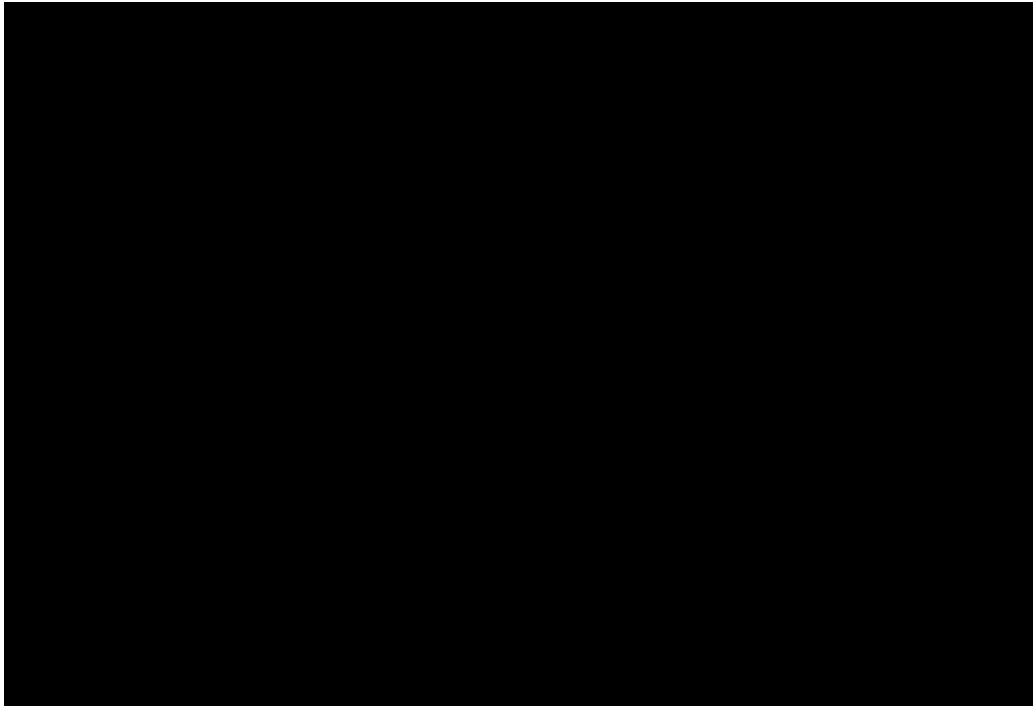
Figure 27: F. Bremner, untitled. Quetta, June 1897. National Army Museum (NAM. 1965-04-76-38), London.

The fact that the post-mutiny uniforms were expressions of the colonial imagination and cultural desires rather than accurate reflections of locally raised troops' dress is even more evident in the designs of the native infantry troops' new dress uniforms. In the early 1880s, the Zouave jacket was introduced for Indian infantry soldiers in the Madras and Bengal armies. [147] Zouave jackets were short, open-fronted jackets based on those historically worn by the Zouave infantry regiments linked to French North Africa.[148] The Zouave costume was stylised by the French army, and worn by African men in French service. In the post-Mutiny army, Indian infantry soldiers wore this garment with South Asian inspired turbans (introduced in 1860) and loose 'plus-four' style trousers.[149] These loose trousers were in keeping with the loose garments associated with martial race soldiers, and replaced the straight trousers associated with European military fashion. The plus-

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[147] Barthorp and Jeffrey Burn, *Indian Infantry Regiments,* p. 15. Note: the Bombay Infantry never wore the zouave jacket worn elsewhere and retained the plain, single-breasted tunic. See Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 135.
[148] For a detailed description of Zouave uniforms see Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p.102.
[149] Michael Barthorp and Jeffrey Burn, *Indian Infantry Regiments 1860-1914,* (London, 1979), p. 34.

fours were worn with puttees; long pieces of cloth traditionally wound round the lower legs in South Asian military culture to protect against mud.

The soldier of the 1st Pioneers in Figure 28 is pictured wearing the Zouave jacket, turban, plus-fours and puttees associated with this era. His uniform is a colonial pastiche; a mix of garments from African and Asian cultures deemed 'other' to create a general orientalised, or colonial, aesthetic. What mattered was not the authenticity of the uniforms, but that soldiers 'looked' like the British idea of an exotic, manly martial race soldier.
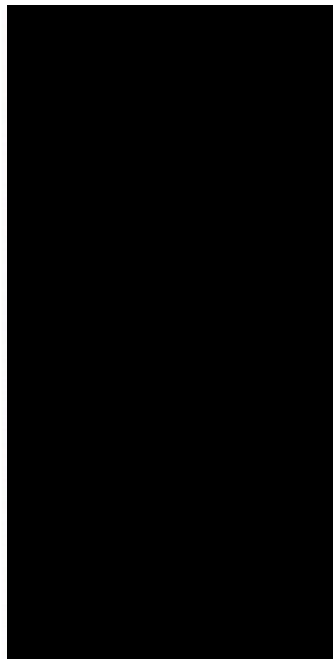
Figure 28: Collanderies Collection of Uniform, Johnston and Hoffman, *1st Madras Pioneers.* Calcutta, c. 1878- c. 1890. National Army Museum, London.

The institutionalisation of British and Anglo-Indian fantasies of martial race soldiers in standardised army dress played on ideas of 'savagery' and inherent martial power, but at the same time undermined any possibility of empowerment through indigenous dress that the uniforms of the irregular cavalries had previously

provided under the silladar system. Garments like the turban which had held

meanings within indigenous military culture were brought together in artificial

uniforms which dislocated them from their original meanings, and instead

associated them with colonial fantasies that cemented colonial racial hierarchies.

Scott Myerly has argued that the uniform has importance as a mark of servile

status; the uniform's connotation of servility expresses visually the ideal of soldier's

total subservience to the will of command.[150] If, as Myerly argues, control over the

design of military uniforms symbolises authority and power[151], the institutionalisation

of uniforms inspired by martial race ideology for locally raised troops—and the

concurrent end to the silladar system which enabled locally raised troops to provide

their own battle dress-- represented a loss of control and agency for these men, as

well as their broader objectification as part of martial race ideology.

Despite the orientalisation of Anglo-Indian officers' and locally trained troops'

dress, European style uniforms were not entirely removed from the Indian Army.

The 'B' order dress was accompanied by a European 'A' style dress for European

soldiers. These uniforms were more traditional in design and although they included

colonial features like 'toppee' helmets, they were overwhelmingly drawn from

various European military references. Figure 29 is a photograph that shows the A

order uniform within the Bengal Native Infantry.

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[150] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 41-42.
[151] Myerly, *British Military Spectacle,* p. 45.
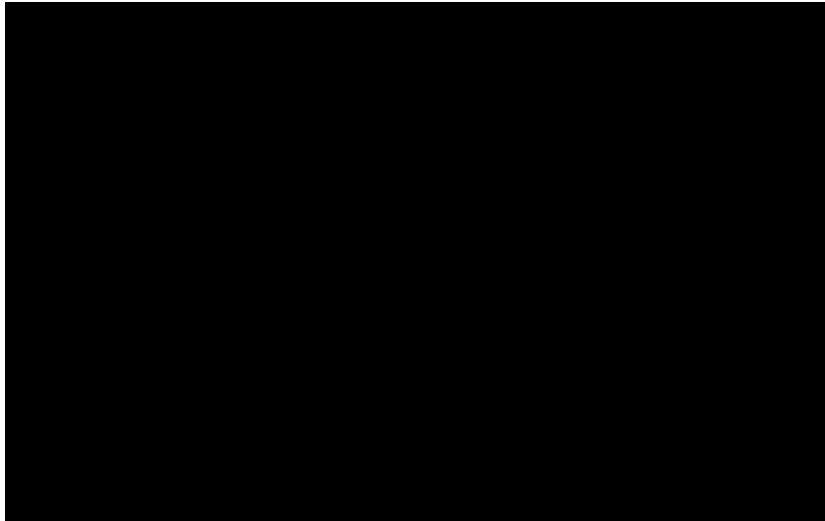
Figure 29: Figure 29: Unknown photographer, British and Native Officers, 15ᵗʰ (Ludhiana) Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, c. 1884. National Army Museum (NAM.1972-11-91-47), London.

With the orientalisation of Anglo-Indian officer uniforms and the implementation of standardised dress for martial race soldiers, the British and locally raised troops looked strikingly similar on the occasions when the Anglo-Indian officers wore B order uniforms. Whereas in the pre-mutiny period headwear was used to enforce strict racial categorisation, after the Mutiny the dress of Anglo-Indian officers drew Anglo-Indian soldiers together in a shared visual language. This was all the more significant because the B uniforms were not inconsequential uniforms, rarely worn or seen. B uniforms were worn for various regular roles and duties.[152] For instance B uniforms were worn in review order dress, and so were used for public occasions, and for visits of head of states, monarchs, and other dignitaries. They were also worn for stable dress, undress and mess dress.[153] Colonel S.A. Hardy described them as a 'strange peacocking sort of dress to go soldiering in'.[154] The fact that the Indian army utilised orientalised army uniforms on an institutional level, day-to-day, as well as on high-profile public occasions as in

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[152] Mollo, *The Indian Army,* p. 115, 121.
[153] Ibid.
[154] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, S.A. Hardy Papers. Letter from S.A. Hardy to his wife, 'Petty', 26 April 1863.

review orders shows that in public, and privately, the Indian Army fostered a sartorial connection with martial race soldiers, rather than the British metropolitan army.

Interpreting Post-Rebellion Indian Army Uniforms through a Gendered Lens

Historians of military dress have acknowledged the shift from metropolitan to 'Indian' fashion within the Indian army, often referring to it as the 'Indianisation' of army uniforms.[155] However, the change in Anglo-Indian officers' uniforms is not generally interpreted outside of factors like climate or battlefield realities such as changes in weapons technology, and the prominence of guerrilla warfare or skirmishing in colonial India. In particular, they have overlooked the gendered dimensions of these changes, which are all the more important given that dress historians have demonstrated that army uniforms are in general constructed in close relation to hegemonic ideals of masculinity.[156] I argue that the Indian army uniforms of the latter nineteenth century were fundamentally shaped by ideas about masculinity and therefore must also be interpreted in relation to ideas about militaristic masculinity.

Imperial historians have argued that the Indian rebellion was a turning point, when the older, gentlemanly hegemonic masculine ideal was ousted by militaristic masculinity.[157] Changes in imperial troops' dress reflected this important change; the aesthetic change from gentlemanly, tailored, traditional European military attire to orientalised dress represented colonial society's changing values, and changing ideas about masculinity. Specifically, in the aftermath of the rebellion, Indian army uniforms reflected the dominance of militaristic masculine identities and the

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[155] See for example, Abler, *Hinterland Warriors,* p. 120.
[156] See for example: Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* p. 29; Tynan, *British Army Uniform,* p. 15.
[157] Crane and Mohanram, *Imperialism as Diaspora,* p. 44; Streets, *Martial Races,* p. 19.

valorisation of traits such as bravery and militarism. Anglo-Indian army uniforms incorporated garments and aesthetics associated with the supposed 'inherent militarism' and hyper-masculine skill of martial race soldiers in order to facilitate the construction of militaristic masculinity among Anglo-Indian officers.

Anglo-Indian officers' orientalised uniforms did this primarily by acting as signs of those manly traits prized by the hegemonic masculine identity that were also associated with martial race soldiers. As we have seen, from the Indian rebellion onwards Sikh soldiers were seen to embody traits like bravery, courage, militarism, and masculinity in extremis. I have also demonstrated that, as early as the Anglo-Sikh wars, the Anglo-Indian and British press linked Sikh soldiers' supposed manly traits (including courage and loyalty) to specific garments such as turbans, kamarbands, and an idealised 'wild aesthetic'. As a result, in order to communicate the bravery, physicality, and militarism of Anglo-Indian soldiers, the Indian Army incorporated those dress items into the uniforms worn by Anglo-Indian officers. These garments, and the fantasies of inherent barbaric militarism associated with them, communicated the manly traits that the Anglo-Indian soldiers wanted to project far better than European-style military uniforms could; the uniforms of the British army were linked to older forms of masculinity that prized traits like gentlemanliness and 'glamour', far removed from the savagery associated with martial race dress that complimented militaristic masculinity's valorisation of militarism and physicality. The uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers, then, acted to signal their own bravery and militarism, by using garments that were associated with groups presented as the ultimate manly, militaristic soldiers.

The A order uniforms played an important part of this. In the context of the wide-scale institutionalisation of orientalised uniforms, and British men's enthusiastic embrace of them, the A order uniforms were a crucial counter-balance.

The maintenance of European-style military dress in British officers' A uniforms was necessary to negate fears of a 'lapse into barbarism' and to demonstrate the racial superiority of British men; a crucial element of militaristic masculinity.[158] As we have seen, martial race soldiers were characterised as hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic but, ultimately, savage men; their racial predisposition for war was understood to stem from an inherent barbarism. Had British officers been dressed only in orientalised uniforms, there would have been only minor sartorial distinctions between them and the colonial subjects they commanded. Had this been the case, there would have been a risk of their being perceived in the same way as these 'barbarous' men, undermining claims to racial superiority.

The existence of European-style A uniforms ensured that British men could enjoy the socio-cultural benefits of the orientalised uniforms, but that racial and ethnic divides were not 'too' blurred. The European style uniforms signalled that the orientalised uniforms were just that--uniforms, which British men could take off, shedding their 'martial race' appearance, and transforming into a gentlemanly British officer.

Indeed, even the designs of the orientalised uniforms worn in B uniform ensured that British officers could not be accused of a 'lapse into barbarism'. The 'wildness' of garments associated with martial race soldiers were restrained by European design features that, while subtle and at first glance hardly noticeable, worked to ensure that British officers' dress did not appear entirely wild. For example, in the full dress uniform, perhaps the most extravagant example of the 'B' uniforms, British soldiers still wore gauntlets--large, protective gloves that had their origins in eleventh-century European armour.[159] Examples can be viewed in Figure

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[158] See Patrick Brantliger, *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians,* (Ithaca, 2011), p. 79.
[159] Bengal Dress Regulations 1874 reproduced in full in Carmen, *Indian Army Uniforms,* p. 40.

30 (a picture of a Bengal Lancer) and Figure 31 (a Lancer from the British Army in circa 1895).
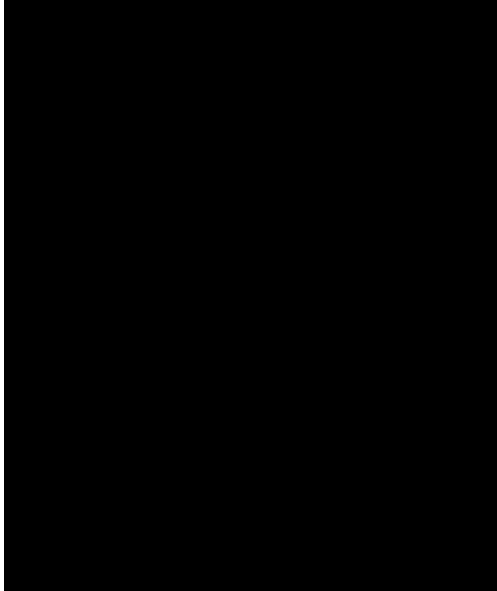
Figure 30: Unknown photographer, British Officer of the Bengal Lancers. c. 1895. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.
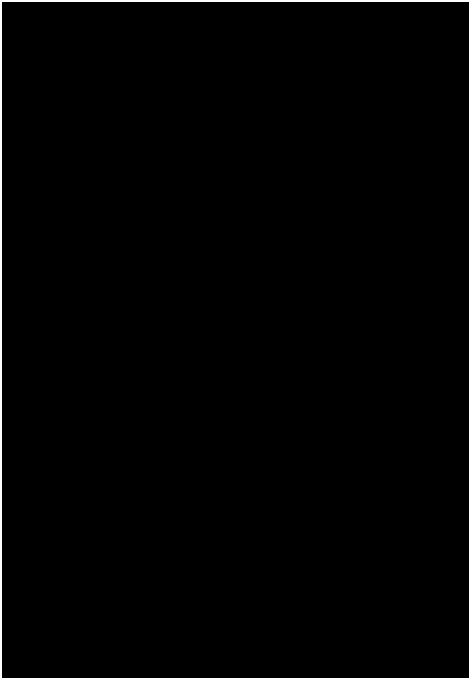
Figure 31: W. Gregory & Company, Officer, 17th (Duke of Cambridge's Own) Lancers, 1895. Glass Negative, unknown location, c. 1895. National Army Museum (NAM.1978-2-37-79).

Comparing the two images allows us to see that in orientalised B uniforms, British officers' white leather gauntlets were identical to those worn in the metropolitan cavalry. The Bengal Lancers' uniform (Figure 30) also includes epaulettes on the shoulders of his kurta. As we have seen, the use of epaulettes extended back to Greco-Roman military dress, but they were popularised by the eighteenth century French cavalry. Kurtas would not traditionally have been worn with epaulettes; these are another European design feature that restrains the 'barbarism' of Anglo-Indian officers' uniforms. Other European design features in the Indian Army lancers uniforms included regimental pattern lace, facing colours, sword slings decorated with olivettes, and black butcher boots (clearly visible in image A). B uniforms therefore never represented a wholesale abandonment of European military dress; they were rather a strategic embrace of certain 'exotic' garments with socio-cultural value, put together in a fantastical colonial pastiche.

In the nineteenth century, the perceived difference between a civilised and a savage combatant was that a savage could fight only as a savage, while a civilised soldier could choose to wage either type of war.[160] As Patrick Brantliger argues, it was regarded as possible for Westerners to fully shed civilisation and achieve full savagery, but not for colonial subjects to achieve full civilisation, even if they adopted western dress. They were able only to 'mimic' civilised identities.[161] Superiority lay in this supposedly racial capacity for versatility and adaptability. As well as preventing fears of a 'lapse into barbarism', the co-existence of Review order A uniforms with Review order B uniforms therefore also served the ideological purpose of sartorially demonstrating British officers' military and masculine adaptability, and therefore racial superiority. Having an orientalised uniform

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[160] Harrison, 'Skulls and Scientific Collecting in the Victorian Military', p. 291.
[161] See Brantliger, *Taming Cannibals,* p. 65.

alongside a 'European' one showed that British men could both 'beat the savages at their own game', and act as conventional, honourable British soldiers.

The idea that true imperial heroes could beat the so-called savages 'at their own game' was a key fantasy of nineteenth century imperialism.[162] It was desirable for Britons, in various colonial conflicts, to 'show that they could out-savage the particular and very tangible savages' on the frontiers, as Simon Harrison has agued.[163] The fact that Anglo-Indian officers' uniforms incorporated military garb associated with both East and West suggested that Anglo-Indian officers were proficient in various styles of combat, able to hold their own in various theatres of masculinity and, crucially, could command in any kind of context. The uniforms suggested Anglo-Indian officers could compete both as hyper-masculine martial race soldiers and as English gentlemen. This was consequently a double victory: they could dominate in two spheres, whereas the martial race soldiers could compete in only one.

The changes to imperial troops' uniforms in the aftermath of the rebellion were closely linked to these changes in colonial masculinity. The uniforms of locally raised troops institutionalised British and Anglo-Indian fantasies of martial race aesthetics and ensured that 'native' soldiers wore clothing that fitted the fantasy of savagely militaristic martial races. At the same time, the army uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers enabled men to signal militaristic masculine traits such as bravery and militarism by incorporating garments associated with men who expressed these traits in the extreme. Through these uniforms, Anglo-Indian men performed the racial superiority associated with colonial rule very differently from the civilian community; rather than shunning aesthetics associated with India, the military

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[162] Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism,* p. 76-77.
[163] 'Skulls and Scientific Collecting in the Victorian Military', p. 300.

community strategically embraced the aesthetics they associated with martial race soldiers.

The Consumption Practices of British Officers

The consumption practices of Anglo-Indian officers support this interpretation. Anglo-Indian used the orientalised uniforms as material signs of hyper-masculinity and militarism in their lives, as well as using them to materially signal 'adaptability' and thereby racial superiority. This synergy between Indian army uniform designs and the consumption practices of individual soldiers is not surprising, as it was Anglo-Indian officers who designed and implemented the Indian Army uniforms.[164]

Written sources that record Anglo-Indian officers' thoughts and feelings regarding post-rebellion uniforms are relatively hard to find. Perhaps echoing the views of his peers, A.G. Bradshaw expressed discomfort at discussing military dress in a letter to his family: 'probably you will think it silly of me to fill up a letter from the seat of war with all this girlishness about dress'.[165] However, the visual sources that do exist show that British soldiers embraced these garments as a way to indicate their masculinity, and to associate themselves with the infamous martial race soldiers.

This embrace is clear in the portraits that British officers posed for and commissioned to celebrate their military careers. Perhaps the most famous examples of these are a series of 55 artworks by Louis Desanges, painted between

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[164] The Indian Army had a dress committee which designed military uniforms.
[165] The Cambridge South Asian Archive, A.G. Bradshaw papers. Letter from A.G. Bradshaw to his father, 29 Jan 1858.

1859-1863 and exhibited at Crystal palace until the 1880.[166] These paintings were created to commemorate the deeds for which soldiers, including many so-called 'mutiny heroes', won Victoria Crosses (VCs) between 1856 to 1862.[167] Figure 32 is the oil painting by Desanges depicting Captain Charles John Stanley winning the Victoria Cross at Khurkowhah, August 1857. The painting captures the moment Stanley saved the life of a British officer by killing a rebel soldier. Whereas the other British officers simply wear pugris wrapped around toppees in the colonial style of the age, Stanley, the hero of the portrait, is depicted wearing a blue velvet turban, resplendent with jewels.
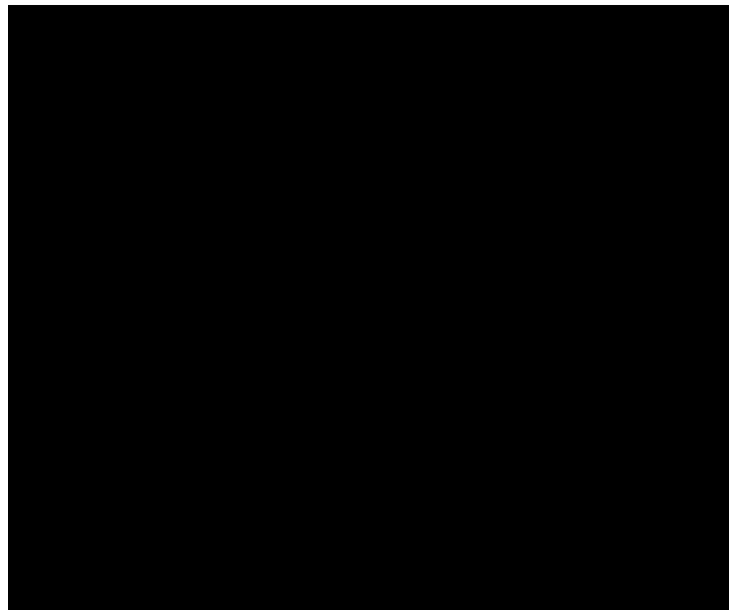
Figure 32: Louis Desanges, Captain Charles John Stanley Gough, 5th Bengal European Cavalry winning the VC at Khurkowhah, Indian Mutiny, 17 August 1857. Oil on canvas, c. 1860. National Army Museum (NAM.1958-12-43-3), London.

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[166] Joan Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914,* (Manchester, 1988), p.64
[167] Hichberger, *Images of the Army,* p. 65.

The depiction of Stanley in this kind of turban is revealing. At the time of the Mutiny, Stanley was serving in the 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, which did not have turbans as part of their uniforms and so he would not actually have worn a full turban tied in this manner. Men within the regular light cavalry regiments such as the 5th Bengal would have been wearing pagris wrapped around toppees, like the British soldiers on the left of the image, if they wore them at all.[168] As a result of the way that Desanges financed his paintings (by approaching the family of a Victoria Cross winner and inviting them to commission a portrait)[169] we know that himself and his sitters would have collaborated on these works, with the subjects discussing how they wanted to be depicted. Stanley's blue turban was therefore likely included (with his agreement) in the image to enhance his heroic appearance. The inclusion of the turban in the portrait could have been done to suggest that Stanley had the necessary qualities to fight, and win, against 'savage' soldiers, and that he had the hyper-militarism and hyper-masculinity associated with martial race soldiers necessary to defeat the disloyal 'barbarous' soldiers. Desanges and Stanley could have sought to convey a sense of masculinity, heroism and civilisational superiority by depicting Stanley in a European-style helmet and uniform, in a more straightforward 'civilised' vs 'uncivilised' portrayal. The fact that they did not choose to do that points to the cultural power orientalised garments held for British soldiers, and the British public. Indeed, we know that the series of portraits was closely associated with heroism by the lower middle classes that the portraits were aimed at; there was considerable lobbying for the series to form the nucleus of a national collection of paintings that celebrated British military heroism.[170] The fact that the turbaned military officer formed a part of this series-- so closely associated with heroism and the 'unfailingly cool courage' of soldiers-- shows the turban stood as a

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[168] This regiment would not have been wearing pagris of this design at this time.
[169] Hichberger, *Images of the Army,* p. 66.
[170] Ibid., p. 66-67.

signifier of courage and military skill outside of the immediate Indian Army community.[171]

By using garments such as turbans to signal desirable masculine traits in large, commemorative artworks, British soldiers often blurred the boundaries between Briton and martial race soldiers. Joan Hichberger argues that Desanges' VC series portrayed 'his young patrons with the noble, passionless faces also attributed by the Victorians to the medieval knights of chivalry'.[172] These 'contemporary knights', she argues, are represented as 'infinitely superior beings, set apart from their enemies…by physical beauty and natural heroism'.[173] This interpretation fits well with the portrait of Stanley discussed above, whose luminous portrait could evoke images of Victorian ideas of 'medieval knights'. However, I argue Desanges also drew on the Victorian ideal (and images) of the martial races to help communicate the natural heroism and superiority of VC winners. In Desanges' commemorative painting of Dighton Probyn's gallantry during the Mutiny (Figure 33), for example, Probyn is shown in a turban, kurta and cummerbund, as well as holding a curved sword that looks similar to the curved tulwars carried by Sikh soldiers. The uniform Probyn wears, and the manner in which his facial features and posture are depicted, deliberately blur the boundaries between Briton and Sikh. In the painting, Desanges emphasises Probyn's dark features, and also gives them the sharpness that often characterised the features of Sikh men in colonial art. Probyn's determined stare and defiant pose also evoke images of Sikhs painted in the latter nineteenth century.

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[171] Hichberger, *Images of the Army,* p. 66.
[172] Ibid., pp. 66-67.
[173] Ibid, pp. 66-67.

Figure 33: Louis Desanges, Captain Dighton Probyn MacNaghten Probyn, 2ⁿᵈ Punjab Cavalry, at the Battle of Agra, 10 October 1857 Oil on canvas, c. 1860. National Army Museum (NAM.1958-12-43-1), London.

We can see, for example, clear similarities between Desanges' the depiction of Probyn and the depictions of Sikh soldiers in Figures 34 and 35. The first is an engraving of Sikh soldiers of the Bengal Lancers. The second is an engraving entitled 'Bengal Lancers- Indian Native Cavalry'. The facial hair and facial expressions of these soldiers are similar to those of Probyn in the Desanges portrait; they share fierce, focussed stares, and sharp pointed noses. Probyn and the martial race soldiers are also depicted in similar 'active' poses, brandishing weapons and riding into battle in loose, khaki uniforms. The impressive militarism of

all the subjects is further suggested by their regimental pattern turbans and easy

handling of horses.
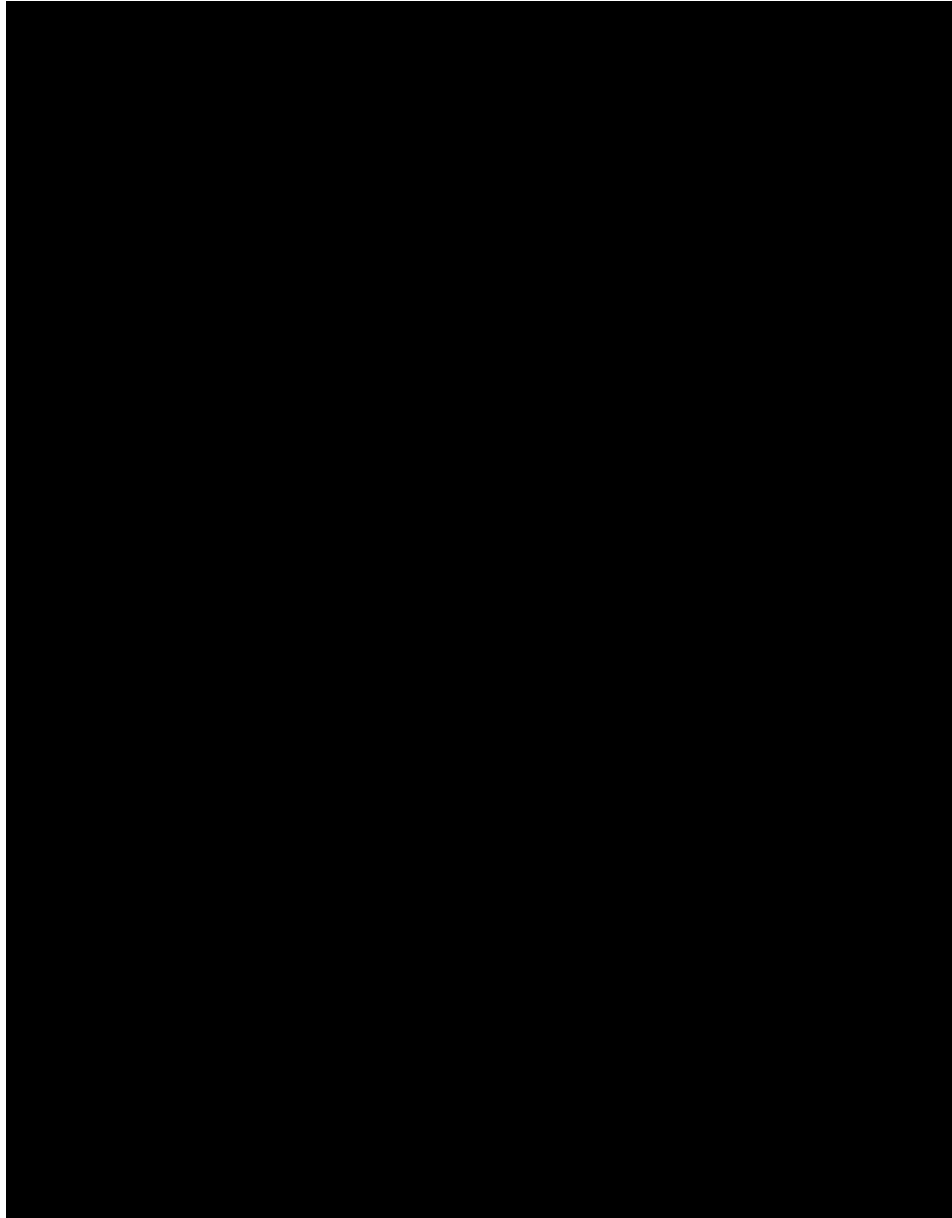
Figure 34: Anon., 'The Indian Frontier Rising: Bengal Lancers Charge a Steep Position', *Illustrated London News,* 2 October 1897, p. 1.
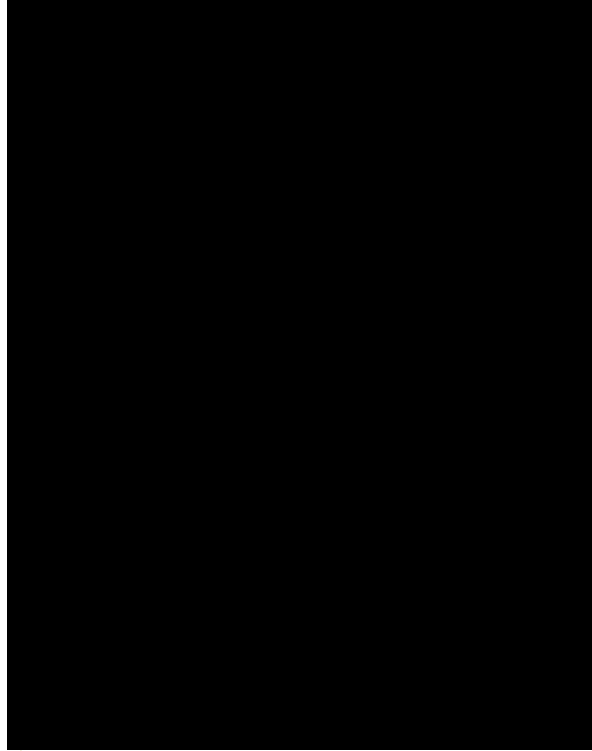
Lancers- Indian Native Cavalry. Engraving, 1890.
New York Picture Library (b17247167), New York.

The linkage between Probyn and the Sikhs is in addition underscored by Probyn's remarkable similarity to the elderly Sikh soldier fighting alongside him in Figure 33. Probyn and the elderly Sikh are depicted in matching kurtas, cummerbunds and turbans. The depiction of Probyn's uniform, and his orientalised features, liken Probyn to a fierce, martial race soldier, all the more so since he is painted leading Sikhs into battle. The painting communicates (and commemorates) Probyn's militaristic masculinity by presenting him as looking like the soldiers who were thought to be the most masculine, and most militaristic.

Other artworks commissioned to commemorate Probyn's career also blurred the boundaries between Briton and Sikh. Figure 36 is a bust Probyn himself commissioned around 1870. In it, he is wearing a turban, with a shawl draped around his shoulders. Military busts and statues were cast to commemorate military

careers, and to communicate the masculinity and militarism of British men. The fact that Dighton Probyn chose to commemorate his own military career, success, and masculinity, through a bust of himself wearing a turban shows the visual power of this garment for British men in the late nineteenth century. There are no medals on the bust of Probyn. The aesthetic elements used to communicate his military success are a turban and shawl. Generally, the militarism and masculinity of European soldiers are communicated in such pieces through medals, British-style helmets, and European army uniforms. As in his portraits, Probyn again chose to express his militaristic masculinity via a bust in which he looks like a martial race soldier.
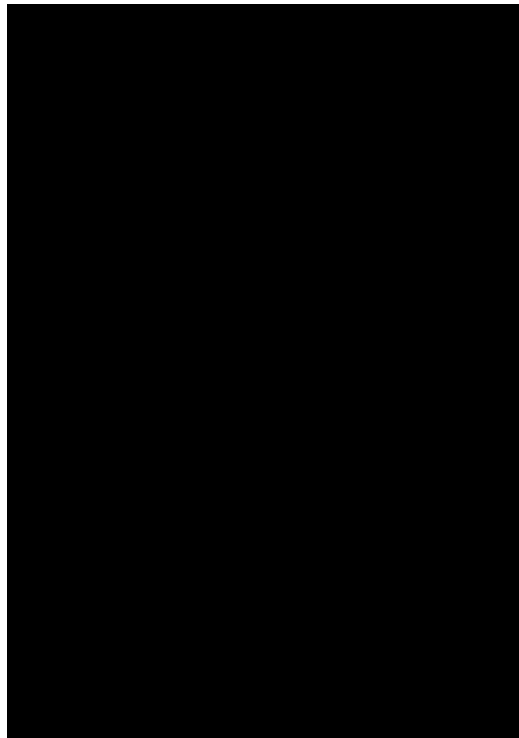
Figure 36: Unknown artist, *Colonel Dighton MacNaughten Probyn, VC.* Bronze-painted plaster bust, c. 1870. National Army Museum (NAM.1999-12-58-1), London.

We can see Indian Army uniforms put to similar use by other British men in more affordable art forms. Miniatures, for example, would have been within the

financial reach of many mid-ranking officers, and were similarly utilised by soldiers to preserve the memory of their military achievements and colonial identities. Figure 37 is an image of a miniature commissioned by a British officer between 1870 and 1905. It shows an unidentified soldier of the Bengal Lancers posing in his orientalised 'B' Indian Army uniform.
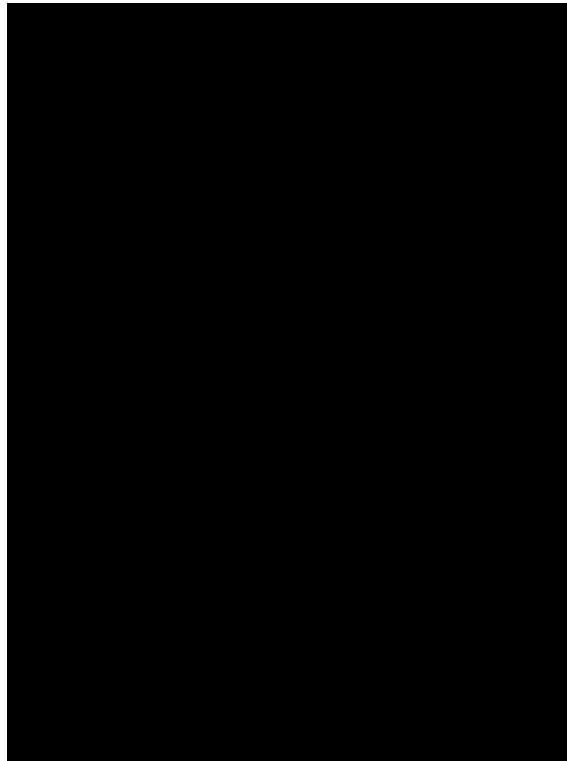
Figure 37: Unknown artist, *Officer, 1st Regiment of Bengal Lancers.* Image courtesy of C&T Auctioneers and Valuers: Arms, Armour, and Militaria, 2019.

The miniature is clearly designed to communicate the colonial and military power of the subject. The officer is painted with a white, marble temple behind him on one side, and exotic fauna, including palm trees, on the other. The officer stands before these symbols of 'the exotic' and the orient, dressed in his orientalised uniform, resting one hand on his hip and another on his sword. The composition of the portrait and the pose of the officer communicates his imperial authority over the landscape behind him; the hand resting on his sword reminds us that he helped to

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conquer this landscape through masculine physical force. The other hand, placed on his hip, communicates pride, confidence, and to modern eyes, imperial arrogance.

In contrast with the depictions of Probyn, here the use of the orientalised Indian Army uniform does not enhance militaristic masculinity by making the subject appear as if he were a martial race soldier; the officer appears clearly British, with his white skin illuminated by sunlight. Instead, the painting harnesses the symbolism and cultural value of the officer's garments. A well-known symbol of 'Eastern' authority generally, and martial race militarism in particular, the turban enhances the British officer's imperial status and the authority that is already communicated via his command over the landscape.

With the advent of portrait photography, portraiture was not confined to the higher ranks of the Indian Army; the tradition of the military portrait was democratised.[174] Cheap, reproducible photographs offered common soldiers an easy way to commemorate their personal wartime experiences and appearances.[175] These images provide an excellent insight into individuals' masculinities as within this artform 'the artist stood aside and let the men paint themselves'.[176]

Many Anglo-Indian officers had photographic portraits taken and turned them into cartes de visite. These were small photographic portraits that were traded among friends and family from the 1860s onwards. Many surviving cartes de visite from nineteenth-century India feature British officers wearing their orientalised Indian Army uniform. Figures 38 and 39 are two cartes. Both Anglo-Indian officers

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[174] Isadora Stankovic, 'Tintype Stares and Regal Airs: Civil War Portrait Photography and Soldier Memorialisation', *Military Images*, (2015), p. 53.
[175] Stankovic, 'Civil War Portrait Photography and Soldier Memorialisation', p. 53.
[176] Ibid.

are from the Bengal Lancers, and wear their B uniforms. The soldier in Figure 38 wears his full dress B uniform, whereas the officer in Figure 39 wears a version of undress B uniform. The richly patterned cummerbunds are visible in both examples.

Figure 38: Unknown photographer, Officer of the 11th Lancers. From The Army in India: A Photographic Record, 1850-1914, (London, 1968), p. 118.

Figure 39: Unknown photographer, *Officer of the Bengal Lancers.* Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

As tools of self-representation the cartes de visite, and other photographic portraits demonstrate the extent to which British soldiers incorporated these uniforms into their personal identities. In these cards, soldiers were able to control their image and choose how to represent themselves; they show how soldiers saw themselves as men. The fact that many British officers wore orientalised Indian army uniforms in the cartes de visite show that these institutionally prescribed uniforms had become intertwined with their self-perception and personal identity. Individuals like Probyn painted in high-value portraits were therefore not outliers. Men throughout the military hierarchy came to see such garments as part of their military and masculine identity.

Soldiers not only posed for and produced photographic portraits to validate their sense of self, but also distributed them to project an ideal image in society. Cartes de visite played an important role in maintaining and developing social

networks; they were tools that helped British men establish and maintain reputations. Cartes de visite were all the more important in colonial India, where reputation, status, and even military position could depend on the quality of an individual's or family's personal connections. In the two photographic portraits above, both officers emphasised their militarism and authority, qualities integral to militaristic masculinity and reputation, using orientalised 'B' uniforms. The soldier in Figure 39 (above) poses in B undress uniform; an unusual aesthetic choice in a military portrait, but one that gives the sitter an air of action and adventure; a similar version of this undress uniform would have been worn on campaign. By choosing to be pictured in undress 'B' uniform, the sitter looks rugged and ready for battle, an image enhanced by the fact he poses next to a pile of wood, which evokes ideas of camp, adventure, and life on campaign. The officer's loosely tied turban, alongside a loose kurta, and non-regulation 'loongi' tied around his neck recalls the image of marital race soldiers. Loosely tied turbans were the mark of martial race 'wildness', and alongside the rest of his loose clothing suggests the same unfettered rugged masculinity admired in the British fantasy of martial race soldiers, and also valued by militaristic masculinity.

In Figure 38 (above) the officer wears full dress uniform and rather than communicating the battle-readiness of the sitter, the photograph more clearly communicates imperial status and authority. The fact that the individual sits close to the camera, with the entire length of his kurta visible allows us to see the richness of the uniform. For example, we can see the pattern and get a sense of the colours of the cashmere cummerbund, the richness of the kurta's colour, and the detail in the lace. As with any form of visual arts in which British men were pictured in orientalised uniform, the photograph evokes the image of martial race soldiers and suggests the sitter's shared traits with them. Further, as the richness of the garments is displayed clearly in the photograph, it also communicates the fact that

he was a leader of these men. When this card was distributed in among family, friends, and in society, the uniform reminded the viewer that the officer commanded soldiers who counted among the most fearsome and inherently militaristic soldiers in the world. His relaxed pose suggests the ease with which he rules in a 'marital race' idiom, enhancing the perception of socially desirable masculine qualities.

Photographic portraits and cartes de visite also played an important role in the colonial family. Photographic portraits were often given, or sent, to family members as aide de memoir during extended absences. Such images therefore helped define how the soldier was perceived and remembered by family members, often over many years. Indeed, the proximity between the soldier and death gave these portraits even greater meaning; when sent to family members and friends they acted as sentimental mementos, and often were the last images family had of their relative. The photograph in Figure 40 shows an Anglo-Indian officer of the Bengal Lancers in B review order dress, which was donated to the National Army Museum amongst the papers of his wife. It is unclear whether he survived his Indian Army service, but it is striking that when choosing how he would be remembered by his wife, and how his career would be commemorated, he chose to be pictured in orientalised dress.
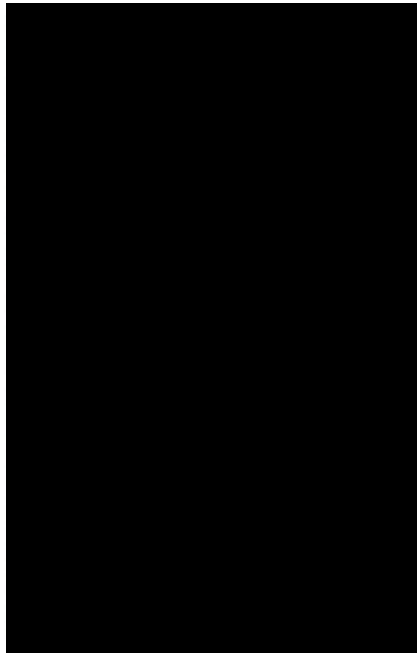
Figure 40: Unknown photographer, *Officer of the 11th (King Edward's Own) Lancers.* c. 1880-1890. National Army Museum (NAM.1964-08-341-6), London.

The pride that this officer has in his uniform is clear in his pose. The hand on the hip shows authority, and also confidence. Similar poses are visible in the other cartes de visite we have examined. In these images, we can detect that Anglo-Indian men took pleasure in wearing these uniforms, and in the status that their implied association with martial race soldiers gave them.

A Strategic 'Embrace of Barbarism'

My argument that the co-existence of A and B uniforms enabled a 'strategic' embrace of barbarism, and thereby facilitated the demonstration of racial superiority, is supported by officers' consumption practices. Regimental photographs provide yet more evidence that Anglo-Indian officers mobilised their A and B uniforms in order to perform racial and masculine superiority.

Regimental photo albums were comprised of official photographs taken of units, companies or regiments, and then collated to preserve the history of the regiment and its activities. Some regimental photograph albums were compiled by official sources (i.e. directly produced by the regiment) and others by individuals who wished to document regimental history themselves. Writing of photograph albums produced by British civilian travellers and administrators, Elizabeth Heath has emphasised that they were a way for individuals to construct imperial identities that resonated with Britain's colonial mission.[177] For Heath, photograph albums captured insights into collective ideals, and individuals' or families' desire to achieve them. She argues that dissecting individual photographs can reveal not just information about the creators, but also about broader British desires and ideals in India.[178]

Building on Heath's insights into civilian imperial photographs, I argue regimental photographs can reveal information about the broader cultural values, masculine desires and ideals in the Indian Army, as well as the desire of individuals to meet them. I argue that photographs of the late nineteenth century show Anglo-Indian officers' efforts to demonstrate – through uniforms – the versatility and superiority of British men.

Figure 41 is a photograph of the Bengal Lancers in 1899, and shows a variety of orders of dress from A and B uniforms. The central figures of the regimental photograph are wearing review order dress—the smartest form of military dress—in A and B uniforms, respectively. For the officer in A uniform, this

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[177] Elizabeth Heath, 'Albums of Empires Past: Photography, Collective Memory, and the British Raj', *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 27, (2015), pp. 76.
[178] Ibid., 80-81.

includes a European-style cavalry jacket and dark overalls, and for the officer in B uniform, a turban, kummerbund and kurta. The officers seated to their sides are pictured wearing mess dress, A and B respectively, which for the A uniformed officer is almost identical to that of a cavalry officer in the British army, being made up of a short, cropped, stable jacket with ornamented mess waistcoat worn underneath. For the officer in B mess dress, this included a more casual kurta and turban of regimental pattern, alongside a plain cummerbund. The image also shows British officers in A and B field order dress (far left and right standing) and undress uniforms. The soldier standing in the centre of the image wears an undress jacket and the peak-less, circular forage cap that was an iconic part of all British cavalry regiments' undress uniform.
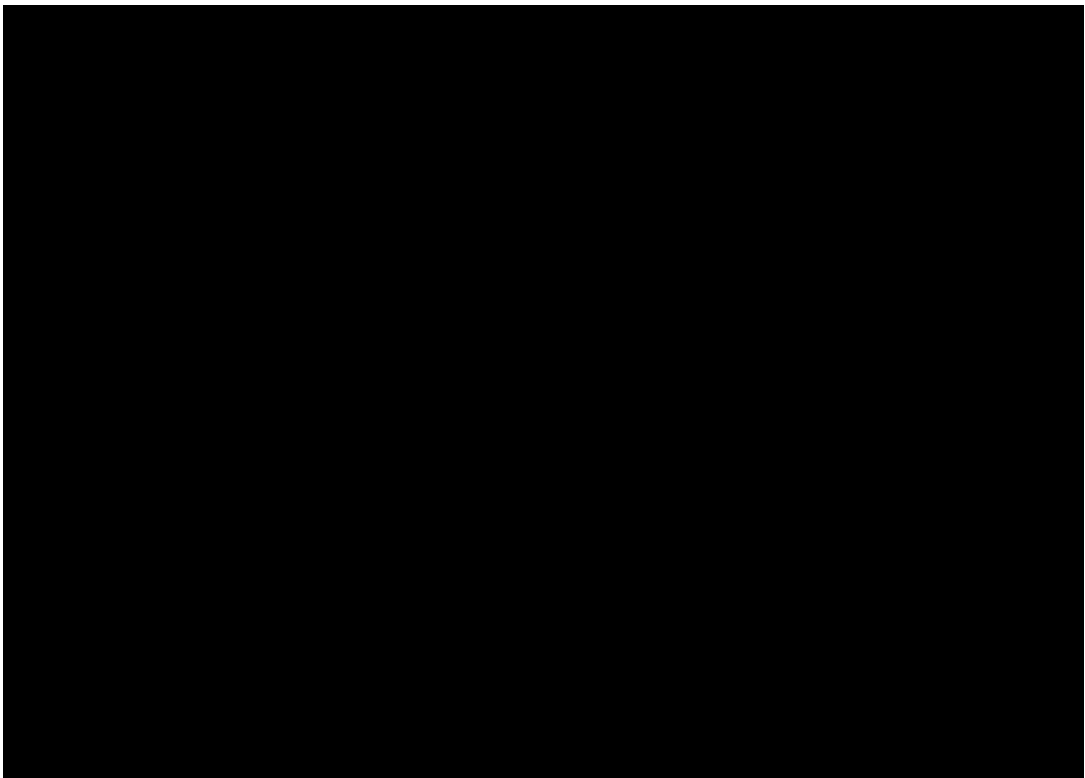
Figure 41: Unknown photographer, *Orders of Dress, 18th Bengal Lancers.* Sialkote, 1899. National Army Museum (NAM.1984-09-10), London.

Uniforms were mobilised in this image by the 18th Bengal Lancers to visually demonstrate the fact they were proficient in various styles of combat and able to hold their own in both European and 'oriental' theatres of war. As we have seen, this was a key fantasy of nineteenth century imperialism, and the inclusion of both types of uniform in this photograph could be interpreted as an attempt to illustrate this ability. The wide variety of orders of dress represented in this photograph may also suggest the ability of these men to command not only in an Eastern and Western idiom but also in the various scenarios indicated by the different orders of dress: on the battlefield, on parade, on review, in mess, both as 'martial race' leaders and British officers.

This dynamic is particularly noticeable in regimental photographs that also include locally raised troops. Figure 42 is a photograph of the officers of an (unidentified) cavalry brigade taken in Koorum, in 1879. As well as two British officers in their orientalised full dress B uniforms, the photograph features British men wearing A uniforms; three men are pictured wearing European-style undress tunics (with short skirts), two men are pictured wearing stable dress with British army-style circular forage caps and striped overalls, and two men (seated either side of the table) wear European style patrol jackets. Meanwhile, the Indian officers, who were issued only orientalised uniforms, wear that one style of uniform.[179]

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[179] The one person of South Asian descent in this image who does not wear full dress, appears to have been a regimental servant, not enlisted in the army.
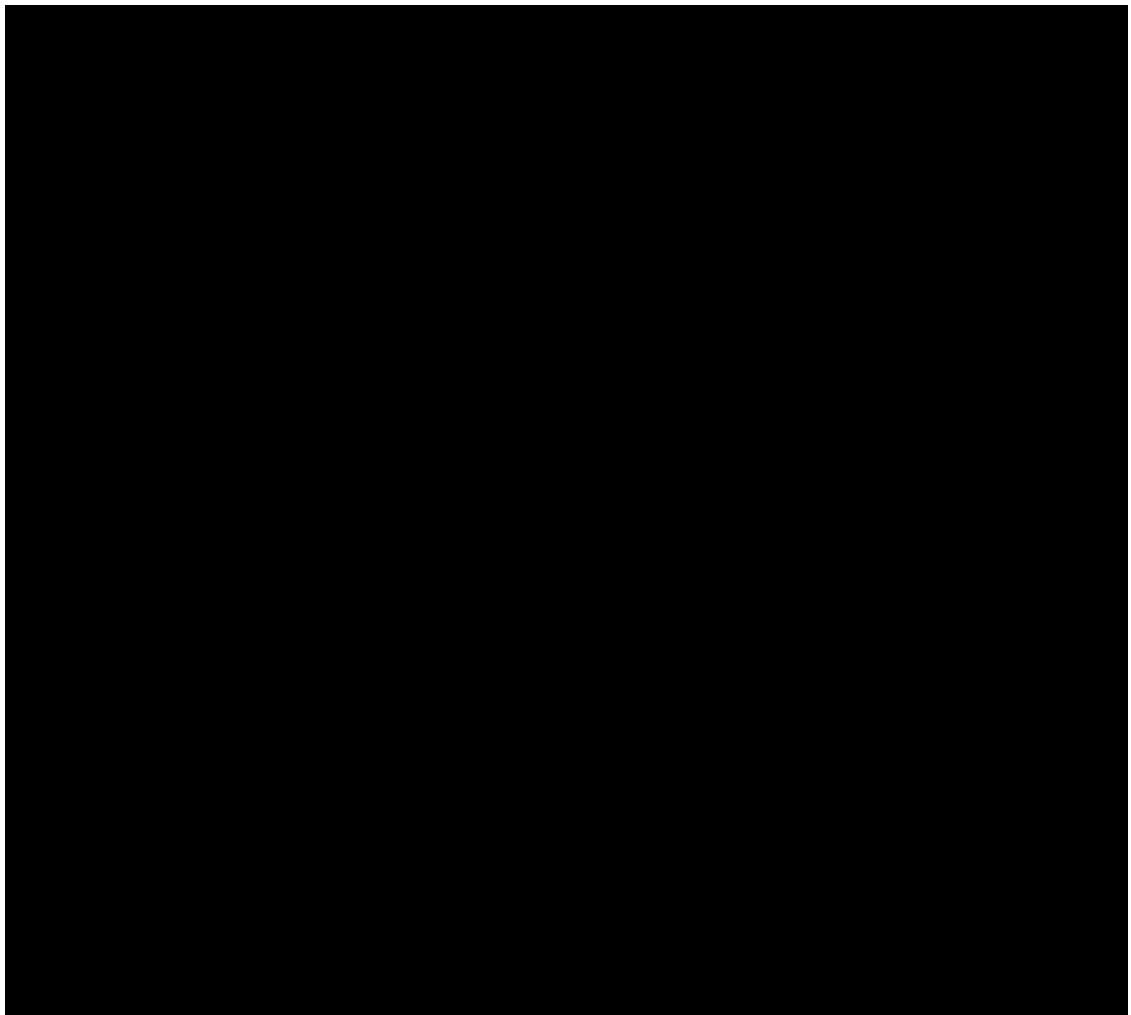
Figure 42: Unknown photographer, *Officers of Cavalry Brigade, Koorum, 1879.* **National Army Museum (NAM.1955-04-42-108), London.**

The photograph captures the intensely strategic 'embrace of barbarism' associated with the designs of Indian Army uniforms, and Anglo-Indian officer's consumption of them. In the photograph, the British men in various A and B uniforms again demonstrate the desire of the men from this regiment show their adaptability (as individuals and as a regiment); some of the officers signal martial race masculine traits with their large turbans, cummerbunds and poshteens, while others signal the traits associated with European cavalrymen—like dash and glamour-- via garments such as peakless forage caps, the headware associated with European light cavalry. The relaxed poses of the Anglo-Indian men, many of whom pictured casually reclining, suggests the ease with which they commanded in both idioms.

In contrast, the South Asian soldiers, appear monolithic and one-dimensional. They are not named in the captions, so do not appear as individual men with names, histories and lives of their own. They are pictured in only one style of uniform, wearing only the fantastical Anglo-Indian interpretations of 'native' dress assigned to them in dress regulations. With their individuality suppressed, the South Asian men photographed serve to reflect (and serve to construct) racial colonial fantasies of martial race soldiers in the image. Such photographs are, according to Christopher Pinney, typical of state mobilised colonial photography in late nineteenth century India. Pinney argues that subjects and individuals in such photographs are transformed into illustrations of a general thesis: they become substitutable elements in a hierarchical structure of categories in which all that matters is to be representative or indicative of some wider group.[180] In this photograph, the South Asian soldiers are appear exactly this way; without their names in their captions, they are denied personhood and relegated to be 'representative' of martial race soldiers, an idealised 'type' or 'category' of soldier within the Indian Army. The photograph is representative of a dichotomy that Pinney argues underpins much photographic portraiture practice in India right through the nineteenth century and beyond; on the one hand, a complex European identity (demonstrated through the variety of uniforms pictured) and on the other, a non-Western uniformity, anonymity, and a sense of 'fixity, on the other'.[181]

This dynamic is enhanced by the fact that Anglo-Indian men wear various orders of dress (in A and B uniforms) which suggests their possession of dynamic masculine and soldierly identities; the different orders of dress indicate the different variety of roles that the men undertook in them, including field service, patrols,

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[180] Pinney, *Camera Indica,* pp. 50-52.
[181] Pinney, *Camera Indica,* p. 63-4.

reviews, stable activities, and participation in the mess. In contrast, the martial race soldiers are pictured only wearing full dress uniforms. This gives them a static, decorative appearance, suggesting a lack of ability to carry out a varied range of roles and, therefore, a lack of leadership ability. Pinney argues that in the nineteenth century, there was considerable official anxiety about the identity of colonial subjects, and photography associated with the colonial state attempted to fix these identities photographically.[182] The use of only the full dress uniform for the South Asian soldiers in this regimental photograph can be interpreted as an attempt to fix the soldiers' identities in a way that was advantageous to the colonial state; as decorative colonial counterparts-- rather than soldiers with their own agency-- that the British could define themselves against.

As well as performing military, racial, and masculine superiority through the co-existence of Indian Army A and B uniforms in regimental photographs, men also performed this individually by merging European style dress with elements of their Indian Army uniforms. Figure 43 is a photograph of an unnamed British officer pictured wearing an undress turban with a full tweed suit, which he opens to reveal his tightly fitted tweed waistcoat and bow tie. Figure 44 is an image of Alexander Gordon, a soldier of Scottish and Anglo-Spanish ancestry, dressed in a full tartan suit and turban tied from matching tartan fabric.

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[182] Ibid., p. 128.
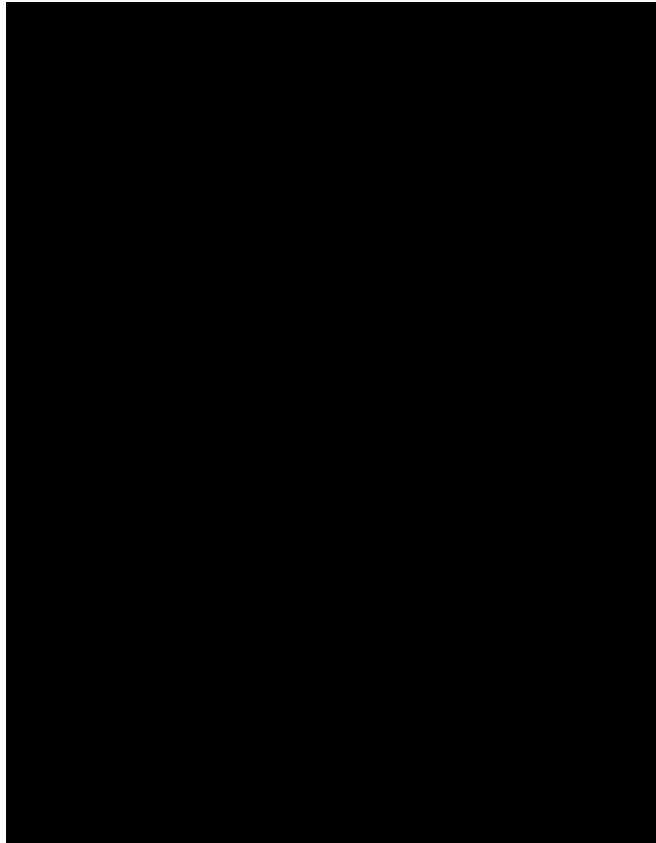
Figure 43: Unknown photographer, *untitled.* **C.1890.**
National Army Museum (NAM.1979-10-79: 9), London.
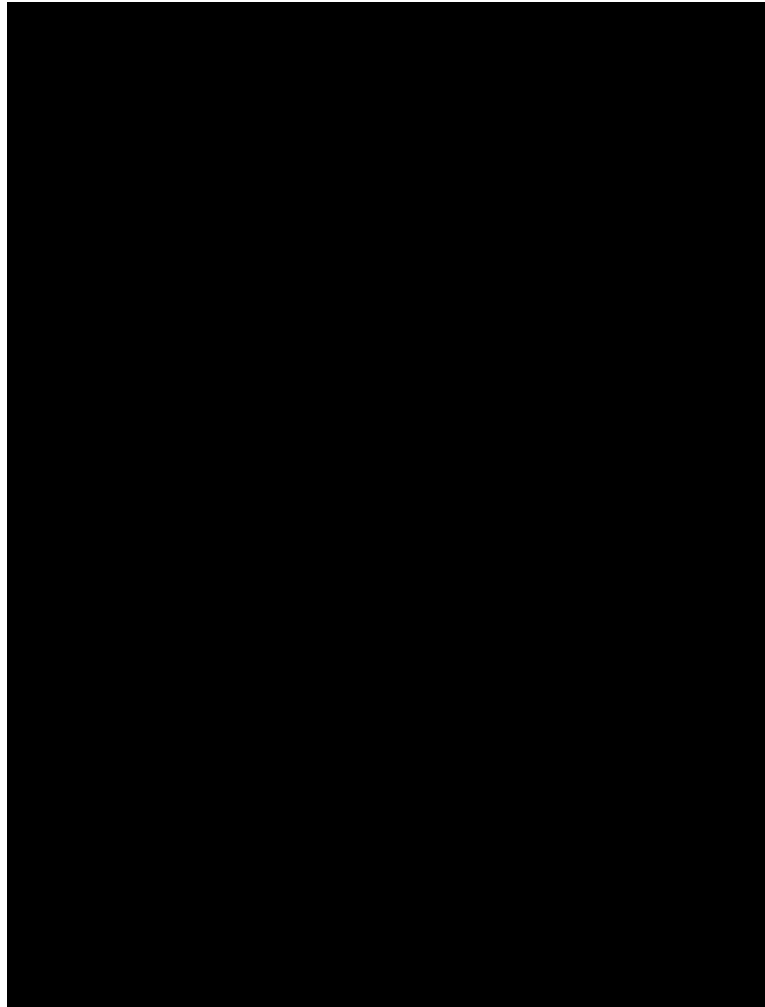
Figure 44: Samuel Bourne and Charles Shepherd, Colonel Alexander Gardner. Copy of an original print from the Victoria and Albert Museum. Scottish National Portrait Gallery (PGP608), Edinburgh.

Tweed suits, as worn by the soldier in Figure 43 are garments that are inextricably tied to the idea of a British country gentleman, and masculine values such as gentlemanliness, honour and civility. Similarly, although tartan was not so closely associated with the concept of gentlemanliness, by the late nineteenth century the fabric was associated with a firmly Scottish (and by extension) British tradition of masculinity and honour. When the two soldiers paired these garments, so evocative of 'British' masculine traits and values, with turbans, the ultimate symbol of martial race traits, they demonstrated their possession of masculine traits perceived to lie within British and marital race traditions. As we have seen, militaristic masculinity demanded that British men be both fierce and honourable,

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rugged yet civilised, instinctive but with restraint. As well as demonstrating this through wearing both A and B uniforms on different occasions, these photographs show that British men also demonstrated this through mixing elements of their B uniforms (in these cases turbans) with traditionally British civilian clothing.

Conclusion

The cultural cross-dressing institutionalised within the Indian Army in the late nineteenth century, and embraced by British officers, was highly strategic. Cultural-cross dressing has often been viewed by historians as an example of meaningful cross-cultural exchange that undermined racial divisions. However, orientalised Indian Army uniforms worked to enhance the collective masculine power of British men, and for this reason were embraced by individual men to shore up their claims to the hegemonic masculine identity of the age.

This chapter has shown that in order to perform the 'racial superiority' associated with militaristic masculinity, British men in the Indian Army did not ape metropolitan fashions in the same way as British civilian men in India. Indian army uniforms manipulated complex colonial fantasies and racial stereotypes in order to enhance the militaristic masculinity and colonial power of the wearer. My chapter has critiqued a historiography that emphasized a progressive Anglicization of Anglo-Indian dress by focussing on army uniforms. I have examined in depth the pre-1857 uniforms developed in both presidency and locally-raised armies. Giving detailed analysis to images from the visual culture of the period, I found common elements of dress across the Indian and British army combined with use of only some of this dress by locally raised troops in the Indian Army in order to convey strict racial hierarchy. I contrasted this with the orientalised dress of the irregular cavalry. My

chapter went on to show the stages by which this practice in the irregular cavalry became incorporated into the regular Army. After the 1857 Rebellion the Indian Army increasingly adopted an aesthetic associated with 'martial race' fantasies, and orientalised parts of the uniforms. I related the incorporation of khaki and turbans into uniforms, and set out the formation of a martial race aesthetic, especially as this connected to images of Sikh cavalry. Finally, I discuss post-Mutiny army dress, and the development of A and B type uniforms, the first focussed on European design, and the second on a martial race aesthetic. I have discussed these uniforms in depth drawing on material object and visual sources in museum collections, and have set the historical development of these uniforms out through the gendered lens of 'military masculinity'. I have completed my analysis by investigating the way the uniforms were integrated into a military and colonial consumer culture and conveyed in portraiture, 'history' paintings of battle scenes, sculpture, miniatures and photography. I showed the way the division between the A and B type uniforms reinforced racial hierarchies, and use of the B type uniforms or parts of it were incorporated into military consumer culture to convey martial race masculinity. Rather than being subversive garments that challenged the racial hierarchies at the heart of militaristic masculinity, orientalised Indian Army uniforms were designed, and consumed by British men, in ways that manipulated racial ideologies and enhanced militaristic masculinity.

CONCLUSION

'The soldier as he is, and the soldier as he is popularly represented, are to say the least of it, two very different pictures. It, is, I think commonly supposed, and the error is not confined to civilians, that the recruit when he puts on his soldier's coat, be it red or blue or green, puts off, so to speak, his humanity, and becomes forthwith a mere machine, sinking his individuality, and forfeiting his right to personality'.[1]

This quote from Major General Bengough in the *Navy and Army Illustrated* demonstrates that, as early as 1896, there was unease among some soldiers at the lack of differentiation between 'the soldier as he is' and the 'soldier as he is popularly represented'. Bengough observed that an identity as a soldier (signified through a red, blue or green coat) subsumed and obscured other aspects of their individual identity and personality.[2] This thesis has sought to address a similar lack of differentiation, over a hundred years later, between the lived experiences of soldier and the nineteenth century popular representations of them in academic scholarship. The lack of differentiation Bengough felt that civilians (and even military individuals) drew between 'soldiers as they are' and their popular representation has been repeated in academic scholarship in the twentieth twenty-first centuries. With limited exceptions, academic scholarship has focussed on the soldier-hero ideal within nineteenth century literature, without engaging with the lived

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[1] Major General H.M. Bengough, 'The Soldier as He Is', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* 17 January 1896, pp. 51-52.
[2] Red representing the infantry, blue representing the cavalry, and the green representing the artillery.

experience of those men who were identified as the embodiment of manly qualities. Aside from J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie's work on big game hunting, there have been few studies that consider how, exactly, Anglo-Indian men lived up to these ideals in colonial warfare and society, and the implications of this.

By engaging with Anglo-Indian soldiers' lived experiences, this thesis has made a significant contribution to scholarship on militaristic masculinity, as well as to historical work on Anglo-Indian subjectivities, empire, and race more broadly. I have shown different ways that soldiers constructed and performed the hegemonic identity within the context of their lives in the Indian army. In doing so, I have demonstrated that soldiers' subjective experiences of militaristic masculinity often differed substantially from the ideal representation, while still being committed to the hegemonic ideal's core values. By using a material culture methodology, I have demonstrated how militaristic masculinity shaped men's interactions with their material environments, publicly, privately, and even in relation to their own bodies.

My discussion of Anglo-Indian looting in chapter three provided an important insight into how a hegemonic masculinity that considered 'unapologetically violent soldiers' as paragons of manliness was translated into colonial life.[3] I demonstrated that objects looted by Anglo-Indian men and imperial troops were used to aid individual constructions of militaristic masculinity, as well as to bolster the image of Anglo-Indian men collectively.

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[3] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914,* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 4.

Exploring the inscriptions Anglo-Indian men gave looted objects demonstrated how men used these items to authenticate their socially-desirable participation in imperial battles, as well as to indicate their ability to conquer and dominate colonial lands and people. I also demonstrated how in Anglo-Indian officers' accounts of looting, there was a blurring of hidden loot and women's bodies; of looting and sex, or rape; and of colonisation and sexual mastery. This language built on well-established colonial tropes equating colonial and sexual mastery to enable Anglo-Indian soldiers to assert their masculinity and virility, and thereby militaristic masculinity. I drew on object types traditionally side-stepped by imperial historians—campaign medals and heavy artillery—to demonstrate how men harnessed such objects to project the military and masculine might of Anglo-Indian men as a ruling, colonial class.

Chapter 3, therefore, showed what happened when militaristic masculinity left the pages of adventure stories, and was articulated in the context of colonial India. This chapter demonstrate that the hegemonic ideal, and the desire to live up to it, were linked to material violence enacted by Anglo-Indian men, since the practice of looting was a form of colonial violence. It provides insight into instances when Anglo-Indian men *did* construct masculine identities directly in line with the activities of the boisterous, violent soldier-hero in adventure novels.

In the later chapters of my thesis, I explored instances of Anglo-Indian officers expressing militaristic masculine identities that diverged from their

cultural representations. My discussion of the connections between domesticity and militaristic masculinity in chapter 4 adds depth to the scholarship on militaristic masculinity. By demonstrating the connections between militarism, military careers, and masculinity on one hand, and domestic economy on the other, I demonstrated that a sphere that was posited as the antithesis of militaristic masculinity in contemporary literature was actually significant for the performance of male identity for Anglo-Indian officers in colonial India. An ability to manage domestic economy was connected to military success, and thereby masculinity, in both domestic advice literature and Anglo-Indian officers' regulations. These connections did not exist solely in prescriptive literature. Anglo-Indian men and women themselves linked successful performance in the home to success as military officers, and as a result men strove to prove themselves adept managers in the home. A desire to construct militaristic masculinities fundamentally shaped the way Anglo-Indian men engaged with their homes. This important, everyday practice of militaristic masculinity is not captured in cultural histories of the masculine ideal; my chapter, therefore, reminds us of the necessity of supplementing cultural histories with social histories of imperialism.

As well as enriching the scholarship on militaristic masculinity by providing an insight into the mundane ways men constructed militaristic masculine identities, this chapter also provided a new perspective on the interaction between women and men in relation to the construction of Anglo-Indian masculinity in the home. Based on readings of contemporary popular

literature, historical scholarship on militaristic masculinity has conceived of women purely as the hyper-feminine counterpoints against which hegemonic masculine identity was constructed. Building on the work of Mary Procida, who identified an 'imperial partnership' between Anglo-Indian civilian men and women, I have argued that Anglo-Indian women worked to enhance the reputation of their husbands as good managers of domestic economy, which aided the production of militaristic masculine identities. Given that in the late nineteenth century, it was common for military officers to live with their wives in India, it is necessary for historians to engage with how this hyper-masculine identity worked in relation to Anglo-Indian women, rather than taking at face value the impression given by nineteenth century literature of empire as a 'bachelors' paradise'.

My final chapter on Indian Army Uniforms considered the relationship between militaristic masculinity and martial race ideology. I demonstrated that Indian Army uniforms from the 1860s were sites of two inter-related colonial fantasies of masculinity. The uniforms of South Asian soldiers institutionalised British and Anglo-Indian fantasies of martial race soldiers' hyper-masculine and hyper-militaristic, but ultimately savage, identities. At the same time, uniforms of Anglo-Indian officers were a 'strategic embrace of barbarism' that appropriated aesthetics associated with martial race soldiers in order to aid the production of militaristic masculinity. Martial race soldiers were thought to possess masculine traits valued by Anglo-Indians such as militarism and bravery. Wearing garments associated with these soldiers and their manly traits enabled Anglo-Indian men to express the vigorous and

hyper-masculine nature of militaristic masculinity far better than European military uniforms, which were associated with older, 'polite' European forms of masculinity. The retention of European dress in 'A' uniforms, however, ensured that Anglo-Indian officers could prove their racial superiority through switching between their 'savage' and 'civilised dress'. This chapter demonstrates that the racial superiority associated with the ideal was not performed only through Anglicised clothing, as was the case for the civilian community. It shows that, in the context of the army, Anglo-Indian men also manipulated complex colonial fantasies and racial stereotypes through clothing in order to formulate militaristic masculine identities.

The chapter also makes a more general contribution to scholarship on late nineteenth century constructions of gender in colonial India by highlighting the significance of so-called martial race soldiers (and martial race ideology) in constructions of Anglo-Indian masculinity. With the exception of Bradley Deane, and, to a limited extent, Heather Streets, scholars of militaristic masculinity have identified 'the effeminate Bengali' as the 'native' counterpoint against which Anglo-Indian masculinities were constructed. Chapter 5 demonstrates that masculinities within the Indian Army were articulated in close association with (fantasies of) the aesthetics and traits of martial race soldiers.

Through these chapters, therefore, my thesis makes a substantial contribution to the scholarship on militaristic masculinity. Across the themes of looting, home building, and army uniforms, the thesis has illustrated a

multiplicity of ways men constructed and performed militaristic masculinity; from inscribing looted objects, to purchasing cheap silk sofas; from displays of heavy artillery, to cartes de visite. I have shown how the expression of identity in India was more nuanced than existing literature suggests, and I have demonstrated the significance of groups traditionally side-lined (Anglo-Indian women and martial race soldiers) in the construction of these identities. The work of cultural historians on the representations of militaristic masculinity in nineteenth century literature has been extremely valuable, but the field can appear one-dimensional as a result of the shortage of historical studies that engage with the subjective experiences of men.

John Tosh argues that some historians' dissatisfaction with the current dominance of cultural methodologies in histories of masculinity does not arise from any doubt about the quality of work done in the new cultural turn, but rather with the aggrandisement of the cultural turn as *the* historical paradigm.[4] Similarly, my thesis' focus on social histories of militaristic masculinity is not designed as a rejection of cultural histories of the ideal, but rather to enrich these histories by providing an exploration of the subjective experiences of this identity, so that cultural histories do not form the *only* basis of our understanding of the ideal. The fact that my thesis explores these experiences among men in an imperial context is a further addition to this historical scholarship; empire was central to militaristic masculine ideals, but existing work has focussed primarily on metropolitan fiction. I therefore

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[4] John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in John Arnold and Sean Brady (ed.), *What Is Masculinity?*, (Basingstoke 2011), p. 4.

provide a social history study of masculinity set in empire, to supplement a field that is characterised by cultural studies based in the metropole, using fiction written there.

Aside from its contribution to histories of masculinity, my thesis also makes a contribution to the scholarship on the Anglo-Indian military community. Although many scholars have recognised the militarism in nineteenth century colonial India, the civilian community is taken as 'standard' in much of the historiography on the Indian empire. My thesis has demonstrated that studying the Anglo-Indian military community is essential to understanding colonial society and its power dynamics. In chapter 3, for example, I showed that in order to understand colonial looting it is essential to understand Anglo-Indian military men and their perceptions of masculinity. My discussion of military uniforms demonstrated that martial race discourse and ideas about masculinity not only influenced the way imperial power was demonstrated through the bodies of Anglo-Indian soldiers, but also affected the dress of the South Asian soldiers in the army. As well as this, I demonstrated that the Anglo-Indian military community had distinctive identities and experience, and therefore require specific historical study, if they are to be understood, rather than being a footnote to the history of the civilian community. For example, in chapter 5, I showed how demonstrations of racial superiority via clothing differed among the Anglo-Indian military and civilian community. My thesis therefore makes a contribution to the scholarship on an under-studied, but extremely important, colonial group, and thereby, to the scholarship on imperialism more broadly. Colonialism in

India, in all its forms, cannot be understood without understanding the people who physically conquered and maintained the empire. By studying Anglo-Indian military men, I have contributed to knowledge on this part of colonialism.

Finally, through its integration of sources associated with imperial and military history, my thesis demonstrates the fruitfulness of combining the two fields. I have demonstrated that important colonial stories can be told when sources associated with military history, including officers regulations, campaign medals, regimental photographs, are interpreted through an imperial history lens. By highlighting the richness of these sources for scholars interested in imperialism, gender, and race, I hope to have demonstrated the importance of integrating them more fully into histories of colonialism, and not writing them off as useful only to so-called parochial military historians. By incorporating sources like medals, guns, and military uniforms into an analysis of nineteenth century masculinity, my thesis also contributes to moving the military and imperial histories of India away from the histories of violence with which it has long been associated.

In R.W. Connell's outline of the development of Western gender ideology, she argues that 'masculinities are not only shaped by the process of imperial expansion, they are active in that process and help to shape it'.[5] Given that this has for decades been accepted by historians of India, and given that historians of militaristic masculinity have drawn attention to the

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[5] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities,* (Berkely, 1995), pp. 185-6.

close connections between late nineteenth century masculinity and imperial war, it is important to understand how masculinity operated in real, colonial contexts. If masculinities shaped the process of imperial expansion, it is essential to understand how exactly those gender identities operated in actual colonial contexts, as opposed to on the pages of books. The desire to distinguish between literary representations of a masculine ideal and lived experience is not just academic; it is necessary to recognise militaristic masculinity as a 'major historical force' that shaped the lives of individuals, and the trajectories of colonialism.

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