READING THE EMPIRE FROM AFAR: FROM COLONIAL SPECTACLES TO COLONIAL LITERACIES

by

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DEDICATION

To Scott, without you, I could not have done it.
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Reading the Empire from Afar: From Colonial Spectacles to Colonial Literacies

Abstract

by

Danielle Leigh Nielsen

This dissertation investigates the relationships among Victorian literacy and history pedagogies, colonial discourse analysis, and colonial texts produced in the early twentieth century. The first four chapters address texts written in the wake of the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars held in Delhi, India. The epilogue analyzes E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* and encourages new research on Modernist colonial literature like George Orwell’s *Burmese Days* and Paul Scott’s *The Raj Quartet* and twentieth-century Indian writings like Rabindranath Tagore’s *The Home and the World* and Mahatma Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj*. The dissertation suggests a new way of reading non-fictional documents, Edwardian and Modernist colonial fiction, and Indian literature and non-fiction: as history lessons which advocate best citizenship practices in relation to a global empire. While the Coronation Durbar documents promote the viability of the Empire, the texts discussed in the Epilogue argue that for any type of relationship between Britain and India to be successful, decolonization must occur. These lessons, though they seem to contradict one another, both work to protect the relationship between India and Britain and the status of the British homeland.

Looking at the intersection of two often unrelated discourses—rhetorical genre studies and colonial/post-colonial discourse theory—I argue that early twentieth-century
texts took up the genre of the history lesson by creating and promoting similar “typified rhetorical actions” to those the history lessons created by late-Victorian pedagogues. The texts analyzed in the dissertation attempt to provide readers with background information, teach them how to understand cause and effect between historical events, and above all, urge patriotism and loyalty, integral parts of the Victorian history lesson. This literature was targeted to an increasingly literate and educated public and attempted to teach British readers not only about the colony, but also worked to persuade them to read the colony in a different way.
Introduction: Narratives of the Colonial Spectacle, Victorian History Pedagogy, and Genre Theory

For several weeks during 1902-03 and again during 1911-12, Delhi – not London – became the center of the Empire when it hosted the Coronation Durbars. Ceremonial repetitions of Indian Durbars held in centuries past and of Queen Victoria’s 1877 Imperial Assemblage, the Durbars proclaimed King Edward and King George Emperors of India. On January 1, 1903, Lord Curzon opened King Edward VII’s Coronation Durbar at the Durbar Amphitheatre in Delhi, India; December 12, 1911, King George V, Queen Mary, and Lord Hardinge presided over His Majesty’s own Delhi Durbar. The Coronation Durbars were intended to reinforce the power of India’s Emperor, both at home and abroad, and remind Indians of the hierarchical structure the British developed for their native rulers. The Durbar was not a British invention but rather a revisioning of a long-standing Indian tradition. In “Representing Authority in Victorian India” Bernard Cohn explains that historically Durbars helped shore up social and political relationships within the Indian state and made public both the subject's and the ruler's commitments to one another. Beginning with the East India Company in the early-nineteenth century and with increasing frequency after the 1857 Indian Uprising, the British used Durbars to rank allied princes formally under British control, to establish an official code of conduct that controlled how the Indians were recognized by British authorities, and to define a standard of imperial power. In short, the Durbars were intended to foster imperial pride and cultivate a sense of imperial citizenship.

In addition to imperial spectacles such as the Coronation Durbars, other events and experiences, like history education, were used to encourage imperial pride and
citizenship. A.H. Garlick in *A New Manual of Method* (1907) suggests that the “prime aim” of history ought to be a lesson that “calls forth feelings of patriotism. It stimulates the national pride, promotes a love of virtue, gives powerful object lessons against vice, and tends, rightly taught, to make good citizens” (Garlick 258, emphasis Garlick’s). For Garlick, and many others including pedagogues and essayists during the fin-de-siècle, history and the texts associated with it taught Britons how to appropriately serve and honor their country. As imperial spectacles designed to foster citizenship and patriotism, the Coronation Durbars and the texts produced in their wake, provided a well-documented example of the ways in which British and imperial events (and history) encouraged citizenship. The Durbars and the texts created for them addressed many of the same ideas that Garlick believed history education did – they encouraged patriotism, national pride, and even citizenship in ways that illustrated the complexity of the Empire, imperialism, and the relationship between India and Britain. While the Durbar texts help readers imagine colonial India, describe the Durbar processions, and create a narrative of Empire, when the Durbar texts discuss patriotism and citizenship, the “primary aim” of history, they in part take up the genre of the late-Victorian history lesson.

In this project, I investigate the intersections among genre studies, early twentieth-century literacy practices, and colonial discourse by rereading this literature in light of the developments in literacy and history education in the late-Victorian era to determine how Edwardian and Georgian readers learned about imperial and civic responsibilities, specifically regarding India. I argue that the texts produced in the wake of the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars took up the genre of the late-Victorian and Edwardian history lesson, encouraging readers to become well-read, well-informed
imperial citizens who understood how to protect the Empire. This project addresses the
actions texts encouraged in the wake of the ceremonies, and it examines not the Durbars
themselves, but what the texts that reported on and recorded Britain’s colonial presence
did. Ultimately I argue that early twentieth-century colonial documents, both fictional
and non-fictional, created new ways for Britons and Indians to learn about and read the
empire. Though many imperial pedagogues and Durbar texts argued that Britons and
Indians were expected to be faithful and loyal to the Empire without question, others
investigated the complex, nuanced understanding of Empire during the early twentieth-
century. This project tells that story: the story of an evolving (and involved)
development of imperial citizenship as written in response to two colonial spectacles.
This citizenship, as I show, was not universally understood as invoking the same actions,
responsibilities, or rights. Instead, each chapter in this dissertation illustrates the creation
of one type of ideal imperial citizen as understood and delineated by a particular archive.¹

According to late-Victorian pedagogues, especially those that discuss the
importance of history education like A.H. Garlick, J.A. Froude, and George Collar and
Charles Crook, the ideal citizen was a person who practiced citizenship in a particular
way. For these pedagogues, the ideal citizen was a person who was well-educated and
informed, loyal to the Empire and Britain, who bravely protected the Empire against
attacks to its solidarity, and who was patriotic. For example, as I will discuss in Chapter

¹ The use of the word “citizen” rather than the word “subject” is important. Stephen Heathorn explains that
“That the term ‘citizen’ and not ‘subject’ was used in [British school textbooks] intended as they were for
the mass of the population, is significant alone….the authors of English elementary school readers were not
promoting a strictly political understanding of the concept [of citizen]—especially given the awkwardness
of the still considerable franchise limitations” (Heathorn 413). For the late-Victorians, using the word
“citizen” rather than “subject” provided the readers of either school lessons or Durbar texts with more
responsibility to the Empire, regardless of their ability to vote. Moreover, the dissertation’s final chapter
which addresses Indian Men’s writing demonstrates that Indian texts too used the word “citizen” rather
than the word “subject” to confer more responsibilities upon the reader rather than fewer.
Two, for some pedagogues, the ideal citizen was one who fought against rebel sepoys during the Indian Uprising of 1857. The citizen’s bravery and his or her willingness to make sacrifices were admirable. Moreover, according to Stephen Heathorn, “the understanding of citizenship actually promoted [during the fin-de-siècle] was that of an awareness of the rights and the responsibilities due to other fellow citizens within a defined community: an elucidation which marked citizenship, like nationality, as a form of social identity” (413). Those people who practiced their “social identity” through patriotism, loyalty, and bravery might be considered an ideal imperial or colonial citizen. Each chapter in this dissertation elucidates the concept of the late-Victorian ideal citizen, showing that though citizenship appears on the surface to be a homogenous concept, the citizen could practice these “best citizenship practices” in a variety of ways that provided for individual autonomy and participation in the Empire.

Using genre theory and colonial discourse studies as a methodological base and historicizing the texts through Victorian literacy statistics and pedagogy manuals, I show that these texts served a far greater purpose than the propagandizing that John MacKenzie outlines in Propaganda and Empire (1984) and do more than display different rhetorical modes as David Spurr’s study The Rhetoric of Empire (1993) suggests. Bridging literary, rhetorical, and historical studies, I show that both fictional and non-fictional texts displayed textual and thematic aspects of the Victorian history lesson. MacKenzie’s study works to “establish imperialism and its related reverence for royalty and other elements of established authority, its racial ideas, its national complacency and conceit, as a core ideology in British society between the 1880s and 1950s” (11); this dissertation seeks to explain how the Durbar writing acted on and encouraged this “core ideology” as
well as demonstrate that popular texts also challenged that “core ideology.” Where MacKenzie sought to show in what forms the texts inculcated the British public, this dissertation seeks to show how and why these texts, through the genre of the history lesson, sought to create a citizen who would enact, rather than just understand or accept, imperial ideology.

The Victorian history lesson, as I explain in more detail below, instructed students to be loyal to the Empire, patriotic in relation to Britain and her colonial possessions, and brave in defending the Empire. The history lesson developed students’ critical reasoning skills while imparting the importance of patriotism upon them through background knowledge or general information about the Empire and Britain’s place in it, stories, and notes of lesson or the lesson plan. The Victorian history lesson’s objective was to develop a student who practiced the “social identity” of the ideal imperial citizen, a social identity that included bravery, patriotism, and loyalty. Rhetorical genre theory provides a vocabulary to analyze Durbar texts and Modernist colonial fiction like Forster’s *A Passage to India* in relation to the Victorian history lesson. Traditionally, genre theorists have considered specific documents such as grant proposals or accounting statements; these texts form categories of texts that not only seek to produce similar actions but also often look like one another. Most grant proposals, for instance, include specific sections about the purpose of the funding, the timeline, and the execution of the proposed plan. These grant proposals also seek the same action—they want an organization/fund/group to provide some money or support. In this dissertation, however, I apply rhetorical genre theory to different types or forms of texts (newspaper articles, letters to the editor, souvenirs, government sponsored histories, philosophical treatises, and prose fiction), and
argue that these texts seek to encourage a similar action in their audiences as the Victorian history lesson. Both the Victorian history lesson and the archive of Delhi Durbar texts and Modernist colonial fiction seek to create an ideal imperial citizen whose “social identity” is one of bravery, patriotism, and loyalty. My study not only shows how the Victorian history lesson and the popular literature of the fin-de-siècle was related, but it also suggests a new way for genre theorists to consider historical and literary texts, texts which look different but yet seek similar actions in their readers.

In the months leading up to and following the Coronation Durbars a multitude of popular literature—fiction, travelogues, scrapbooks, journalism, state-sponsored histories, and souvenirs—was produced that introduced readers to the Durbars, to India, to the colonial relationship, and to their civic duties as citizens of the Empire. The archive for this project is diverse. My archive includes both fictional and non-fictional texts, ranging from newspaper articles and letters to the editor written in Britain, India, and other colonies to souvenirs, reminiscences, and personal letters and philosophical treatises and state-sponsored histories. Authors range from government-sponsored historians like Stephen Wheeler, who wrote History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar Held on the First of January 1903 to Celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India (1904) to then-popular authors Flora Annie Steel and Pearl Craigie, from Englishmen and Englishwomen to Australians, Canadians and American expatriates and Indian men. Though the archive is diverse and large, few scholars have attended specifically to the Coronation Durbars or their respective documents. This project historicizes the Durbar writing in relation to colonial discourse and proposes a new reading of the texts: I argue that these texts took up the genre of the colonial history
lesson using a rhetoric of patriotism, loyalty, and citizenship through appeals to authority, storytelling, and a close connection between the past and the present.

For example, in Shelland Bradley’s 1912 novel *An American Girl at the Durbar* first-person narrator Lady Nicola Hendley describes King George V’s Coronation Durbar. Like many of the other texts discussed in this dissertation, *American Girl* connects the past and present and implies the political importance of the Coronation Durbars. As Hendley watches the processional of Indian princes and rajas paying homage to King George, she wonders just “how many English men and women among them realised the deep significance of it all. Were they most of them regarding it just as a wonderful show, or was the real meaning of it brought home to them? Did they realise then, if never before, what a heritage was theirs, and what a tremendous responsibility?” (Bradley 149-150). For Hendley, the Coronation Durbar represents both the “responsibility” that Britain and her citizens hold in their relationship with India as well as their own “heritage.” Though the Durbar is a “wonderful show,” Hendley also sees a “deep significance” in the proceedings. Hendley does not explicitly describe the Durbar’s “significance,” which government texts and histories describe to us as the shoring up of imperial pride and the bolstering of the Indian-British relationship, but she implies the importance through the mention of the “responsibility” and “heritage” connected to the spectacle. This “deep significance” is similar to Garlick’s “primary aim” of the fin-de-siècle history lesson that encouraged pride and citizenship.

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2 The Americanness in the title is intriguing. In *An American Girl at the Durbar*, Hendley discusses that she, though an American, is not the “girl” in question; rather Maisie Dallant is the American girl, an heiress who travels with Hendley is the “girl.” In the opening chapters of the novel, Hendley describes her expatriate status and her marriage to a British man. Much like Pearl Craigie, who rarely discusses her American heritage in her writing about the Durbar, Hendley, too, considers herself far more British than American.
In addition to noting a “deep significance,” Hendley also positions the Durbar in the past and present. By noting the “heritage” of India and Britain, the text, on the one hand, signals the past, connecting British imperialism to the present Coronation Durbar. “Heritage” is a distinctly historical phenomenon. Hendley’s concern with the “tremendous responsibility,” on the other hand, signals a move to her present. For Hendley, those fictional Britons observing the Durbar ought to form a relationship with and a responsibility to India. The “heritage” and “tremendous responsibility” that the viewers (and readers) ought to understand from the imperial spectacle represent the “deep significance” that goes unexplained. *American Girl*, though briefly, explores the fact that, for Bradley at least, the Coronation Durbar was more than a “wonderful show.”

In her most definitive explanation of what the production of the Durbar intended, Hendley describes the parade of Indian Uprising veterans. She declares that “Without the heroism and devotion of these and their fellows, many of whom have long since gone to their rest, there would have been no crowning of the King-Emperor in his imperial city. They had come out of the strife and darkness of the past to bring us this great triumph of to-day” (Bradley 152). As in the passage in which Hendley notes the “heritage” and “responsibility” that the Durbar represents, in this excerpt, she similarly moves from the past to the present, exemplifying the historical nature of the Durbar and connecting it to the present “responsibility” of those attending the spectacle. When she describes the Uprising veterans as those who “had come out of the strife and darkness of the past to bring us this great triumph of to-day” she literally moves from the past perfect tense of “had come” to the present “to-day.” In this connection of past and present, of “wonderful show” and “deep significance,” Hendley’s Durbar narrative imbues the spectacle with the
“primary aim” of history, the “responsibility” that Britons hold in relation to the Empire, the heroism of those who fought for it, and the continued presence or “triumph” of Britain in India.

Throughout *An American Girl at the Durbar* and its precursor *An American Girl in India* (1907) Bradley presents the Indian Empire, popular opinions of Indian characteristics and colonial ideologies, and the Durbars themselves, with much of the same information that a history lesson does. These representations, in addition to creating a fictionalized narrative of one woman’s colonial experiences, introduce India through characters unfamiliar with the colony. The narrative establishes a student-teacher relationship inside the text. Bradley’s Hendley, a seasoned traveler at the beginning of *An American Girl at the Durbar*, serves as the expert while acquaintances and friends like M.P. Sir Peter Timms and American heiress Maisie Dallant represent the students.

Hendley’s comments contain information about the colony and what she perceives to be a suitable attitude toward colonial government. Her sense of appropriate citizenship practices, for example, is one which supports the colonial government and its actions. For instance, after Timms criticizes the government for spending too much money on the Durbar, Hendley discovers Timms has never been to India before even though he considers himself an authority on the “Indian problem.” She explains to him that “it’s quite impossible to know a country until you have really seen it….That is why I am always against too much interference from home with our Colonial and Indian administrators” (Bradley 108). Nicola admonishes Timms for his ignorance and his willingness to reflect on a situation without full knowledge; at the same time, she also
delivers a warning—that one ought not to criticize the colonial government unless one has traveled to and “knows” India. For many Britons, even though they might have desired to learn about the Empire, travel to India was impossible. The popularity of colonial adventure fiction, news stories dedicated to imperial concerns, and the commemoration of Empire Day (first celebrated in 1902 and officially recognized in 1916) provided early twentieth-century Britons with frequent images of the British Empire and vicarious travel. Though Hendley in *An American Girl at the Durbar* insists that one should “know India” by traveling there before commenting on it, many could only experience the subcontinent through texts like Bradley’s novels and other easily available literature. Colonial texts, like *American Girl* and others about the Durbars, had the opportunity to portray India and colonial history, to participate in history’s “primary aim,” according to Garlick, by describing the colony and the citizenship practices and expressing the importance of the relationship between India and Britain.

In addition to discussing the ways in which Durbar texts enacted the genre of the Victorian history lesson, my work intervenes in current debates about the decentering of the British Empire through inter-colonial experiences and about Homi Bhabha’s post-colonial theories that interrogate the ambivalence of the colonized. The Durbars brought the Empire’s (and the world’s) attention to the Indian Empire in 1902-03 and 1911-12. In *Decentering Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World* (2006) Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy “argue for the need to go beyond metropole and colony, to extend our analytical focus to the multiple networks of exchange that rose from the imperial experience, networks that connected colonies to one another as well as to Britain and stretched across the geographical and political boundaries” (2). The Durbar’s
concentration of imperial administration and celebration brought together not only Britons and Indians but also the people of other colonies, European powers, and Americans. Imperial and non-imperial citizens were writing to and interacting with one another through the lens of India, a designated periphery of the Empire, rather than through the metropole of London, and the network of print and telegraphic media. The works in this study focused attention on the Empire’s peripheries. In the lessons I discuss in the following chapters, the ideal citizen was taught to interact not with the homeland, but rather with India and other colonial possessions. Ideally, the Briton’s gaze moved from the colonial metropole to the Empire itself. My readings elaborate upon the claims of historians such as Ghosh and Kennedy, and at the same time, provide new opportunities for literary critics in the interpretation of colonial texts. For instance, critics can read colonial texts that are not generally ascribed pedagogical purposes as imperial history lessons.

In addition to demonstrating the ways in which Durbar texts shifted the focus from the metropole to the periphery at the turn of the century, this dissertation also draws upon Homi Bhabha’s idea that the “colonial presence is always ambivalent,” an ambivalence that works through and is supported by hybridity. The colonial presence becomes ambivalent, Bhabha suggests, because it is “split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference” (108). The texts discussed in this dissertation present India and themselves as authoritative; they describe the subcontinent and Britons’ civic responsibility to the Empire. Moreover, they look to be informative, unique, “original,” when they provide information that is
“untouched by other pens” (Steel 10) or that “has at least the merit of accuracy” (Duncan 222).

The Durbars, texts, India, and Indians also exemplify Bhabha’s “repetition and difference.” The Durbars are necessarily performative repetitions of Durbars past: Mughal Dynasty Durbars held by Indians for Indians, Durbars held by East India Company officials in the early nineteenth century, and Lord Lytton’s 1877 Imperial Assemblage, specifically. As Bernard Cohn explains, it was through the performance of “presenting khelats and accepting nazar and peshkash” that East India officials constructed their Durbars (171-172). In 1877, 1902-03, and 1911-12, these types of Durbars were repeated, reminding Britons and Indians of the formal relationship between Britain and the Indian Empire. India, itself, was also understood as a familiar place, for “the British Empire was about the familiar and the domestic, as well as the different and the exotic: indeed, it was in large part about the domestication of the exotic—the comprehending and the reordering of the foreign in parallel, analogous, equivalent, resemblant terms” (Cannadine xix). India’s social structure and the Durbars themselves repeated Indian and British expectations, contrasting the originality and authoritativeness of the texts and the colonial situation and enabling Bhabha’s conception of ambivalence that the colonial presence produces. Yet, the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Durbars differentiate themselves from past Durbars by involving the rulers of the independent Indian states and illustrating the differences between eastern and western rule. In 1902-03, for instance,

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3 Cohn defines nazar as “gold coins,” peshkash as “valuables such as elephants, horses, jewels and other precious objects,” and khelat as a “specific and ordered set of clothes including a cloak, turban, shawls, various turban ornaments, a necklace and other jewels, arms and shields” (168). Cohn explains that at a traditional Durbar a community member who the Mughal had chosen to honor would present the ruler with nazar and/or peshkash. In return, the ruler would present the community member with khelat, formally recognizing his contributions to the community.
the Colonial Government used delegates’ elephants in the Processional rather than only
horses and carriages, which were a travel mechanism that might have seemed distinctly
western. Importantly, the Durbar texts such as *An American Girl at the Durbar*,
newspaper articles that describe the Durbar preparations in periodicals as wide-ranging as
*The Times*, the *Gentlewoman*, and the *Eastern Assam and Bengal Era*, government
histories like Stephen Wheeler’s *History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar Held on the
First of January 1903 to Celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII,
Emperor of India* (1904), and Gertrude Bell’s private letters, too are performative and
participate in the repetition of the colonial presence. Because these colonial texts take up
the genre of the history lesson, they allow for the repetition of the social function of the
history lesson. The ambivalence of the colonial presence is also the ambivalence of the
colonial text. The Durbar descriptions are, on the one hand, original and authoritative,
providing new information, acting as an authority on India and the Empire, and, on the
other hand, differentiating and repetitive, constructing imperial lessons with familiar calls
to civic responsibility, and creating a domestic and familiar India.

The realm of non-fiction, especially concerning the relationship between Britain
and her colonies, is generally considered by historians rather than literary and rhetorical
critics. For instance, John MacKenzie’s *Propaganda and Empire* addresses mostly non-
fictional texts like those analyzed in this dissertation to discuss the cultural significance
of the Empire in the homeland. In English studies *fin-de-siècle* colonialism has been
primarily viewed through the lens of colonial fiction, whether popular colonial adventure
fiction like Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Beach of Falesá* (1893), H. Rider Haggard’s
*King Solomon’s Mines* (1885) and *She* (1887), and John Buchan’s *Prester John* (1910),
or canonical fiction like Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899), E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* (1924) and Virginia Woolf’s *The Waves* (1931). Martin Green, Edward Said, Patrick Brantlinger, M. Keith Booker, Deirdre David, and LeeAnne Richardson all utilize primarily fictional documents to investigate the colonial relationship while using non-fictional texts to historicize the fiction. Numerous studies outside of colonial discourse address non-fictional texts in their attempts to discuss the ways in which colonial writers portrayed and interacted with the Empire. For instance, Shirley Foster’s *Across New Worlds* (1990), Sara Mills’ *Discourses of Difference* (1991), Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes* (1992), Inderpal Grewal’s *Home and Harem* (1996), and Indira Ghose’s *Women Travelers in Colonial India* (1998), all analyze travelogues. These critical studies, with the exception of *Imperial Eyes*, theorize the colony, writing, and representations of the Empire through the lenses of feminist theory and cultural studies.

A 1989 study of education in India, Gauri Viswanathan’s *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule*, uses colonial discourse theory and cultural studies to examine the institutionalization and growth of English literary studies in India. Viswanathan argues that Britons utilized British literature in Indian schools as a mechanism of hegemonic control, specifically, cultural colonialism. Through literature, according to Viswanathan, Britons conveyed a sense of Enlightenment and Western principles to the Indian people. She explains that “certain humanistic functions traditionally associated with literature—for example, the shaping of character or the development of the aesthetic sense or the disciplines of ethical thinking—were considered essential to the processes of sociopolitical control” (Viswanathan 3). Rather than focus on the non-fictional texts produced during the imperial period—like political
speeches, acts, amendments, and charters—Viswanathan’s study, like those of other scholars, eschews non-fiction in favor of fiction.

Drawing from non-fictional and fictional colonial texts, with the texts of the Coronation Durbars serving as the primary focal point, this dissertation connects three generally unrelated methodologies in English studies: colonial discourse theory, rhetorical genre studies, and literacy practices. It contends that specific pedagogical techniques attempted to strengthen Britons’ understanding of the Empire. I suggest a new way of reading *fin-de-siècle* forms of writing about the Durbars: as history lessons that provided readers with best citizenship practices.

**Reading Citizens—The Rise of Victorian Literacy and the History Lesson**

By the final decades of the nineteenth century, developing an educational system that met the needs of Great Britain’s population stood at the fore of public policy and social requirements in the British Isles. In response to these demands, in 1870, Parliament passed the English Education Act mandating compulsory elementary education. This act established state-sponsored, or board, schools that received funding

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4 Education and public policy historians differ decidedly about the catalyst for this rise in education and literacy. On the one hand, some argue that educationalists and politicians were working for the good of the people, providing all citizens with the ability to read and work at higher social levels. On the other hand, revisionist historians argue that the public support of elementary education equated with the middle and upper classes desire to instill the working-class with “values and behaviors...that would make them more docile and subservient” (Mitch xiv). Despite this varied view of state-sponsored education, the results remain—literacy increased in the final decades of the century for members of all classes in Britain.

As I examine the Victorian history textbooks and teachers’ manuals, it will be clear that history education—and the literacy that resulted from it—was indeed designed to teach morals and values. Values, such as bravery and loyalty, were taught at both Britain’s esteemed public schools, as Patrick Dunae explains, “the reciprocal relationship between [British public schools and the British Empire] was especially striking during the late Victorian and Edwardian years” as the schools worked to “imbue young men with a respect for tradition, by teaching them how to exercise power, by lauding physical prowess and loyalty and extolling the civilising mission of the Anglo-Saxon race (194), and state board schools. These values, as I argue, worked to serve the greater purpose of the Empire, values which during High Imperialism, were taught to all classes and not just the working class.
from the government, supplementing the already large number of private, fee-based
elementary schools managed by churches and philanthropies. As a result of compulsory
education, literacy rates, David Mitch explains in *The Rise of Popular Literacy in
Victorian England*, increased from 50 to over 95 percent between the mid-nineteenth
century and 1900. This “rise in literacy rates…coincided with the development of
publicly provided mass schooling and circumstances that would seem to have increased
popular demand for education, including rapid urbanization, rising working-class living
standards, and the development of publications aimed at the working-class market”
(Mitch xvi). Moreover, as the nineteenth century progressed and the paper and stamp
taxes were lowered and/or abolished, newspapers, magazines, books, and even the mail
system became more affordable (Mitch 47-48). As more people learned to read, more
literature, in the broadest sense of the word, was produced and catered to a wide-variety
of readers.

Undoubtedly, the rise in literacy rates in the last half of the nineteenth century
was a result of widespread education. Reading pedagogy and instruction played a large
role in schools and often determined student success. A.H. Garlick argues that of all
subjects “none is more important” than reading, for “Nearly every branch of school work
is affected by it, and education goes on by means of it as long as life lasts” (153). For
Garlick, education begins and ends with one’s ability to read: if one cannot read, one
cannot learn. George Collar and Charles Crook put the purpose of reading more clearly
and no less strongly. They explain that reading allows children “to understand the
written thoughts of others” and enables them to practice “the art of adequately
interpreting those thoughts to others” (88, Collar and Crook’s emphasis). In short,
Victorian pedagogues suggested that reading enabled people access to ideas, information, “thoughts” that they may not have had otherwise; it also allowed Britons the ability to teach others by “interpreting” texts. *An American Girl at the Durbar* and other Durbar texts, for instance, provide information about the Durbars and offer opportunities “to understand the written thoughts of others,” specifically about the Durbars, India, and imperialism. Given the increasing availability of printed materials in Victorian England, that “Books are largely the vehicles for information, and now-a-days without our newspapers we are ‘out of the world’” (Garlick 153), it is not surprising that Victorian educators placed such emphasis on reading, even in board schools that served working-class children. Literacy, and the reading lesson, positions people in the world so that they can participate in meaningful or productive ways. Moreover, pedagogues like Garlick saw not only books, but newspapers as well, as important to the placing of oneself in the “world.” Without the ability to read – or access one who could read – learning about history in a world of print became increasingly difficult. Those who could read had easier access to discussions of the Coronation Durbars, imperial citizenship, and patriotism.

Reading skills were developed through two systems: word analysis and word synthesis. Techniques such as “Look and Say” and “Syllabic” were considered analytical because the student learned the word as a whole or in syllables and thus “analyzed” it. “Alphabetic,” “Phonetic” and “Phonic” were considered to be the favored techniques in word synthesis. In these three methods, students put together words through their own knowledge of either the alphabet or phonetic sounds. Teacher manuals like Collar and Crook’s and Garlick’s advocated a combined method which encouraged students to learn
the alphabet and the associated phonetic sounds so that they could sound out words but also to memorize whole words to increase reading speed and to adapt to the many English words that do not follow phonics.

Reading skills, whether taught and practiced in the home before school commenced or learned only after formal education began, established the knowledge base for most academic subjects. In *London’s Women Teachers: Gender, Class, and Feminism 1870-1930* (1996) Dina Copelman explains that in the early 1870s the London School Board designated the teaching of science, history, geography, elementary social economy, drawing, music and drill as “‘essential’ subjects” for all school children (103). Of these “essential subjects,” reading is necessary for most. Moreover, after children left school, pedagogues argued that students would find that

> the art of reading is valuable, not for its own sake, but because it enables its possessor to draw at will from an inexhaustible store of wisdom and knowledge.... ‘All that men have devised, discovered, done, felt, or imagined lies recorded in books; wherein whoso has learned the mystery of spelling printed letters may find it and appropriate it.’ (Thomas Carlyle qtd. in Salmon 74)

Salmon suggests that reading must be considered a means to an end, learning in general, rather than the end itself. It is through reading that late-Victorians gained access to the world around them, including their Empire and the Coronation Durbars.

If reading enables students more access to knowledge, it necessarily assists them in other school subjects like science, geography, and history. At stake in my project is the way in which students were taught to read history, specifically through the genre of the history lesson. If reading “is a great aid to mental and moral culture; it records and lays bare the progress of the world, and it is the great enemy of ignorance and superstition,” (Garlick 153) then history serves as an ideal partner, for Victorian
educationalists believed that history teaches patriotism and “has a powerful ethical influence” (Salmon 214). Students who could read not only gained “mental and moral culture” from literature, but they could also learn to be patriotic citizens through the history that they interacted with, in other words, the history that they read. As newspaper articles in *The Times*, *Blackwood’s*, and the *Gentlewoman*, government histories, and souvenirs that recollect the Durbars circulated and discussed patriotism and citizenship, the texts also cultivated the “mental and moral culture” that history lessons similarly did.

By the late nineteenth-century, educational scholars had devised methods for instructing students in both history and geography. Various late-Victorian teacher manuals like Alexander Bain’s *Education as a Science* (1897), Garlick’s *A New Manual of Method*, Salmon’s *The Art of Teaching* (1898), and Collar and Crook’s *School Management and Methods of Instruction* (1900) include specific chapters and/or sections guiding teachers in the development of a history curriculum. These educational texts outline different types of history lessons, from introductory ones intended to extend a student’s background or “previous knowledge” of history and the world (Bain 281), which often begin with stories of powerful men, heroic deeds, and military battles, to lessons intended to develop students’ memories and reasoning skills (Collar and Crook 189). Ideally, as students were instructed in history and read these different stories, they learned not only how to interpret the history but also how to apply that knowledge. If reading “records and lays bare the progress of the world,” as Garlick claims, history classes might have taught students how to read that progress in terms of the Empire and the world around them. For instance, the *Bengalee* published a series of articles entitled “India and the Durbar.” This series “laid bare” the history of the Durbar in India and its
relationship to the Coronation Durbar held in 1911-12. This series, in other words, illustrates both India’s and Britain’s progress in the subcontinent. Through history lessons and general audience texts like the Bengalee series, students were encouraged to develop imperial literacy. History education, like literacy education, attempts to position readers in the world, allowing them to interact with and affect the environments in which they lived and moved.

History teachers were expected to move students through specific stages of mental development. Each stage built basic literacy and drew students closer to applying the lessons to their own lives. Joseph Landon, in The Principles and Practice of Teaching and Class Management (1894), refers to “the picture and story stage,” “the information stage,” and “the intellectual stage.” In “the picture and story stage,” the student’s “love of stories and pictures should be utilized, his interest and curiosity aroused, and his imagination appealed to.” This stage is analogous to the “wonderful show” that Bradley describes in An American Girl at the Durbar. In that scene, Hendley wonders if the viewers see only the “wonderful show” of the Durbar and not also its “deeper significance.” They, in other words, have only begun a historical education and must first become “interested” to understand anything else. To interest the student, the teacher ought to utilize, “deeds of heroism, picturesque of descriptions of striking events” (Landon 398, Landon’s emphasis). After students have an understanding of the excitement (and importance) of history, they move to the “information stage” where “the pupil begins the study of history in earnest, the object at this stage being the acquisition of a clear and well arranged outline of the more important facts” (Landon 399, Landon’s emphasis). These facts, associated with the stories learned in the previous stage,
encouraged students to build a “foundation for further study” or “at least [served to] be useful” to the student if she learned no more. The lessons also attempted to include a particular emphasis on modern times. Finally, the Victorian textbooks and teacher’s manuals show that after the students learned stories and facts, the instructors moved to “Epoch teaching—the more distinctly intellectual stage.” It was during this stage that educators hoped that students learned how to reason, to understand cause and effect. The teachers, according to the manuals, should have worked to ensure that the students understood

the influence of the events upon the people, upon the growth of our institutions, and upon the welfare of the nation as a whole...how they [the facts] may be made to throw light upon the present order of things, to assist in the understanding of the grounds upon which political opinions and practice should be based, and to afford guidance for the future.

(Landon 401)

Each stage or lesson built on the one before it. In the “story and picture stage” students and readers were introduced to history and its figures, the “wonderful show” of the Durbars, for instance, and heroism was emphasized because it was exciting. The information stage uses familiar stories; the students are expected to learn dates, places, and times of the events. These dates and places, the heroism of historical figures, help students understand “the influence of the events upon the people,” or the nation, or the institutions in the “Epoch stage.” It is in this stage that Bradley’s “deeper significance” of the Durbar appears and is understood; the “responsibility” and the “heritage” of the British nation in relation to the Indian Empire, for instance. “Responsibility” and “heritage” are necessarily about cause and effect, about the “welfare of the nation” and the “growth of our institutions.” An understanding of the “heritage” will describe the “growth” and “responsibility”—or an appropriate use of it—will ensure the “welfare of
the nation [or Empire] as a whole.” The Durbars, as they worked to construct a narrative of citizenship, loyalty, and patriotism, illustrated not only exciting stories, but in their political importance, encouraged an understanding of their “significance,” the “responsibility” of the Britons.

This movement from simple stories about kings, queens, and heroes to an understanding about how history might have affected the daily life of the student, or the “wonderful show” to a “deeper significance” of the Durbars, accentuates the main goal of history education. Copelman explains that in addition to teaching the “essential subjects,” schools “were to be a ‘social force,’ the staging grounds for creating a new relationship between the state and its citizens” (84). According to Copelman, late-Victorian education was intended not only to educate the children of working- and lower-middle class parents, but it was also designed to teach children to be good citizens and to participate fully in the Empire’s political economy. Students had to learn to “read” their social situation, the government, and the relationship between state and citizen. This civic literacy was not taught without “guidelines,” however, for the late-Victorian “humanities curriculum centered on the development of patriotism, civic ideals, and basic knowledge about the nation and empire” (Heathorn 397). In other words, civically literate citizens were expected to be patriotic and loyal.

An insistence on patriotism was an integral part of history and imperial literacy and education. For instance, near the end of his discussion of the “intellectual stage,” Landon explains that “history properly taught should do something towards preparing the pupil for the duties he will hereafter be called upon to discharge as a citizen” (401). Other fin-de-siècle education manuals and general essays support Landon’s and Copelman’s
claims about morality, patriotism, and good citizenship’s hallmark status in British geo-historical trends. Garlick suggests that “All history lessons ought to be focused on its two main objects—moral and patriotic” (261). History lessons that urged patriotism also created citizens who sought out, understood, and participated in contemporary modes of patriotism. History lessons illustrated the new moments of such values.

Within this “moral patriotism,” students were taught to believe that

Every Englishman is a citizen in several different ways. He is a citizen of the town of the country district to which he belongs; he is a citizen of England…he is a citizen of the United Kingdom, and he is also a citizen of the great British Empire. He has different duties in each of these capacities—they begin with him at home, and they gradually widen until they embrace the circuit of the world. (Browning 10-11)

For Browning, the English were expected to be patriotic and devoted to the “great country to which we belong, but that feeling should be based upon the attachment which every good man feels to his family and his home” (12). For Browning, a good citizen prepared to organize or develop her home and country in the same ways. In a similar manner, the Durbars organized Indian leaders in manner that illustrated that province’s or state’s importance and size in the Indian Empire. Just as the colonial government organized colonies, states, and leaders, so too was the citizen encouraged to organize her or his life in a manner that is most effective to serve the Empire. Durbar texts like Dorothy and Mortimer Menpes’s Durbar (1903), Wheeler’s History, and the Coronation Durbar, 1911 The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India, 1911 (1914), for instance, outline the processional orders during the Durbars describe different ways that the Indian subjects, British officials, and Uprising veterans are organized and recognized as “citizens.”
Browning suggests that people “should learn from the study of history, or even of village records, the debt which we owe to the virtue and devotion of those who have gone before us. We should try to repay that debt and follow in their footsteps” (12). Late-Victorians and early twentieth-century educators and imperialists argued that history education prepared students to be good citizens because history “fills the student with admiration for his forefathers’ wisdom, heroism, and devotion to duty, which have made the nation what it is;” the students come away from their lessons “with longings for a chance of emulating their glorious deeds; and, failing that, with a firm resolve to do nothing that shall tarnish the fair fame of their common country” (Salmon 213). Some authors, like Charles Henry Wyatt in *The English Citizen: His Life and Duty* (1894), extended the definition of citizen and the realm that citizenship affected suggesting that

> Every Englishman, and in the term we include all our fellow-countrymen in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, should be acquainted not only with the history of his native country but also with the history of England’s great possessions ‘beyond the sea,’ the ‘Greater Britain’ we so often hear about. (212)

By including the Welsh, Irish and Scots, as well as noting that it is important to learn about “Greater Britain”—the Empire—Wyatt suggests that not just the *Englishman* must be cognizant of Empire, but that the Empire itself is important to the citizen, the “heritage” and “responsibility” that Bradley finds important in *American Girl*. That historical education, which necessarily included discussions of imperial lands, maintained such focus on morality and patriotism, is not surprising given the “debate about the Empire dealt in idealism and morality” (MacDonald 4) allowing rhetors within all ranges of the imperial spectrum to argue for and against a colonization based in moral responsibility.
In some instances, students were encouraged to take up the Empire not as a personal cause but for Britain’s health. The 12th Earl of Meath’s essay “Duty and discipline in the training of children” (1911) argues that

In former ages the burdens of Empire or of the State fell on the shoulders of a few; now the humblest child to be found on the benches of a primary school will in a few years be called on to influence the destinies not only of fifty-four millions of white, but of three hundred and fifty millions of coloured men and women, his fellow subjects, scattered throughout the five continents of the world. (59)

W.H. Webb, in “History, patriotism, and the child,” (1913) echoed these sentiments, placing even more emphasis on the health of Britain as it is tied to students’ patriotic leanings arguing that “Unless the younger generation is more thoroughly taught the eternal principles of History and Patriotism, the Britain of the future must be a declining power” (53). As students developed a knowledge of history—and of the heroism and devotion their ancestors showed Britain—they were encouraged to work to produce similar results in their own lives, becoming good, loyal citizens who protect their towns, their country, and their Empire. These students were encouraged to believe that “there was an empire with which Britain’s immediate past, present and future was inextricably bound up” which they should support because the “empire could be justified on the grounds of British technological, cultural, financial, constitutional, legal, moral and religious superiority, a superiority which, though not predetermined, was explicable in terms of her history and her heroes” (Aldrich 30). History textbooks, public lectures and news supported the connection between Britain and the Empire. Empire was often lauded, and support of the Empire through appropriate actions, encouraged; for many historians and educators, the history of the British Isles and the history of the Empire could not be separated. It is important to note, however, that not all historians,
economists, and educators lauded that imperial connection. Additionally, the Durbar
texts, especially newspaper articles that were reprinted in Britain from India, emphasized
the relationship between India and Britain. The Durbars themselves, the months of
preparation, and the debates surrounding them, provided numerous opportunities for texts
to address and debate the importance of Empire, patriotism, and good citizenship. The
spectacular nature of the Durbars spurred interest in a “wonderful show” and the
literature describing them illustrated the greater “responsibility” and “heritage” Britons
held in India.

The encouragement of civic participation and support of the Empire, was not an
isolated schoolroom activity. According to Robert MacDonald,

the changes in publishing, including the technology of high-speed presses,
and the methods of the ‘New Journalism’, meant that imperial ideas
reached a mass audience. Cheap, popular newspapers pioneered by Alfred
Harmsworth in his Daily Mail catered to and in a sense created an
expanded reading public; the Empire was a topical subject. (2-3)

In addition to greater access to reading material and discussions of the Empire, the
popular press, especially newspapers, encouraged greater political participation,
including debates about the role of the Briton in its Empire, because “Newspapers
became forums for people to imagine themselves into wider political arenas and more
distant events than they might daily have contact with” (Bazerman 24). For both
Bazerman and MacDonald newspapers and other cheap, popular materials enabled late-
Victorians, Edwardians, and Georgians to participate in the Empire.

Though Bazerman and MacDonald suggest that publications served as
opportunities to reach the reading public, the Durbars and the texts produced in their
wake served a particularly important function. The Durbars intended to encourage
national fealty, to portray good citizenship, and to honor those who had protected the Empire (the Uprising veterans bodies’ at the Durbars and Bradley’s discussion of the veterans who “had come out of the strife and darkness of the past to bring us this great triumph of to-day,” for instance). In other words, the Durbars, as events, and the texts associated with the Durbars, specifically addressed the “primary aim” of the history lesson. They participated in the history lesson at the most basic level by telling stories, by imparting historical significance, and by outlining good citizenship practices.

The Importance of Genre

*Fin-de-siècle* history lessons concerned themselves, among other things, with building conscientious imperial citizens through the distribution of historical material and the description of specifically “historical” events. One of the ways the Durbar texts participate in the genre of the history lesson is by constructing the Durbars as historical events, enabling the texts to act like lessons. Historical events, according to Alexander Bain, ought to center on the “more exciting narrative of the circumstances attending the more momentous events” (Bain 284). The fanfare surrounding both Coronation Durbars makes them good occasions for history lessons. The texts recreate the history lesson by drawing upon the same types of rhetorical techniques, such as the use of notes of lessons, storytelling, and the development of critical thinking skills, that nineteenth century pedagogues advocated for in-school history classes, and just as lessons illustrated the importance of the citizenry to be diligent protectors of the Empire, so too did the Durbar texts. For the adult imperial subject, the entire Empire became a cultural classroom, and its diverse publications, lessons.
To demonstrate the relationship between the history lessons students encountered in the classroom and the Durbar texts, I look to contemporary rhetorical genre theory, specifically the notion that genres simultaneously create and perform what Carolyn Miller defines as “typified social actions” (151). Durbar texts, I argue, both illustrate the empire through history and seek to create responsible imperial citizens. The lesson (the call and expected response) can be classified as a “typified social action” that both late-Victorian history lessons and the Durbar texts share. Both archives illustrate the heroism of Britons past and present, the importance of the Empire, and Britons’ “proper” actions in regard to the Indian Empire. The texts, in other words, create a rhetorical situation that emphasizes the “moral and patriotic” British citizen by first telling stories of others’ loyalty and then calling for the reproduction of that loyalty.

Contemporary genre theory draws from linguistics, communication studies, rhetoric, composition studies, and speech-act theory. Historically, genres, especially literary genres, have been utilized as interpretive and organizational mechanisms, and scholars relied on the form of the text to designate its genre. More recently, however, genre has been considered a dynamic operative that encompasses more than form. M.M. Bakhtin, in “The Problem of Speech Genres,” explains that genres, rather than confined by form, are composed of “thematic content, style, and compositional structure.” These three textual aspects are inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication. Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of these utterances. These we may call speech genres. (Bakhtin 60, Bakhtin’s emphasis).
For Bakhtin, the “utterance” is a complete thought, a genre, to which the reader/listener appropriately responds because the content, style, and structure encourage a familiar or practiced response. Carolyn Miller, in “Genre as Social Action,” provides a new definition of genre that builds on Bakhtin’s concern with stability, content, style and structure, suggesting that “a theoretically sound definition of genre must be centred not only on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish” (24). In other words, genres must be measured—or defined—by their uses or the actions that they make possible. It is not enough to say that two texts “look alike,” but rather that two texts encourage, allow, or facilitate the same situation or action. Contemporary genre theorists, like Anis Bawarshi in “The Genre Function,” explain that genres “help us define and organize kinds of social actions, social actions that these texts rhetorically make possible” (336). Now, rather than a text which is acted upon by scholars and critics who interpret texts, writing itself encourages or “defines” action, actions “made possible” by the texts or the genres themselves. Ralph Cohen suggests that “genres possessed social purposes in a community, and that genres arose to contrast, complement, define each other’s aims” (206). Even though Cohen’s essay, “History and Genre,” focuses primarily on the function of the literary genre, non-literary genres also perform specific work within communities. Bawarshi’s “social actions” and Cohen’s “social purposes” may be defined as the same thing: texts that urge readers/listeners to act in a specific way. In the case of the Coronation Durbar texts, they work to persuade readers to become more knowledgeable and responsible. Fostering better citizenship is the “social action” or “social purpose” of the Durbar texts.
Genres, though they seek to create or in Bawarshi’s words “constitute” specific social activities, are not permanent, merely stable; they change through and with time, as users adapt them to serve specific needs and social activities change. Bakhtin explains that genres, though “given” to rhetors, are “flexible, plastic, and free.” If, Bakhtin claims, the speaker has significant control or familiarity with the genre in question, then that text (and the genre itself) can be manipulated to serve the desired purpose (79). As the circumstances of Miller’s “typified social actions” change, so too will the genres that encourage those actions or activities. Put another way, though traditionally seen as “a normalizing and static concept” that constrains the ways that rhetors use a genre (Devitt 574), “genre must [instead] respond dynamically to human behavior and social changes” (Devitt 579). Thus, the history lesson—and the effects of it—need not be permanent.

The relationship between the Durbar texts and some Modernist fiction like E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* (1924) shows the evolution of the history lesson. Where the Durbar texts inspired readers to protect the Empire by continuing the colonial relationship with India, *A Passage to India* specifically shows readers that if any relationship between India and Britain is to work, colonialism could not have been a part of it. Though the lessons are the same—be patriotic, “protect” Britain and her Empire, be a good citizen—the definition of “patriotism” and “protection” changes as the circumstances do. The history lesson adapted and continued to serve readers, writers, and functions.

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5 In “The Genre Function” Bawarshi explains that “As Miller and Devitt argue, however, genre does not simply regulate a preexisting social activity; instead, it constitutes the activity by making it possible through its ideological and rhetorical conventions. In fact, genre reproduces the activity by providing individuals with the conventions for enacting it. We perform an activity in terms of how we recognize it—that is, how we identify and come to know it. And we recognize an activity by way of genre. Genre helps shape and enable our social actions by rhetorically constituting the way we recognize the situations within which we function” (Bawarshi 340).
This notion of plasticity and the belief that a genre is not necessarily confined by its form but that it is measured also by its function is especially important to my project. Clearly, the newspaper articles, souvenirs, reminiscences, and histories that I analyze were not “meant” to be history lessons, for all of those texts fall within their own prescribed genres with their own purposes—they had other social activities to “constitute” or “regulate” other than providing imperial history. Nor, do they “look” like history lessons: they were not in textbooks; they did not come from sanctioned instructors; they were not, in most cases, disseminated through official educational channels. Despite the irregularities, omissions, and differences, these texts constitute history lessons through four important functions that they share with the commonplace history lesson: (1) they provide access to prior or background knowledge; (2) they tell stories to disseminate information; (3) they have their own “notes of lesson,” or lesson plans, that emphasize the purpose of the lesson; and (4) they advocate citizenship. All four of these aspects were not only present in the conventional Victorian history lesson, but they were integral to the preferred or desired social function that the history lesson served, a development of patriotism and civic literacy. These generic components addressed more than simply form: they specifically attended to the “thematic content, style, and compositional structure” of the history lesson and the Durbar texts and “constituted” the specific social actions for ideal imperil citizens.

**Background Knowledge**

Both Durbar texts and history textbooks use “background” or “prior” knowledge to describe Britain, the Empire, and citizenship. The dissemination of background
knowledge is a key component of history lessons; in essence, its typified social function is to build a foundation for the students, giving them the tools with which to draw inferences and connect historical causes to their effects (major components of a student’s ability to reason). According to the educationalists, the instruction in prior knowledge ensured that everyone began with the most basic information, whether that information was about British history as a whole, the Anglo-Indian relationship that the Durbar texts address, or even what a Durbar was. The variety of Victorian educators who discuss the importance of a solid foundation demonstrates not only the generic importance of background knowledge—that it is necessary for the typified social function to occur—but also its practical necessity. Texts such as those produced for the Durbars that were circulated to varying populations attended to the needs of a wide-variety of people; they required background information so that the texts’ lessons were sufficiently clear.

Victorian educationalists argued that a student’s attainment of background knowledge was especially important for history. Bain explains that “The full bearings of History cannot be understood without much previous knowledge, and some experience of the world” (281). For Bain and other educationalists, these “full bearings” are the causes and effects, the results of historical events, and the relationship to the present that students were not taught until later stages such as Landon’s information or epoch stage. *An American Girl at the Durbar*, for instance, illustrates the importance between history, the past, and the present through the description of the Durbar, reminding us that not only did Britons have a “heritage” embedded in their relationship with India, but that they also had a “responsibility” to that relationship as well. Bradley implies that if the “heritage” is not understood, neither is the “responsibility.” Background knowledge, or a better
understanding of the Durbars and the relationship between Britain and the Indian Empire, was necessary to fully carry out the “responsibility” of the imperial citizen. In other words, introductory history lessons necessarily established background knowledge to position later lessons within a context.

**Storytelling**

One of the most popular methods of disseminating history was through story. Marianne Larsen explains that “Teachers were encouraged to make lessons interesting by using illustration and anecdote to awaken the pupils’ interest in the subject and create in them a desire to learn” (468). For many educators, storytelling served as the primary tool for introducing students to historical information. David Salmon’s definition of history necessarily equated it with storytelling, for he suggests that “History is a succession of stories all true” (212). Not only was storytelling a necessary part of the historical record, but it, like background knowledge, also served a specific function: it encouraged students to pay attention. Because there was a particular action constituted by the storytelling, the inclusion of stories in the Durbar texts helped to relate those texts to the history lessons. Both sets of texts needed stories; without them, according to Salmon, history could not be communicated. Without stories in the Durbar texts, authors could not emphasize the importance of the Indian Uprisings to the Durbar participants, or they could not relate the Indian countryside to the home-bound reader.

To ensure that teachers told interesting stories they were encouraged to hone their storytelling skills; for instance, Garlick writes that “The teacher requires **good descriptive powers** to vitalize his characters and events. This will involve the possession of good
vocal control, more or less dramatic ability, a readiness of illustration, and a skillful use of the forces of contrast and comparison” (Garlick 260, emphasis Garlick’s). Though Garlick’s description addresses oral presentation, aspects of good historical teaching methods such as “dramatic ability,” “illustration,” and “contrast and comparison,” apply also to written texts, just as Bakhtin’s notion of speech genres “pertains to written and read speech, with the appropriate adjustments and additions” (69). Durbar texts allow for and enable similar functions to the history lessons by employing storytelling; to inspire the imperial citizen, Durbar texts are dramatic and illustrative, and rather than possessing good “vocal control,” the authors claim to have a clear command of written language so that the readers, whether they are in Britain, India, or another colony, can imagine themselves at the Durbar experiencing history and performing good citizenship duties in person.

The stories in the textbooks focus primarily on the heroism, patriotism, and great deeds of Britons. An introduction to history, educators argue, must be interesting. If the student is not interested by the material, or does not need the material, then she has little reason to learn it. For both history and Durbar texts, the social function—constructing good imperial citizens—may not seem immediately imperative; the texts must introduce the idea of citizenship and argue that it is important. Thus, it is the text’s duty to interest the reader so that the action or function might be “taken up” or performed by the reader.6 Melanie Kill, in “Acknowledging the Rough Edges of Resistance: Negotiation of

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6 Anne Freadman, in “Anyone for Tennis?” defines “uptake” in terms of speech-act theory. She explains that “it is said that kinds of speech acts (requests, commands, invitations…) determine a, or a set of, appropriate uptake(s)” (46). This notion of uptake is less complex than the one which she develops in her articles “Anyone for Tennis?,” “The Green Tarpaulin: Another Story of the Ryan Hanging,” and “Uptake” in which specific pieces, phrases, or essences of texts are repeated and redefined by subsequent readers/writers. In Chapter Two, I address her more complicated theory of uptake to discuss the ways in which Durbar authors interacted with the different bodies of text from the 1857 Indian Uprisings.
Identities for First-Year Composition,” explains the use of genres in a slightly different, yet related, way. By interacting with different genres, Kill argues, readers and writers inhabit “particular ranges of subject positions in relation to which identities can be enacted and understood, and, as part of the production of coherence, people enact selves and behaviors that are meaningful within a given situation by performing roles in relation to them” (217). Through both the idea that texts can be “taken up” so that the social action might be completed and Kill’s argument that rhetors and their audiences “perform” in a way for which the text allows or calls, texts enable and encourage desired actions. The history lessons and the Durbar texts both provided specific “spaces” or “subject positions,” namely imperial citizen and patriot.

Not only does the storyteller (the rhetor) require certain characteristics like an appropriate command of language, but so too do the stories. The stories used in introductory lessons are encouraged to “be striking, dramatic, single—not complicated with argument or reflection; with not too great a variety of interests” (Fletcher 152); appropriate stories might also be described as ones which “deal with what may be called the romantic side of English history, more especially such matters as narratives of personal adventure, accounts of what men did in past times—how they lived, and dressed, and travelled, and fought—deeds of heroism, picturesque descriptions of striking events” (Landon 398). Texts such as Sara Jeannette Duncan’s “Lady Curzon’s Home Life,” the Gentlewoman’s article on “Where the Durbar is Held,” and Rev. T.N.H Smith-Pearse’s article “Lucknow, Benares, Agra, And Futehpur-Sikri” include vivid descriptions of India, and Mortimer and Dorothy Menpes’s Durbar contains color illustrations of the 1903 Durbar. Both the pictures and the descriptions helped to
illustrate India. If the primary goal of historical education is to encourage the students to be patriotic, brave, and good citizens, then those stories that demonstrate how and why, yet are also interesting will be best suited to the needs of the teacher.

Notes of Lesson

In addition to including specific ways of teaching—through storytelling, the inculcation of background knowledge, and an eye towards different stages of mental development—Victorian educational handbooks like *A New Manual of Method* or *School Management* and *Methods of Instruction* also describe appropriate ways to organize lessons. For instance, *A New Manual of Method* provides a “notes of a lesson” for teaching the importance of the Union Jack. The different parts of the lesson plan include listing the apparatus needed for the lesson such as a Union Jack, a blackboard, and colored paper for the students to use when they make their own flags in class. Garlick then provides headings for each section of the lesson ranging from an introduction to the Union Jack labeled the “Explanation of the term Union Jack,” to a discussion about the “Preliminary examination of a Union Jack”; the lesson ends with the importance of the Union Jack regarding Great Britain itself in a discussion of “The Union of Great Britain and Ireland,” and the “Position of the British Isles as Regards Europe” (Garlick 273-275). Collar and Crook’s organizational pattern suggests that lessons ought to “proceed from indefinite to definite knowledge,” “from individuals to classes, “from the concrete to the abstract,” “from the known, or familiar, to the unknown, or less familiar,” and “from the simple to the complex” (69, emphasis Collar and Crook’s). In both Garlick’s and Collar and Crook’s discussions, students move from specific information that they are familiar
with—what a Union Jack looks like for instance—to less familiar and more abstract ideas about the concept, as in Garlick’s suggestion that the final lesson for the Union Jack is a lecture that includes a discussion of “Position of the British Isles as Regards Europe” and its Empire. A note of lesson, in other words, describes both what types of materials the teacher and student will need to accomplish the desired objective as well as attends to the different material the instructor must cover in the lesson. Addressing the construction of a “note of lesson” and the accompanying lesson itself in terms of genre theory and Miller’s claim that the construction of texts “provid[es] instruction, so to speak, about how to perceive and interpret” the text’s purpose or typified social function, notes of lessons, specifically those for history, prepare the instructor to teach students about historical aspects of the nation and its people (often times, the lessons also include discussions of the relationship of Britain to the empire as well) (Miller 32).

Traditionally, the note of lesson was used only by teachers, administrators, and government or board observers in classrooms: the students did not see or use the instructor’s lesson plan. Landon defines the note of lesson as a document which must consider the aim, particular view, range of lesson, and difficulty of the material so that it can be best organized (59-60). The note of lesson accounts for the different stages of learning and defines specific learning objectives. In the classroom, students have the teacher as an intermediary: the teacher translates her written note of lesson into an oral lesson for the students. The Durbar texts, however, lack this intermediary, and thus, within the text the purpose must be translated and conveyed. For instance, Duncan suggests that her article possesses a “merit of accuracy” (222) while Flora Annie Steel in “Side Lights on the Delhi Durbar” notes that while “the legend of the gorgeous East
[will] blind eyes to facts,” her article will provide Indian aspects “untouched by other pens” but nevertheless true (10). In other words, both women explicitly explain what their articles set out to do. They provide the “note of lesson” or the objective so that the text’s purpose is clear.

**The Importance of Colonial Discourse**

Though my project investigates the implications of genre theory while reading documents produced in the wake of the early twentieth-century Coronation Durbars, colonial discourse analysis also contributes to my methodology, specifically when addressing the fourth and final generic component of the history lesson, the exhortation of best citizenship practices. David Spurr provides a clear, yet overly narrow, definition of colonial discourse. He writes: “Historically speaking,” colonial discourse “refers to the language employed by representatives of the great colonial powers in establishing authority over vast regions of Africa, Asia, the South Pacific, and Latin America during the period of imperial expansion that reached its height at the end of the nineteenth century” (Spurr 7-8). This definition mandates a narrow view of the discourse that circulated around the Empire. For Spurr, only the “representatives of the great colonial powers” utilized this discourse, and they did so to “establish authority” in the colonies. He re-emphasizes the colonizing, controlling nature of colonial discourse, explaining that the discourse “is rather a way of creating and responding to reality that is infinitely adaptable in its function of *preserving the basic structures of power*” (Spurr 11, my emphasis). While the establishment and preservation of power is a crucial component of much colonial discourse, the forms of “colonial discourse” covered in this project include
a wide range of texts written about colonized countries, and sometimes written by the colonized themselves, that could serve complex and sometimes contradictory ideological purposes. I consider colonial discourse that involves a wider-ranging phenomenon than one that only establishes and preserves power. In addition to official British government representatives, Durbar authors include women, American expatriates, Canadians, Australians, anonymous journalists, and Indians—people who did not necessarily “represent” Britain in an official way. Moreover, while the “basic structures of power,” British rule in India, remained in place, the texts I analyze also challenge and suggest amendments to those structures of power, recognizing the limitations of the Anglo-Indian government and further contesting any simplistic definition of colonial discourse. The ideal colonial citizen that these texts create, I suggest, is not just, or even primarily, a pro-empire zealot interested in controlling land and resources.

Rather than a unified concept, like Spurr’s definition suggests, the discourse practiced in the Durbar texts varies in relation to author, subject position, and the text’s desired social action. The discourses, in other words, help to shape the types of lessons offered through the texts and help to develop the story of the imperial lesson—moving from texts that in many ways overtly support and praise the imperial project to documents that challenge or think critically about the role of the colonial government and Britain in India, the purposes of the Durbars, and the citizen’s relationship to the imperial spectacles. Though the texts strive to impart citizenship practices, each set, as delimited by the chapter divisions, does so in a different way, through different discourse mechanisms. For instance, in the discussion of women’s writing in Chapter One, I demonstrate that though the women possess no administrative power in the colony (and
each writer is further hindered by the fact that she is a woman)—Sara Jeannette Duncan writes as the wife of a colonial official, though she is a well-respected journalist and fiction writer in her own right; Pearl Craigie writes as an American expatriate, and Flora Annie Steel writes from her home in Britain—each text demonstrates an “expertise” of the colony. These women’s texts challenge Mills’ assertion that women travel writers at the fin-de-siècle “were unable to adopt the imperialist voice with the ease with which male writers did. The writing which they produced tended to be more tentative than male writing, less able to assert the ‘truths’ of British rule without qualification” (3), for the absolutist language which the women use necessarily “asserts the ‘truths’ of British rule [and of the Indian Empire] without qualification.”

To revise these overly narrow definitions of colonial discourse, I look to Michel Foucault’s discussions of discourse and his theory of power. Foucault’s discussions on the work of discourse and its relationship to power helps us understand why or how these texts might have encouraged or shaped citizenship practices even though the texts do not come from traditional positions of power. Foucault explains that “Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere…power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (Foucault 93). For Foucault, neither people nor institutions possess power. Rather, people, like the authors and readers, the colonized and the colonizers, and institutions, like the colonial government or even the Durbar texts, are integrated parts of the colonial web of power. As the texts disseminate information, the readers are invited to become
part of the “complex strategical situation,” a situation, in terms of the Durbar texts and history lessons, that encourages specific actions.

Foucault argues that discourse and power are closely related, for “it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together” (100). Within the “complex strategical situation” that is power, “Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations” (Foucault 101). Rhetors can use discourses within a “strategy” to prescribe action (or inaction) to their audiences. Discourse, however, also opposes the power structures because discourse is unstable. The texts analyzed in this dissertation seem, on the surface, to be in favor of maintaining the colonial status quo—the governance of India by the British—for even the Indian men’s writing discussed in the final chapter praises the British for the peace and prosperity brought to the sub-continent. Within these seemingly positive and reinforced visions of British imperialism, however, are direct challenges: texts that oppose the Durbars (newspaper articles published in English-language, Indian newspapers) those that disagree with the treatment of the Indians, and those that suggest Indians are citizens (*A Durbar in a Dream* or the *Delhi Durbar Addresses*, for instance). Though Spurr’s definition of colonial discourse exists in the Durbar texts, allowing us to see that discourse can be an “instrument and an effect of power,” the textual opposition reminds us that discourse may qualify as “a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy” (Foucault 101). It is in these spaces of opposition and difference that the texts make (provide) the most interesting history lessons. It is in these spaces, that this project’s story, of evolving, unique citizenship(s) is told. Though they all appear to reproduce
ideals of morality, patriotism, and heroism, the lessons also allow for different interpretations of the righteous and the patriotic.

**Chapter Summaries**

The first chapter, “Through Women’s Eyes: Introducing India and the Coronation Durbars,” explores Flora Annie Steel’s “Side Lights at the Delhi Durbar” (1903) Sara Jeannette Duncan’s “The Home Life of Lady Curzon” (1903), Pearl Craigie’s collection *Letters from the East* (1903), and the personal letters of Gertrude Bell. It discusses the ways in which the texts teach imperial citizens to report and record the Empire. The authors, like many teachers, correct and chastise writers (other “students” of the Empire) who, in their opinion, improperly interpret the Empire. These corrections illustrate how to correctly read and portray the empire by arguing that only those with experience in and knowledge of the Empire are capable of making good decisions about the colony, much like Shelland Bradley’s Nicola Hendley does in an *American Girl at the Durbar* when she criticizes Sir Peter Timms. Notably, the women suggest that those who do not have personal experience are incapable of teaching others. When these texts argue that uneducated or inexperienced people ought not to write about—or “teach”—Empire, they embody Joseph Landon’s claim that instructors necessarily need to understand their subject matter. The texts provide (or constitute) both a cautioning to the other writers—that they must be accurate in their depictions of India or risk harming the Empire—and what can be perceived as well-constructed lessons for non-traveling subjects.

The second chapter, “Pilgrimage to Lucknow: The 1857 Uprising sites, veterans and ideologies in Durbar narratives,” explores the reports of travelers visiting Indian
Mutiny sites while in Delhi. Working in conjunction with Chapter Three, which argues that dissent can be positive and productive in the protection of the Empire, this chapter shows how texts juxtapose reminders of “improper” dissent like the battles of the Uprisings, the death of John Nicholson, and the “Red Ridge of Delhi,” with the displays of (continued) loyalty. Authors like the Rev. T.N.H. Smith-Pearse and L.G. Moberly in the essay collection *Cruise to the Indian Empire* (1912), Sir W. Lee-Warner in an article series in the *Bombay Gazette* (1911), and anonymous authors in the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* (1903) and the *Gentlewoman* (1903) recall the Indian Uprising of 1857, verbally depicting Uprising sites, describing the punishment of sepoys, and praising the work of Sir John Nicholson during the Siege of Delhi. The written and pictorial representations of the veterans, such as those in Dorothy and Mortimer Menpes’s *Durbar*, remind readers of the responsibilities of a good citizen—to protect and remain loyal to the crown at any cost.

The articles, essays, and souvenirs that form the chapter’s archive develop their lessons by concentrating on the heroic deeds Britons performed during the Uprising and by participating in the rhetorical phenomenon of uptake through the repetition of the Uprising narrative. Carlyle, quoted in Garlick, suggests “The history of mankind is the history of great men. To find out these, to clear the dirt from them, and to place them on their proper pedestals, is the function of the historian. He cannot have a nobler one.” History teachers, Garlick remarks, possess a similar duty to “unearth” history’s great men (259). Collar and Crook suggest that biographies and descriptions of battles show the “noble self-sacrifice for one’s country” (183), and Landon notes that “It is characteristic of a healthy child’s nature to delight in action. Stirring events, such as battles by sea and
land, and adventures of all kinds, have a strong attraction” (395). The Durbar texts’ attention to the Cawnpore Memorial Well, the Nicholson Memorial in Delhi, and the bodies of the Uprising veterans at the Durbars, all demonstrate the “sacrifice” that “brave” Britons made during the Uprising. By concentrating on the battles and heroes of the Uprising, the souvenirs form their own moral, patriotic lesson for the readers at home.

Chapter Three, “Preventing Disaster: Advising Against the Durbars to Protect the Empire,” examines articles from English-language newspapers in India and the ways in which authors expressed dissenting opinions about the Durbars. These articles, opinion columns, and letters to the editor were printed in a variety of news sources like the *Bombay Gazette, Bengal Times, Eastern Bengal and Assam Era,* and *Hindoo Patriot.* Unlike Chapter One which focuses on the necessity of fundamental knowledge of the empire to successfully represent the Empire, this chapter demonstrates how newspaper articles reasoned and actively argued against the colonial government’s decisions. The reports contain little background knowledge and no stories about British heroes. Instead, they include specific knowledge about the danger of holding the Durbars, asking that this knowledge be considered, debated, and logically attended to by the colonial citizens. Where the first and second chapters extol the virtues of loyalty and patriotism in a much more straightforward and typical sense—protecting the Empire at all costs is important and good and a belief in the colonial government is important—this chapter’s archive suggests that the ideal imperial citizen is more nuanced, willing to think critically about the colonial government’s involvement, even if that criticism leads to a disagreement with or condemnation of Britain’s work in the Empire.
In an educational setting, these “reasoning” lessons would be considered appropriate for older students who have background knowledge, are already “interested” in the history or task at hand, and have the capability to make connections between events, people, and places. In “epoch teaching,” as Landon calls it

The pupils should be called upon for frequent exercises of judgment within their power, and be gradually trained to reason upon the facts given. The strengthening of the judgment, indeed, is one of the most important educative results which the study of history should secure; but, as already pointed out, the faculty must not be forced. (401, Landon’s emphasis)

Landon emphasizes the need to allow students to come to their own conclusions and that strengthening their reasoning skills is a gradual process. Similarly, Garlick contends that history “furnishes plenty of work for the reasoning powers. The pupil learns to trace cause and effect; to generalize; and to make valuable inductions. He finds a cycle in historic events—that history repeats itself” (Garlick 258). Collar and Crook give label to “The Reasoning Stage” explaining that

In the next revision [of a lesson] more exercise may be given to the judgement of the pupils….Still further detail can be worked in the scheme, and a new interest is attached to the previous knowledge on account of the new light in which it is regarded. In this stage it is best to study topics. (189)

Landon, Garlick, and Collar and Crook all suggest that students learn to make judgments about history as they build upon their background knowledge. I argue that the typified social function of the newspaper article, especially in the Anglo-Indian newspapers, makes an appropriate device through which to develop these reasoning lessons because it focuses on ideas and facts, not on stories, chronology, and background knowledge as “earlier” lessons would.
Chapter Four, “Writing from the Empire: Indian Men, the Indian Subject, and Protecting the Colonial Government,” takes up Indian English-language publications about the Durbars, specifically P. Seshadri’s edited collection *Delhi Durbar Addresses* (1912), A.S. Mudaliar’s *A Durbar in a Dream: A Romance of a World to be Seen* (1903), and two letters to the editor. It discusses how the texts participate in the genre of the history lesson by urging the development of a historical imagination, providing background knowledge, and encouraging readers to develop their reasoning skills. The chapter shows that one way the Indian men’s texts differ from those produced by their Anglo-Indian, British, and American counterparts is through the inclusion of many different stages of learning in one lesson. While the lessons produced in the Anglo-Indian and British texts generally concentrate on one set of skills—developing background information, for instance—the Indian men’s texts prepare readers to engage in all three skills nearly simultaneously. The decreased time-line for the dissemination of materials—with most Durbar texts published in the weeks and months surrounding the Durbar events, and the far fewer English-language texts by Indians than by Anglo-Indians and Britons helps to explain why the Indians’ texts combine lessons while the British literature does not. Additionally, the Indian texts are more likely to excerpt British history and literature at length without contextualizing it. Like those texts produced by Anglo-Indians or Britons, the Indian men’s English-language texts illustrate loyalty to the Empire, bravery, and good citizenship. At the same time, however, these texts also challenge the way Britons are portrayed and recognized in India. Though the texts are always deferential to British colonizers, they suggest ways Indians exercise power. This chapter argues that English-language Indian texts constructed a self-aware and participatory Indian citizen by
exploring Indian history, the history of the Durbar in particular, and by discussing the importance of loyalty to one’s rulers. These texts, like the others discussed in the dissertation, take up the genre of the history lesson by attending to its “primary aims” of patriotism, loyalty, valor, and citizenship.

The epilogue, “Looking to the Future: Cosmopolitanism, Decolonization, and the Modernist Colonial History Lesson,” investigates the educative power of the period’s colonial fiction taking as its starting place E.M. Forster’s final novel, *A Passage to India* (1924). This chapter suggests that colonial fiction did not just portray the colonies to a home-bound reading public, but also worked, in the same vein as the non-fictional texts, to teach readers how to be good imperial citizens. I argue that *Passage* (written in the years after King George’s 1911 Durbar) advocates for decolonization to preserve Britain. Just as the non-fictional texts provide background information about the colony, insist that colonial heroes are lauded, and imply that by being loyal to the Empire one can protect it, *Passage* illustrates India and the experiences of Britons and Anglo-Indians, specifically Adela Quested, in a way which questions the economy of the imperial project. Forster tells the story of new citizenship practices through Adela’s interactions with Indian people and the landscape. Drawing on familiar colonial fiction tropes such the Indian Uprisings and through Quested’s inability to revolutionize the colony, the narrative suggests that one cannot actually learn about the colony and remain loyal to it if domination between Britons and Indians exists. The imperial citizen for Forster, as illustrated through Adela and Fielding, will look to befriend the Indian rather than to dominate and will seek decolonization rather than British control of India.
Chapter One: Through Women’s Eyes: Introducing India and the Coronation

Durbars to the British Public

The pages of Beryl White's 1902-03 scrapbook are filled with photographs, notes, invitations, and newspaper clippings collected from King Edward VII’s 1903 Coronation Durbar. This scrapbook illustrates the activities the Durbar provided for Anglo-Indian residents, Indian aristocracy, and guests from around the world; the collection also reveals the British and Anglo-Indian women’s (memsahibs) activities and responsibilities. Though White designed her scrapbook to display the colonial spectacle for those who could not attend and to act as a souvenir for those who did, it also serves a pedagogical purpose. For example, White’s organization and selection of souvenirs illustrates what she perceives to be the proper attitudes and behaviors of the imperial subject. White and her parents hosted the Sikkim regiment in the weeks leading up to the Durbar, and she attended the review and State Dinner. White’s emphasis on her family’s role as hosts to the Sikkim contingent and her attendance at functions like the State Dinner suggest the importance of caring for the Indian peoples, the royalty anyway, as they prepared to recognize the British monarch, and showing respect to the Colonial Government. Moreover, the mixture of generic forms included in the scrapbook—newspaper articles, invitations, and even photographs and watercolor paintings—suggests that different textual and pictorial genres perform similar pedagogical and typified rhetorical functions. White’s scrapbook exemplifies the pedagogic nature of Durbar texts and illustrates the importance of remembrance, honor, and most importantly, the reading,

7 I use the term “Anglo-Indian” to refer not to people of mixed British and Indian heritage, but rather as a term to refer to those who were British and lived in India. This usage remains consistent with historical treatments of the phrase “Anglo-Indian.”
interpretation, and (re)production of the Empire in ways that demonstrate an active, well-informed citizenry.

Beryl White was not the only woman writing about or from India during the 1903 Durbar, nor were her ideas about colonial loyalty singular. Flora Annie Steel, Sara Jeannette Duncan, and Pearl Craigie (writing under the pseudonym John Oliver Hobbes) used their positions as popular authors to situate themselves as culturally-acceptable and well-informed colonial instructors who could teach the domestic imperial population about the Indian Empire. Gertrude Bell, a renowned archaeologist, also attended the Durbar and exchanged letters with her family; these letters, like Craigie’s, Steel’s, and Duncan’s periodical articles, described India, its people, and the Durbars. Readers in Britain recently acquainted with the subcontinent through the Durbar festivities and day-to-day interactions with colonial goods such as fruits and vegetables, spices and teas, and linens and other cloth, could look to these women’s writings for imperial information.

Not only did these texts represent the colony, but like many teachers’ comments they also corrected and chastised imperial students who improperly interpreted and reported the Empire, indicating the correct way to read and write India.

These women's writing suggests at least two lessons of good citizenship: (1) that a well-rounded colonial education serves as the cornerstone of empire building, necessary not only to fully understand the Durbars but also the colonial project itself, and (2) that proper citizenship is not predicated upon knowledge alone, but also must be accompanied by one's actions and manners concerning the colonial enterprise. These actions and manners were supported by Victorian pedagogues’ calls that history education be foremost in instilling loyalty and patriotism. As the Durbar texts illustrate how to support
the colony, so too do they encourage the application of this loyalty to other instances of political and personal life. Good citizenship begins with a strong grounding in an accurate colonial life and proper colonial manners.

Gender, and not the lessons the documents develop, set these women apart from the majority of Durbar authors. As women they held especially complex positions in the colony, traveling and demanding respect as Britons while at the same time negotiating patriarchal and imperial structures. Because most of the Durbar participants, news reporters, government officials, and civil servants were men, the Durbar was officially reproduced through men's eyes as reporters and historians designed authorized souvenirs, programs, and government documents for the functions and reported on the spectacle for news bureaus. A closer look at the archive, however, affords us a glimpse into the woman's colonial world. It shows not only that women were present in the colony, but also that they were actively participating as citizens with political opinions and teaching others to be good citizens. The women’s Durbar writings show specific engagement with the political and colonial machine of British India. Women often held similar points of view as men did and while differences were present in the way men and women understood the colony, they were expressed only implicitly in the women’s descriptions of colonies.8 Most studies about women’s writing about the colonies concentrate on the ways in which women portrayed travel and the empire through the lens of travel “for travel’s own sake” (Blake 21). In other words, they suggest that women traveled and wrote because they physically and financially could, not because they or their texts sought to do anything extraordinary in terms of rhetoric or Empire building.

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The 1903 Coronation Durbar and the texts written for and about it, however, present a different way of understanding women’s travel and imperial writing. The women who attended and/or wrote about the Durbar did not do so for “travel’s own sake” but rather in response to the colonial spectacle. Archaeologist Gertrude Bell, for example, went to India only to witness the Durbar and not for any scholarly enterprise. Though Bell traveled to India to view the “wonderful show” that the Durbar created, she also described the political, historical, and religious importance of India when she wrote home to her family in England. She participated in and embraced the picturesque and exotic spectacle and took the opportunity to write about the Indian Empire in a nuanced, educative manner that belied the spectacular nature of the Durbar. In other words, the Durbar created a rhetorical and political situation to which travelers and writers responded. This occasion allowed for not only different types of texts but also enabled some women’s travel writing to enact new or encourage different rhetorical actions than do other women’s travelogues not about the Durbars.

Bell’s, Steel’s, Duncan’s, and Craigie’s texts are dissimilar to the extended Victorian travel narratives of Mary Kingsley (Travels in West Africa [1897]) and Fanny Parks (The Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque [1850]) because they are short periodical pieces or personal letters designed to inform readers of specific

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9 Considerable textual attention was paid to both the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Durbars; however, I have found that most signed women’s texts were published only about the 1902-03 Durbar. While 1902-03 Durbar archive contains various letters and newspaper articles, the 1911-12 archive is filled with government-authorized histories, reports on the King and Queen’s travels, and coverage about the colonial government’s move to Delhi. The types of writing produced for the two Durbars are, in other words different. They were written for different audiences (those people reading about the 1911-12 Durbar had a better chance of remembering the 1902-03 Durbar than those writing in 1903 in relation to the 1877 Imperial Assemblage), and the presence of King George and Queen Mary changed the focus of the writers from the exoticness of India to the travel and arrival of the King and Queen. Though it is completely possible that more women wrote about the 1911-12 Durbar, as journalists or in histories and souvenirs, their work remains unsigned and thus unavailable.
circumstances. Unlike Kingsley’s and Parks’ texts and even narratives produced during the Indian Uprising like R.M. Coopland’s *A Lady’s Escape from Gwalior and Life in the Fort of Agra during the Mutinies of 1857* (1859), these texts do more than chronicle these women’s adventures. Instead, Bell’s, White’s, Steel’s, Craigie’s, and Duncan’s texts present lessons about the Empire in ways that align with the typified social functions of Victorian history lessons. They challenge conventional views of the characteristics of women’s travel writing and travel writing in general. In short, in addition to a story of a woman’s travel experience, these texts look to teach readers about citizenship practices by taking up the genre of the history lesson. These women’s texts portray a citizen who is well-informed about and considerate of the myriad people in the Indian Empire. They strive to create an ideal citizen who uses historical, geographical, and cultural knowledge about India to intelligently comment on the British enterprise.

**Expertise and Background Knowledge: Writing the Representative Indian**

One of the most important attributes Victorian education manuals assign to history teachers (and teachers in general) is the possession of an extensive knowledge of the subject matter. In *The Principles and Practice of Teaching and Class Management* (1894), Joseph Landon argues for the importance of teacher training and intellect. He explains the teacher “must possess wider knowledge than just the amount to be given to the children, that he may have something to fall back upon in case of difficulty, and be able to see in their proper relationship and relative importance the points which he teaches” (58-59, Landon’s emphasis). History lessons progressed from the most basic information—often linked with geography—to the development of reasoning skills that
allowed students to understand the causes and effects of events. These lessons moved from general, broad information about people and places to more specific, pointed classifications that addressed politics and, importantly, morals and patriotism. A teacher’s grasp of the material, according to Landon, allowed her to prepare the students for the future—drawing conclusions and understanding cause and effect—by providing them with the best general information available.

The women’s proficiency in Indian culture distinguishes the texts that I analyze in this chapter from other women’s general interest travel writings and even some written about the Durbars. On the whole, the women were either well-informed and formally educated about the Indian Empire (Bell), had lived there (White, Steel, and Duncan), or possessed long-time friends in the Indian government (Craigie). The women who were formally educated—or who portrayed themselves as well-informed—presented themselves differently in writing than did women writers with fewer qualifications, and their documents conformed best to the generic demands of the history lesson. During her Indian travels, Gertrude Bell visited a series of Jain temples. In her letter home, she explains the difference between Jainism and Buddhism, noting that Jainism “is [a] religion much like Buddhism, it sprang up about the same time and from similar conditions, but instead of a series of Buddhas you have a series of Tirthankars who are represented countless thousands of times in all the temples in much the same attitude as that of the conventional Buddha.” In the same letter she describes the architecture and the purpose of the temples (Bell 22 Dec. 1902). The text’s clarity and detail shows confidence. Bell compares Jain representations of religious figures to those of Buddhists, using the proper name “Tirthankar” to distinguish the Jain figure from Buddha, and the
letter does not mention guides or religious authorities present who teach her about the
temples. Bell’s letter presents her as knowledgeable about India and its culture, someone
who might “possess wider knowledge than just the amount to be given to the children,”
and thus, be an appropriate source of information (Landon 58, author’s emphasis). Bell’s
descriptions could be considered background information for those interested in learning
about Indian religion and culture because they provide basic foundational knowledge.

In contrast to Bell, Ruby Madden, a young Australian aristocrat, possessed little
prior knowledge of India. Madden’s *A season in India: letters of Ruby Madden:*
*experiences of an Australian girl at the Great Coronation Durbar Delhi:1903* (1976)
aligns more closely with conventional women’s travel writing which Sara Mills describes
as writing in which women “were unable to adopt the imperialist voice with the ease with
which male writers did. The writing which they produced tended to be more tentative
than male writing, less able to assert the ‘truths’ of British rule without qualification” (3).
While in India, Ruby and her aunts visited the Elephant, or Elephanta, Caves. Like the
Jain temples that Bell visits, the Caves are religiously significant, yet Ruby, lacking
knowledge of Indian culture, does not explain that significance. She notes that the Caves
are “hundreds of years old and there are 3 small inner temples with the sacred round
stone called Sinj which they worship. It looks just like a mounting block, only it is round
instead of square. It was very interesting, altho' hideous as those sort of things generally
are” (Madden 51). If Bell’s letter pronounces differences between Jainism and
Buddhism, that of Madden reveals only her own ideas about Indian religious culture—
that it is “hideous”—and that she is able to recognize religious institutions. As a study in
the colonial attitudes of Australian women, *A Season in India* leaves the reader with little
information about India other than Madden’s own viewpoints: she is not an expert nor does she position herself as one, and because of this failing, her text cannot be treated as one which conveyed appropriate historical knowledge. Her travel writing, unlike that of the other women discussed in this chapter, does not qualify as a history lesson because it does not take up the history lesson’s social action—in this case, Madden’s letter neither shows expertise about the colony nor does it provide background information.

Like Bell’s letter, Steel’s, Duncan’s, and Craigie’s writings begin to establish their credibility and show their expertise of India. The development of expertise, background knowledge, and attention to citizenship situates the articles in the genre of the history lesson. The articles report what the women believe to be the most important aspects of Indian culture and the Empire; this foundation serves as the background knowledge for potential lessons. In creating their own view of India, the women challenge dominant attitudes about women’s writing and the subcontinent. For instance, Steel investigates the lives of the poor, women, and children, claiming that India is not the exotic “‘Colour piled on colour’ 'luxuriant screens of tropical vegetation’” that other writers see but rather a “sober sad-coloured” land; Duncan examines Lady Curzon’s daily

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9 Flora Annie Steel, Sara Jeannette Duncan, and Pearl Craigie all had different experiences in and about India that affected the ways in which they understood the colony and the way in which the colonial project worked. Both Duncan and Steel lived in the colony as “memsahibs.” Duncan was married to Everard Cotes, a museum curator in India, and Steel was married to a civil servant stationed in the Punjab. Pearl Craigie, however, visited India only for the 1902-03 Coronation Durbar as a guest of Lord and Lady Curzon. Craigie remained in India for a period of a few months, traveling after the Durbar was over to Agra and other parts of the sub-continent. Though she spent comparatively little time in the colony, her writing suggests that she felt that she “knew” the colony just as well as the women who have lived there many years.

10 It is important to understand that in these terms, the women argue that their experiences are commonplace. While Duncan and Steel suggest that India is ordinary in a pedestrian, common way, Pearl Craigie suggests that India and the Indian countryside is far more extraordinary. For Craigie, however, the exoticism that is India is common, expected; it is not the show that the Durbar festivities were, but rather an inherent part of India. Despite Craigie’s insistence that India is “extraordinary” or “exotic,” to the reader, her reaction and the way in which she describes the people and the landscape make it seem as if they are “representative” and not designed only for the Durbar.
routines; and, Pearl Craigie contradicts Steel’s message by reporting on India’s exoticism, stressing the strangeness of the people and the land. While these articles do report on the Durbars, because that is the rhetorical exigency to which they respond, they focus on the Indian life that surrounds the spectacle.

To develop a specific sense of India, the women divide the colony into two historically and socially distinct topics: the people (culture) and the landscape (geography). These interconnected lessons follow the suggestion that “The teacher should combine history and geography, so as to teach certain valuable lessons concerning territorial, political, and commercial history” (Garlick 259). Unless students understand what India looks like, where it is, and who lives there, the political and economic effects, so important to Britain’s rule and its relationship to the sub-continent, cannot be understood. Moreover, by concentrating on people and culture, the women’s texts echo the pedagogues’ call that “action, personal adventure, personal characteristics” dominate the history lesson; during the lesson, the teacher should “Let everything be striking, dramatic, single—not complicated with argument or reflection; with not too great a variety of interests” (Fletcher 152). When the texts tell stories about specific people (the poor women and children who built the amphitheatre, Craigie’s servants, or the Indians who honor Lady Curzon), they do not explicitly ask the reader to associate the Durbar politics with the narrative; instead, these narratives encourage the reader to read India in a specific way—as a place filled with diverse people who are different from Britons.

One way the texts establish expertise is to describe in detail the people one might encounter in India. To focus on people is to attend to the personal characteristics of history. According to the texts, visitors to the colony might see two types of people: the
poor and royalty. These notables may include either Indian rulers or members of the Anglo-Indian ruling class. The focus on the Indian and Anglo-Indian leadership reemphasizes the history lesson’s dependence on historical characters. For J.A. Froude, “The object of history is to discover and make visible illustrious characters, and pay them ungrudging honour” (163) while Thomas Carlyle asserts that historians must be able “to clear the dirt from them [heroes], and to place them on their proper pedestals” (qtd. in Garlick 259). Likewise, historical figures not only taught students about history but “History presents frequent opportunities for moral training through the biographies of great historical personages. In studying the lives of these men we are able to notice the great effects for good or evil that have followed from their conduct” (Collar and Crook 183). In short, these fin-de-siècle history lessons focused on people and the two stated goals of a history curriculum—to be moral and to be patriotic—were conferred through the biographies of historical characters. The overwhelming presence of government leaders and Indian princes in the Durbar texts allows the reader to connect historical “character” with people who were well-known and, one may say, people whom the writers felt ought to be recognized. They were the “heroes” of the Durbar whom writers helped the populace understand.

Whether describing Lady Curzon, an Indian servant, or a child who helped build the Durbar Amphitheatre, the women’s texts focus on specific facts and stories. Through specific details, they offer evidence of their knowledge that writers unfamiliar with the colony may have lacked, yet still circulated, for many [Victorian] contemporaries with Indian experience frequently found representations of India in the British press wanting. Such complaints were widespread amongst Anglo-Indians who, while they were acutely and perhaps even pathologically conscious of their British identity, were
nevertheless separated from Britain by subtle cultural differences.
(Finkelstein and Peers 14)

Though Carlyle suggests historians ought to “clear the dirt from” heroes, at times, these women’s texts make available the lives and characteristics of distinctly non-heroic personages. The attention to the common person revised the specific social function of the history lesson—one ought to learn about and respect not just heroes but those people who were least likely to be recognized, yet were still important, to the development of the Empire; not every reader could be a war hero or king, but she could work hard for the Empire. For instance, Steel describes the lives of Indian women in purdah during the Durbar spectacles. She explains that after the Indian women have prepared the prestigious and “be-medalled” man of the home, there occurs

A greater bustle than ever. Washings and combings and braidings of hair, stainings of finger tips, and—whisper it!—actual sewings on from ankle to knee of fashionably cut trousers far too tight in that particular portion of their fit to allow of their being drawn over the heel. And all this is going on not only in arcaded courts, but in tenement houses, even in secluded alleys and under the grey sky; going on calmly quite regardless of the casual passers-by. Perhaps the women hold that their chatter is sufficient to deaden sight as well as sound. Anyhow it is sufficient for most things. That and the crunching of sweetmeats. (Steel 10)

The women have dyed the man’s beard blue, prepared him so that he could attend the Durbar and honor Lord Curzon and King Edward, but even after that work, they prepare themselves to honor and celebrate during the Durbar festivities even though they as Indian women are noticeably absent from the Durbar proceedings. When addressing Lady Curzon, an American heiress married to Lord Curzon, Duncan integrates an American woman into British history. This inclusion of Lady Curzon is important, for the period’s history texts often ignore the roles non-royal women played in the Empire.
To understand India, these women’s texts suggest, one must understand the people who live there. To help readers become more familiar with the Indian population, the texts generalize about the population, and the writing is “striking, dramatic, single;” in Fletcher’s words; they do not confuse with ornate descriptions. The illustrations describe both who attended the Durbar and who the ideal citizen ought to acknowledge as “representative.” In the attempt to describe the “representative” Indian, the texts show what to expect. Steel explains that the ideal citizen should not recognize or believe Indian rulers to be the only Indians in the colony even though most of the coverage of native Indians during the Durbar festivities concerns princes and aristocracy. Rather, she admits that “behind the glitter and glow of the feudatories of India as they stepped from their canopies to do homage, I see other figures as representative—let it never be forgotten—of the real India” (10). Who are these figures? They are not aristocracy, nor Anglo-Indian civil servants, nor traders, but instead India’s poor who prepared the Durbar sites but who are also, as Steel explains, absent from the official Durbar proceedings. For Steel, the representative Indian is “The half-starved anatomy of a man girt about with a single waist-cloth, the woman whose only effective rag is the one she draws about her face at the approach of a stranger, the child guiltless even of rags” (10). Steel distinguishes the poor from the royal and uses clear class and gender markers to express their poverty: the man’s “half-starved anatomy,” the woman who owns only a “rag” with which to cover her face, and naked children. To recognize these Indians as “representative,” provides a different understanding of India than one in which the majority of Indians depicted in the non-fiction writing of the Durbars are rulers in their native ceremonial dress. There were far more poverty-stricken Indians than there were
rulers, and to ignore the majority of Indians in favor of the picturesque misrepresents Indian culture and geography.

Pearl Craigie’s writing uses similarly “striking” and singular descriptions. Few details and clear adjectives provide a lesson in India’s cultural diversity that showed personal encounters with India and its people. Craigie writes about the carriage ride from the camp to the Durbar amphitheatre: “The roads were lined by thick-set, smooth-faced Gurkhas, desperate, immutable Sikhs, fiery Pathans, gallant Highlanders, English and Irish soldiers, sturdy, short, smart, pale and anxious” (Hobbes 12-13). Steel’s and Craigie’s descriptions both depend on adjectives to describe India; neither photographs nor drawings accompany the articles. The accomplished history teacher required the ability to capably select appropriate examples and must have had “a readiness of illustration, and a skillful use of the forces of contrast and comparison” (Garlick 260). In the descriptions of the poor and of the Indian soldiers who lined the Durbar roads, Steel’s and Craigie’s texts illustrate the Indian people for the homebound readers. Steel, using comparison and contrast, defines the poor as representative, while Craigie delineates each group in opposition to the others—“fiery Pathans” versus “immutable Sikhs.” Each text shows specific people, encouraging the reader to focus on one instance of the colony. If most women’s colonial and travel writing, according to Sara Mills, is hesitant, then these women’s texts that prescribe selected and precise definitions of India and its people challenge the broad conceptions of “weak” or “insecure” women’s travel writing at the turn of the century. Steel’s and Craigie’s texts are neither “tentative” as Mills calls women’s travel writing, nor unable “to assert the ‘truths’” of imperialism and the Empire.
The expertise the texts reflect and the rhetorical situation – the Coronation Durbar – allow these women’s texts to redefine fin-de-siècle women’s travel writing.

Not only do the women’s descriptions challenge current conceptions of women’s travel writings, but they also develop into lessons about India and the women’s own relationships with the Empire. These lessons highlight the ideal citizen as developed or portrayed in these women’s texts: the citizen should understand the Indian Empire and should develop a relationship with it. When the ideal citizen understands or “knows” the Empire, she will be able to make more appropriate decisions. For instance, Steel’s poor, when characterized as “representative,” imply wide-spread poverty. In advanced reasoning lessons, knowledge that the poor are India’s representative people may bolster imperialists who use the white man’s burden as a moral imperative for colonialism.

Moreover, Craigie’s description of the soldiers lining the roads includes both those who are Indian and those who are British. Though the text teaches readers explicitly about the different ethnic groups in India, Sikh, Pathan, Gurkha, it also contrasts them with British soldiers who are “gallant” and “sturdy, short, smart, pale and anxious.” Among the Indians and the British are distinct attitudinal differences—the Indians, who range from fiery to immutable are not described as heroic, brave, or strong, as the Highlanders are. Interestingly, Craigie groups the English and Irish soldiers together, in contrast to the Highlanders. Though the English and Irish soldiers are “sturdy” and “smart,” they are also described as “pale and anxious.” The term “anxious,” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, denotes one who is “full of desire and endeavour, solicitous; earnestly desirous.” But anxiety also carries the negative connotation of nervousness. The soldiers the text presents not only serve their Empire and are “sturdy” and “smart,”
but they are also desirous and eager to please and possibly even nervous about their place in the Empire. This description of the soldiers implies both strength and an anxiety that makes them servant-like. *Letters from the East* and the descriptions of the Indian and British soldiers conceptualize the Indian people—through broad generalizations of ethnic characteristics—and reinforce the necessary bravery and strength of the Briton, especially if the Briton is to be considered from the entirety of the British Isles—English, Welsh, Scot, and Irish.

Through “striking” and “singular” descriptions of Indians and Britons in India, each woman’s text creates a different experience of India that emphasizes the people who live there. Each document generalizes about the Indian population, and these generalizations align with the history lesson genre. According to the Victorian pedagogues, history teachers must be selective in the information they choose to impart because “Before facts can become History they must be selected according to some consistent idea, and arranged so as to show their mutual relations, in short, they must be organized (Salmon 212). By focusing only on a specific instance of India, the poor or the soldiers lining the roads, the texts provide a specific organizational tactic—people who are either not seen at the Durbar, but ever present, or Durbar participants. The texts illustrate exactly where different Indian and colonial constituencies live.

Not only do the texts describe the people one will encounter in India, at the Durbar, or in the streets, but they also try to illustrate a sense of India’s geography and landscape. Geography and history are closely related; geography often determines political moves, wars, and colonization itself. As countries are invaded, made allies, or colonized, they become part of other nations’ historical records. In the classroom “The
whole, [of geography education] however, is conducted as much as possible on the principles of training; first, the broad outlines, and gradually more and more minute, and the whole illustrated by HISTORY. The uniting of History with Geography is now getting very general in schools” (Stow 301). As the students learn more specific details about geography, so too do they about history in regards to the geography. In the discussion of landscape, Steel’s writing continues to present itself as authoritative; her view that specific geographical or landscape attributes deserve more attention than others reinforces the representative nature of her writing. The article presents itself as a text that is different from other accounts of the Durbar. Steel’s article separates itself from those that describe Delhi in “elaborate word-painting[s]” that use phrases such as “‘Colour piled on colour’ 'luxuriant screens of tropical vegetation' 'deep azure skies' 'sharp sunlight and shadow’” by naming Steel one of “those who know” India (10).

Steel’s text claims to provide a more consistent picture of Delhi than others; it acknowledges that readers have been inundated with information about India and the Durbar, for it begins by noting that “For some weeks past I have been reading in the daily papers, long descriptions of the mise-en-scène of the great Durbar now happily over at Delhi” (Steel 10). Not only she, Duncan, and Craigie have described India and the Durbar scenes, but many writers have—“for some weeks.” “Side Lights” distinguishes between those who understand the people of India and those who do not; the article asserts the same effort when discussing the geography. In contrast to the luxurious, exotic descriptions in texts like Craigie’s *Letters from the East* and other newspaper descriptions, Steel’s article emphasizes the “sober sad-coloured …. background of sandy plain, dusty trees, dingy mud buildings, and sky pale from very excess of light” that she
knows (Steel 10). Steel’s description is not “brilliant” and “weird,” but rather commonplace and even boring, showing India as a place that is quite brown. By providing such a stark contrast between her own ideas and those of others, “Side Lights” illustrates the different opinions about the Indian Empire. Moreover, it emphasizes that the ideal citizen possesses an awareness of those opinions, especially from “those who know” the colony. The Durbar archive contains a variety of different literary genres. For instance, Steel’s descriptions are distinctly realistic while Craigie’s are romantic. Unnamed writers, according to Steel, presented dramatic “mise-en-scene” descriptions of the Durbar. Despite the fact that Steel argues these descriptions are definitively unrepresentative of India, all the texts and authors play a role in illustrating and defining India and the Durbars. Previous knowledge of literary genres was required to decipher the information. In the contrast made between “those who know” and, one assumes, “those who do not know” the colony and only visit because of the Durbar, Steel’s article asserts an expertise and suggests that Steel knew not only more than students and other writers (who ultimately become students) but also more than she taught.

Craigie’s description of Bombay conveys a sense of the luxurious and exotic that Steel’s article disdains, and at the same time, the description presents itself as that of an expert; Craigie writes that she remembers India most clearly “during those brilliant moments when one unforgettable impression succeeded another as weird and unforgettable—(the light in the East makes every scene a permanent silhouette in one's mind—nothing here is elusive)” (Hobbes 6). “Brilliant,” “weird,” and “unforgettable” may certainly be applicable to a place one has never seen before, but they do not provide any real sense of what India actually looks like. Moreover, the description portrays India
in a surprisingly undefined manner, for Craigie claims only to have “silhouettes” of India in her mind. On the one hand, these silhouettes are “permanent,” suggesting that what Craigie describes will stay with her. On the other hand, as per Steel’s criticism that other authors do not accurately present India, what *Letters from the East* portrays is only a silhouette. Craigie remembers no details; she has no specifics in mind. Though India is not “elusive” to Craigie, it is elusive to the readers. Steel’s article asks that a good citizen distinguish the bright, exotic India of “others’” writing from the “sombre winter sky of even grey, gold-dusted at the horizon … [and] the hillocky plain of drab dust, tinted vaguely, here and there, by groups of grey-green trees, or a scattering of purple-grey bricks” that it presents (Steel 10).

Despite the differences in opinion about what and who is representative—poor women and children or Gurkha soldiers, brilliant and luxurious scenery or drab, brown dust—each woman’s text develops an area of expertise to convey. If one of the characteristics of the ideal citizen is to be knowledgeable about the Empire, then these women’s writings help to circulate representative information about India, the Empire, and the colonial relationship. Understanding who the Indian people are and what their land looks like is a necessary attribute of the ideal imperial citizen. These articles and letters also challenge the conceptions of women’s travel writing, for they are firm, descriptive, and find a voice in the people and land that they describe. Rather than being different from men’s writing at the time, they provide a more nuanced reading of women’s travel writing than Mills and Birkett suggest is possible. Moreover, the information the writings provide allows better interpretations of more advanced history lessons that require political, geographical, or historical knowledge. For instance, in *The
Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental Colonial Record (1903) a special correspondent writes in a Durbar article that “The Indian people have in the last decade been tested by two periods of famine…and by six continuous years of pestilence” (256). Steel’s recognition of poor women and children—those most likely to suffer from famine or pestilence—offers a different perspective of the famine and attaches real, human faces to the suffering. Background knowledge, especially about the people who live in the colony and the spaces which they inhabit, is important to the ideal citizen not only to understand the colony, but also because background knowledge allows citizens to form opinions and make decisions about colonialism. Knowing the geography and lives of people may help Britons decide what sort of aid to provide (sanitation and food, for instance) for particular geographical units, or may prepare the prospective traveler.

Disruptive/Disrupting Ignorance: Mandating Accurate Information for the Reading Public

In addition to developing or demonstrating the importance and actuality of the women’s expertise in Indian life, the texts also serve as proxy instructors when they criticize writers who provide “bad” information. The corrections worked to ensure the best education. These articles reconstructed colonial knowledge when they claimed that other publications did not adequately, and in many cases, ignorantly addressed the colonial population’s concerns. If history education were designed to create good citizens by teaching people how to be patriotic, moral, and knowledgeable about Britain and her Empire, then texts that provided inaccurate or ignorant information challenged or prevented the expected typified social actions of the history lesson. These Durbar texts
also argue that the dissemination of incorrect information provides a disservice; in other words, when inaccurate history was circulated, the ideal citizen could not acquire the appropriate cultural knowledge. The expected function of the historical text and the genre are unavailable because the text has not provided enough background or rhetorical impetus for the function—patriotism, bravery, good citizenship—to take place. Victorian educationalist William Ross notes that “thorough knowledge, firmness and decision of character, on the part of the Teacher, are of the greatest consequence;” this sureness and “thorough knowledge” lead to the “accuracy and precision of pupils’ answers” (60).

Rhetorically, or generically speaking, when the teacher (whether a person in a classroom or a printed text) was sure of the information presented, students might have appropriately reacted to the situation. They take up, in Melanie Kill’s sense of the phrase, the information and position themselves as colonial citizens who could use the lesson.12 “Answers” could be simple responses to questions, but an answer might also be a reaction to the new knowledge gained, like the patriotism and loyalty historical texts are expected to produce in their readers. The reaction to the history lesson is the taking up of the genre and the positioning of one’s self in a “subject position.” When the women’s texts charge others with disseminating inaccuracies, they imply that those other texts damage the development of the citizen because that audience does not receive appropriate information, further bolstering the argument that popular letters act as history lessons and prepare subjects for imperial participation. In short, the dissemination of incorrect

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12 In “Acknowledging the Rough Edges of Resistance: Negotiations of Identities for First-Year Composition” Kill explains that “by engaging in the generic actions and interactions that are valued in particular communities that we perform and develop identities appropriate to the places and spaces we want to occupy” (217). As the idealized citizen reads and engages with the Durbar texts she begins to develop a patriotic and loyal attitude. Interacting with the genre of the history lesson and the texts that comprise the genre allow begins identity formation.
information in a history lesson disrupts the potential typified social function and the uptake of the knowledge.

Not only do Duncan’s and Steel’s texts look like lessons because they actively seek to correct others’ mistakes and claim to provide more accurate, useful information than other articles do, but they also encourage similar social functions as Victorian history lessons. History lessons were expected to encourage Britons to be patriotic and civically active in their daily lives, especially regarding the Empire. For home bound readers, like those who had access Pall Mall Gazette, Harper’s Bazaar, or the Saturday Review, this participation may simply have been accurate or sufficient background knowledge so that they could understand Durbar preparations and policy decisions discussed in newspapers. To encourage active colonial citizenship, Duncan’s and Steel’s articles explicitly argue that they will “correct” the ignorance perpetuated by other reporters. Duncan’s article claims to possess a “merit of accuracy” (222) while Steel’s notes that the “the legend of the gorgeous East [will] blind eyes to facts” and that it will provide Indian aspects “untouched by other pens” but nevertheless true (10). When the texts explain that others have circulated inaccurate or incomplete information—and that the “Home Life of Lady Curzon” and “Side Lights on the Delhi Durbar” will remedy those omissions—they illustrate that some facts are unavailable in other texts. On the one hand, this proclamation that the text contained truthful information provided a purpose or reason to read the article—a “note of lesson” to follow. On the other hand, it showed that contrasting information was available; the ideal citizen was expected to synthesize and analyze the background information.
To form the corrective lesson, the texts contrast information with that which has previously circulated; this move divided incorrect from correct data and revised the lesson. In “Lady Curzon's Home Life,” Duncan argues that “So much that is preposterous has found currency in Lady Curzon's native land regarding her life and employments in India, that a glimpse of it which has at least the merit of accuracy may be received with interest.” Steel, in “Side Lights,” claims not to recognize the “luxuriant screens of tropical vegetation” and “deep azure skies” that the authors of Durbar articles praise, for they “are a few of the—to me—unknown aspects of the Delhi panorama” (10). This discrepancy between what India is or looks like may reveal unfamiliarity with the landscape, yet Steel follows these comments with what she sees in India: a “sombre winter sky” and a “hillocky plain of drab dust” (10), and Duncan’s claims to accuracy place her in a similar position of “knowing” both India and Lady Curzon. Both articles try to shape India and mandate that what has already been presented is either “preposterous” or unrecognizable by those who are familiar with the subcontinent. By contrasting two different opinions about what India is, the texts establish criteria for evaluating what is true and false. As more information about the Durbars circulated, comparisons between these texts which set themselves as authoritative—with expert instructors and legitimate facts—can occur. The ideal citizen is one who distinguishes

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13 (Duncan 222). Because the Durbars garnered attention from around the world—through the Empire, in Europe, and the United States—topics touching on the Durbar like “The Home Life of Lady Curzon,” which does not directly address the Durbar, but rather portrays India in a timely fashion, were common and served the same pedagogical purposes as did the travel narratives about the Durbars. Also, many of the visitors to India for the Durbars did not stop only at Delhi, but at Bombay, Simla, Madras, and Agra. Put simply, the correspondence and documents about the Coronation Durbars need not specifically be centered on the Durbar itself to give readers a sense of the literacy lessons which these texts provided for their readers. Rather, the Coronation Durbars spurred an increase in periodical and travel writing about India because of the greater attention paid to the colony and the interest in the ruling classes (both Anglo-Indian and Indian) through their display during the Durbar ceremonies.
between fact and fiction, between the authoritative authors and those who write either from afar or without secure knowledge.

By suggesting that other articles provide inaccurate information, the texts gain credibility and become more authoritative. For instance, when Duncan claims that “So much that is preposterous has found currency in Lady Curzon's native land,” she replaces, what was the then, common opinions with her own (222). The observation that “so much” information about Lady Curzon published in the United States is “preposterous” intimates disagreement with details circulated about Lady Curzon's life. Moreover, Duncan suggests that it is not one or two illicit facts that circulate, but rather a significant number that misrepresents Lady Curzon’s lifestyle. Duncan credits an “American paragraphist” with the error in fact. This feud with the American paragraphist, whether real or simply constructed for literary purposes, serves a dual rhetorical purpose: it allows Duncan to write her own article about Lady Curzon that presumes to include original information, and as a consequence of the article’s publication, her own colonial ideologies circulate. By proposing a disagreement with other authors, Duncan makes her article more appealing to readers who have already read the others; she draws readers in with a proposed controversy, providing a better mechanism for the dispersal of her own colonial lesson. If popular letters enabled adults to learn about the world, they must have been convincing enough for people to read them. Just as history lessons must have interested the child-student in the classroom—using stories of wars, battles, and heroes—so too must have the informal lesson interested the person not required to read. To be interesting, to draw one into a controversy, encouraged the circulation of the lesson.
More important, however, than the circulation of inaccuracies is the suggestion that the information “has found currency” gaining not only value but also believability. Duncan’s use of the word “currency,” allows for an interesting reading that combines both the idea of believability and the importance of the circulation of those ideas. “Currency” denotes both the idea that something is “current” or “prevalent” and at the same time a form of money or an item which holds an exchange value. The ideas which circulate through newspapers, magazines, and by word of mouth, are not only “current” and “accepted,” but they also have value through the exchange. For colonial ideologies and imperial facts to have value and be believable, they must have be exchanged or circulated. In other words, the American writer’s incorrect information became useful or “correct” information because newspapers circulated it. The poor reader, or unprepared citizen, took up the incorrect information and formed, Duncan asserts, incorrect and uninformed opinions. As a result, participation in the colonial enterprise in terms of the rhetorical work that this archive produces is at risk because the background knowledge is neither complete nor accurate and readers do not know how to respond to or “answer” questions about the Empire.

Duncan’s and Steel’s texts seek to develop good colonial students and proficient readers. The articles explain how a successful colonial citizen will act or what she will know. According to both the articles and educationalists, to be successful, one must possess not only background information but also experience, for “The full bearings of History cannot be understood without much previous knowledge, and some experience of the world” (Bain 281). Though many Britons may not have been able to experience the colony firsthand, reading narrative journalism, letters from travelers, and travelogues, like
these women’s texts, provided them with both background—“previous”—knowledge and experience of the colony. Moreover, the colonial goods that Britons interacted with daily, ranging from food to clothing to other household goods, taught the homebound British population about the Empire.

When the women’s texts critique other authors, they show how to interpret the Empire, improve close reading skills, and assess the quality of information; they, in short, provide for a vicarious experience of traveling in India and through this experience, knowledge to assess others’ work. Reading “records and lays bare the progress of the world, and it is the great enemy of ignorance and superstition” (Garlick 153) allowing imperial students, the homebound Britons, to develop a mental culture in imperial knowledge and work against ignorance—the same phenomenon these women’s texts work against in their critique of other articles that reproduce a “preposterous,” unrecognizable India. Duncan, for example, suggests that through her article readers will receive “a glimpse of [Lady Curzon's life] which has at least the merit of accuracy” (222). By suggesting that this “glimpse” into Curzon's life will be more accurate than previous accounts, “Lady Curzon’s Home Life” indicates that the ideal reader will disregard other people's writings and heed only Duncan’s; this article works to prevent “ignorance and superstition.” The text builds its case in its delineation between correct and incorrect, expert and inexpert, writing. The article suggests the narrative is reliable because she seeks inaccurate representations and reconstructs them in, what Duncan feels, is a more appropriate manner. For instance, when she writes that Lady Curzon “does not habitually ride about the narrow mountain roads of Simla or the crowded streets of Calcutta upon either an elephant or a camel, nor does she as a rule fling strings of jewels about the
necks of native babies as the glowing imagination of the American paragraphist has depicted her,” Duncan, reverting to her knowledge of the representative viceregal life, shows what Lady Curzon does not “habitually” or “as a rule” do (Duncan 222). By pointing out what Lady Curzon’s normal routine is not, and by connecting those thoughts to the “glowing imagination of the American paragraphist,” the text relies on the contrast between right and wrong to adequately convey credible information that does not come from someone’s “imagination.”

Like Duncan’s article, Steel’s also suggests that the properly trained or well-read citizen should distrust superstition, faulty information, and hyperbole; “Side Lights,” like “Home Life,” dismisses facts received from other sources. The textual distribution of information is important for both women, for they concentrate on inaccuracies and inconsistencies within printed, not spoken, words, whether it is through the fault of Duncan’s “American paragraphist” or the dailies Steel singles out in her article’s opening sentence. Steel accuses daily news reports that carried Durbar information like the London Times of misrepresenting Delhi, the Durbar, and Indian people. In the December 29, 1902 article “The Coronation Durbar. Preparations at Delhi,” the correspondent describes an India that is “peopled with the motley life of the gorgeous East, with the marvelously varied types of picturesque humanity gathered into Delhi from all parts of India.” These “types” are described as “princes and pariahs, rajahs in silks and satins … elephants in brilliant trappings, swaying masses of silver and gold” (3). “Side Lights,” though, does not discuss the “brilliant trappings” of royal elephants. Instead, the article creates a space “behind the glitter and glow of the feudatories of India as they stepped from their canopies to do homage” noting that there are other Indians and sites to observe
as well; those “aspects,” however, have been “untouched by other pens” (Steel 10). Rather than arguing that the rajahs and princes do not exist—for that is not true—the article aims to construct a more representative Durbar setting. When it notes that there are people and places “behind” the ceremonies, it creates a space for the multitude of Indian women, children, and poor men who could not attend the Durbar, but nonetheless were an integral part of the Empire. Moreover, the phrase “untouched by other pens” makes it clear that the information in “Side Lights” was not available in other printed materials. Though not a direct condemnation of other writers, the phrase still indicates that Durbar writing—the “long descriptions” appearing for “some weeks” had not, for Steel anyway, appropriately or adequately reported or constructed the colony. That short phrase, “untouched by other pens,” first, indicates the inadequacy of other colonial lessons and, second, signals a new lesson be completed by “Side Lights.”

“Side Lights” makes clear the cultural knowledge well-read citizens will draw and/or construct from colonial texts. “Side Lights’” emphasis on the common Indian acknowledges the diverse ways Indians serve the Empire. The article describes the unnoticed work of the Indians, using the “great Horseshoe of solid earthwork which underlay the stucco and gilt” of the Durbar amphitheatre as an example. It explains that the amphitheatre’s foundation was “built up inch by inch in ant-like fashion by those ‘ultimate atoms’ of our Indian problem—those slow, patient, figures of human soul and flesh who—given a shallow basket, a shallower shovel—would in time change the whole surface of the globe in defiance of physical geographers” (Steel 10). The text pays attention to the “solid earthwork” and foundation of the amphitheatre, not the decorative work. To connect the Indians with the foundation—and not the auxiliary structures—is
to connect the Indian with the foundation of the British Empire in India, as the Durbar itself tried to do.

“Side Lights” both lauds the people and maintains a distance between the feudatories and common Indian people—the same types of distinctions made through colonization and education of upper-class, high-caste Indians. In essence, by choosing to discuss and represent those “representative” Indians, “Side Lights” provides a lesson on the Indian population and begins to pass judgment. The text develops a stereotypical view of the British colonizer when it denotes Indians as small, insect-like creatures. Steel reminds the readers that “all things the West has given to the East, roads, canals, bridges, railways, rest on this slow labour” of the Indian native (10). Thus, not only does Britain rule India, as the Durbar reminds Britain’s imperial citizens, but Britain also imparted technological progress onto the subcontinent; the West “gives to” the East something to accomplish. Steel’s reminder of the “gifts” that Britain has provided to India echoes the descriptions of Britain’s colonization in history readers. T.F. Tout, for instance, explains that the “enormous mass [the Indian population] of human beings now enjoys a peace and material prosperity such as was never known in India before. A noble series of public works, railways, roads, canals, bridges, have brought districts together, opened up new trade routes, and given means for warring against want and famine” (Tout 286). “Side Lights” emphasizes not only the common Indian, but also that person’s service to the Empire in the physical development of those works, the ant-like building of the amphitheatre and roads. Tout, too, concentrates on the public works Britain developed in

14 A “feudatory” is “one who holds his land by feudal tenure; a feudal vassal.” In this context, the Indian princes who were subject to England were considered “feudatories.”
India, but, in addition, he extends the importance of what those works did to improve the Indian Empire, such as the development of new trade routes.

Both “Side Lights” and Tout’s *History of England* (1894) concentrate on the relationship between British “assistance” to India and the work the Indians have done. This integration demonstrates the perceived importance of Britain to India. “Side Lights” intimates Britain not only developed India but deserved to profit from it when it concludes that “Western sovereignty should rest on” the work of the Indian. That same cultural knowledge, that Britain not only built India but controlled it as well, is constituted in the *History of England* when Tout argues that development of public roads and railways provided better trade routes. Though “Side Lights” acknowledges the native Indian—for it explains that Steel is the only one to write about, or “notice,” the “representative Indians” who built the amphitheatre and do all of the work—the discourse the article uses, the descriptions of Indians as “ant-like” and the development of the British as rulers who impart progress, demonstrates one way in which history lessons constructed India as dependent.

Steel’s text and the dominant colonial message, however, are not as straightforward as they seem. Though the article perpetuates familiar colonial discourse, “Side Lights” imbues the native with an amount of power and respect that the uninformed reader may find surprising. It, in other words, amends or revises the more familiar lesson which reviles the Indian because of the 1857 Uprising and proclaims him a “savage.”

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15 In the days, months, and years after the 1857 Uprising, Indian men, especially were understood as “savages” who were uneducated, dangerous to Western women, and volatile. For instance, one of the most popular uprising stories included the capture and murder of British women and children at Cawnpore by the Indian Nana Sahib. This attack on the women and children was memorialized at the well in which their bodies were disposed (and discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation). After the women and children were attacked, and news spread of that attack, the Indian male, especially, was seen as a dangerous figure.
Steel’s declaration of Indian ability and independence asks that the well-prepared citizen find more information before making decisions about the colony. The foundation that the Indians carefully created, Steel explains, was designed to protect the amphitheater, which in turn allowed for the perceived success of the Durbar. Moreover, Steel extends the Indians' hard labor to other aspects of empire building explaining that “all things the West has given to the East, roads, canals, bridges, railways, rest on this slow labour” (10). According to Steel, without the natives' work, the amphitheater, and most of the modern infrastructure would not exist. Thus, despite the slow, ant-like progress of building, the Indian’s work was necessary to the work of the empire; without the Indian worker, India as a British possession could not exist. Steel's article emphasizes the importance of the common laborer and develops a foundation of colonial information and an ideal of good citizenship. The Indian laborer worked to build the empire: good citizens participated in the development of the Empire in a way that best suited their skills and abilities. Moreover, Steel’s text develops ideals not just of men, but of women and children too. Good citizenship, for Steel, Duncan, and Craigie, does not rest with men alone, but rather with the general population. By reemphasizing and reinforcing the work of poor Indian women, Steel shows that citizenship requires the participation of every person.

These texts not only described India, but they sought to ensure that Britons “read” the Empire correctly. This new imperial literacy encouraged a better understanding of the Indian Empire, and the textual representations “lay bare” Britain’s progress (Garlick 153). For instance, Steel explains the Durbar was a “stupendous rare show of power and wealth which, it is hoped, will bring home to India in greater measure than before, the
sense that she and England are handfast indeed; that from their union should spring sons combining the virtues of both East and West” (Steel 10). This depiction suggests that not only does Britain control India, but that India and Britain are “handfast” and committed to one another. Moreover, Steel’s suggestion that Britain and India’s union would bear sons offers an interesting metaphor of miscegenation at a time when eugenics, national health, and security were often discussed and debated. They are, interestingly, more connected than many people believe.

Steel argues that India wishes to remain under British control because of the progress and esteem the relationship brings to the subcontinent. Similarly, Craigie contrasts Londoners’ sense of colonialism with that of those who visit India noting

Imperialism in the London man seems, and is, vanity; to foreigners, who have never visited India and the colonies, it is the last feather straggling on a moulting peacock. But let the satirist come to Bombay—even for an hour—he need not go further; he will admit freely, and no more doubt the vigour of the Anglo-Saxon or his stability to hold a vast possession.

(Hobbes 7)

Craigie’s letter argues that one must visit—experience—India to understand Britain’s power and progress. More importantly, it addresses some of the anti-colonialists or pragmatists who saw British imperial domination lessening in the opening years of the twentieth century. Rather than construct the colony only as domestic, Letters from the East shows that those who actually visit the colony might understand that Britain’s age of High Imperialism is not yet complete. Moreover, the progress, the letter argues, was distinctly British; it was not Indian; it was not Eastern. Indian progress is Western progress made possible through “stability” that only the Anglo-Saxon could establish. Both Craigie’s and Steel’s writing note the importance of colonial possession and the positive impression that control created on the Briton. In the description of India, Craigie
removes the object of the colonial project—India—from the question, leaving only an Anglo-Saxon possession. This celebration of the Anglo-Saxon race closely parallels the period’s history books which encouraged British schoolchildren to remember their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, creating a deeper sense of “English” as opposed to “British” history (Heathorn 395). Expressing the importance of experience, illuminating colonial progress, and encouraging pride in and thankfulness for those Britons who work in the Empire, Craigie’s and Steel’s writings ask that readers support the Empire and those in it. The most common typified social function of the history lesson was the development of patriotism and imperial support. The ideal citizen recognized these impressions of “power and wealth,” as Steel calls them and related them to their everyday lives, not to be “vain” in Craigie’s words, but rather to celebrate the “vigour of the Anglo-Saxon.”

Women’s writing during Lord Curzon’s 1902-03 Durbar worked to establish an expertise about the Indian Empire and the Durbar. The women’s texts, more so than anonymous and men’s texts, used this call to expertise to correct other authors and to establish what it meant to be a good imperial citizen. According to Beryl White’s scrapbook, Flora Annie Steel’s “Side Lights on the Delhi Durbar,” Gertrude Bell’s private letters, Sara Jeannette Duncan’s “The Home Life of Lady Curzon,” and Pearl Craigie’s Letters from the East, a good citizen is one who understands the social and geographic diversity of India and recognizes that not all Indians are royal. Moreover, for these women, a well-trained and knowledgeable colonial citizen cares for the people in the Indian Empire, whether that is through hosting different regiments, as White’s family did, during the Durbar or recognizing the work of the Indian native, as “Side Lights” does. During 1902-1903 White carefully selected newspaper articles, drawings,
paintings, invitations, and programs to remind herself and others of the King Edward VII’s Coronation Durbar in Delhi, India. Her scrapbook acted not only as a souvenir, but also a lesson about the Indian Empire, the importance of loyalty and the performance of that loyalty at specific times. She, like many other men and women, attended the Durbar festivities, honored Lord Curzon and King Edward, and accepted King Edward as the Emperor of India. The pictures and news articles in her scrapbook described and encouraged good citizenship. It showed the Durbars and what White felt were the appropriate actions and attitudes to hold in relation to the Empire. Like White’s scrapbook, Gertrude Bell’s, Pearl Craigie’s, Flora Annie Steel’s, and Sara Jeannette Duncan’s own Durbar texts also sought to explain, describe, or prepare good citizens. Though the women’s texts present varied views of India, each one presents itself in such a manner that it is authoritative, that the information contained within the paragraphs is accurate and important, and that it will serve the reader in the future. In the attempts to interest readers in India, the women used storytelling, examples of people and places, and not so subtly corrected what they felt was wrong with previous Durbar reports, to help create the ideal imperial citizen and reader.
Chapter Two: Pilgrimage to Lucknow: The 1857 Uprising sites, veterans, and ideologies in Durbar narratives

Called, among many things, the Great Rebellion, the Indian Mutiny, and the First War of Independence, the events that took place in Northern and Central India in 1857 and 1858 incited immediate change to British imperial policy both in practice and discourse. The Uprising led to the formal revocation of the East India Trading Company’s control in India, the establishment of a stronger British-led colonial government, and in 1877, Queen Victoria’s adoption of the title “Empress of India.” Moreover, in the intervening years between 1857, the 1877 Imperial Assemblage, and the Coronation Durbars, the events of the Uprising were (re)written in various genres: poems, short stories, political cartoons, histories, survival stories, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, souvenirs, and Durbar participants’ travelogues and reminiscences all (re)told a story of the Uprising. Gautam Gupta explains that the publications written about the Uprising in the years following the events were “legion.” Peter Taylor’s *What Happened During the Mutiny* lists 875 English-language primary texts and S. B. Chaudhuri’s *English Historical Writings on the Mutiny* included seventy-eight Indian language works about the Uprising (Gupta n.p.). The memories, re-tellings, and fictionalizations of the Uprisings ensured that readers from the late 1850s through the opening years of the twentieth century were familiar with the 1857-1858 events.

Though neither 1903 nor 1911 marked particularly memorable anniversaries of the Uprisings (the 46th and 54th respectively), the Durbars repeated Lord Lytton’s 1877 Imperial Assemblage, a historically significant spectacle in relation to the Uprisings. The Assemblage both commemorated Queen Victoria’s acceptance of the imperial title and
marked the twentieth anniversary of the Uprisings; additionally, the Assemblage, in Bernard Cohn’s words, served as a “ritual event” confirming the burgeoning British authority in the subcontinent assumed after the Uprisings (179). The Assemblage, and later the Durbars, informed Indians and British subjects empire-wide of the power the crown maintained. In the reiteration of British rule through the Durbars and, more importantly, Durbar participants’ acknowledgement of that power, Durbar texts like the essay collection *The Cruise to the Indian Empire* (1912), Mortimer and Dorothy Menpes’s *Durbar* (1903), and the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* (1903) signaled the importance of the 1857 Uprisings to the colonial history connected with the Durbars. Not only do these Durbar texts explain the importance of the spectacles, but they also take up and retell the Uprising stories, connecting former imperial domination with the ceremonies that served to reconstruct that power in less physically violent, yet no less certain, terms.

While the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars were two distinct events, they served a similar purpose. The Durbars served to re-inspire loyalty in the British and Indian people. One way the Durbars inspired loyalty and encouraged people to remember the sacrifices of British and Indian soldiers was the march of the Durbar veterans at both Durbar events and the “Mutiny Pilgrimages” that many visitors took and then commemorated in essays and photo montages. Writers from L.G. Moberly and Gertrude Bell to anonymous journalists and souvenir writers described the march of the Durbar veterans as the most important part of both the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Durbar events and the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* included more pictures of the Uprising sites than the Durbar celebrations itself. Though more removed from the 1857 Uprisings than the
1877 Imperial Assemblage, the Uprisings played an important role in the development of the ideal citizen in the Durbar texts from both 1902-03 and 1911-12.

Durbar authors, like so many before them, returned to the sites and events of the Uprising, spawning this chapter’s driving questions: 1) Why and how do souvenirs, reminiscences, and travelogues recall interest in the Indian Uprising of 1857? And, 2) How do these texts create a new imperial lesson? In *A New Manual of Method*, A.H. Garlick explains that in learning history “The pupil learns to trace cause and effect; to generalize; and to make valuable inductions. He finds a cycle in historic events—that history repeats itself” (258). The “uptake” of the “Mutiny Pilgrimage” in the Coronation Durbar souvenirs reintroduced Britons to the events of the Indian Uprising and reframed the events as ones which featured loyal, brave Britons rather than ignoble, barbaric Indians. These new lessons use background knowledge and storytelling to describe patriotism, a desired outcome of the Victorian history lesson. The lessons are contextualized by Coronation Durbars that demonstrated a new relationship with the Indian Empire and her people, allowing the Uprising narrative to perform a new social function, one which broke the cyclical nature of history, asserted Britain’s commitment to India, and outlined respect of the imperial social hierarchy. In short, texts did not revile the Indian people, but honored those Britons and Indians who fought for the continuity of the Empire in 1857 and those who represented that continuity at the Durbars.

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16 For example, George Bourchier explains in *Eight months’ campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army during the mutiny of 1857* (1858) that during the siege at Cawnpore “the most dastardly piece of treachery that has ever been perpetrated” took place (198). During the Uprising and in the months following, descriptions of the Indians as “treacherous” were not uncommon. Durbar texts, however, in both 1902-03 and 1911-12 used different language to describe the Indians and focused more on those who were loyal to the British, as evidenced by the marches of the veterans at the Durbar celebrations.
**Background Knowledge and Uptake: Understanding How the Lessons Work**

To accentuate the history lesson, Durbar texts published in 1903 and 1911 use background knowledge to re-frame the details of the Uprising. Background knowledge serves both to help readers fifty years after the Uprisings assess the lesson and as a component of the Victorian history lesson itself. The texts describe the Uprising and, at the same time, invite the reader to be a participant in the oft-repeated Uprising story. In “Genre and the Pragmatic Concept of Background Knowledge,” Janet Giltrow explains how background knowledge assists readers in understanding the construction of a specific text or a genre. Giltrow suggests that

> Background Knowledge can explain what is called conversational implicature—the message arising from an utterance which, on the surface, appears to be irrelevant in the context, but which a listener can interpret as relevant by consulting certain unexpressed propositions. Background Knowledge is thus a factor in a text’s *coherence*, capable of providing the basis for understanding why the speaker chose to continue with one sentence rather than another (155, emphasis Giltrow’s)

For Giltrow, “background knowledge” is specifically *not stated* in the text. Instead, it is information that the reader/listener has already acquired through other means. Background knowledge, for Giltrow, in other words, is knowledge that the reader/listener uses to contextualize new information. This contextualization or understanding of new information is part of the development of the “text’s *coherence*.” If readers/listeners, according to Giltrow, do not already know the background information that is implied or tacit in the text, then they will be unable to understand or make coherent the new information because the “continuation” of “one sentence rather than another” will not make sense.
Returning to my first framing question. “Why and how do souvenirs, reminiscences, and travelogues recall interest in the Indian Uprising of 1857?,” background knowledge helps to explain the “conversational implicature” related to the interest in the Uprising in my archive. To many modern readers, the interest in the Uprising in both 1902-03 and 1911-12 may seem incompatible with the imperial spectacle, considering that one of the driving forces behind the Durbars was a determination to show “how profoundly the blessings of that [British] rule are recognized by this vast collection of humanity, how genuine is the loyalty towards the British throne that is felt by all its classes, from the Prince of ancient lineage to the humble peasant” (Wheeler vi). The Durbars were intended to be spectacles in which the Indians happily (and spectacularly) showed their loyalty to the British Raj, the Viceroy, and in 1911, King George and Queen Mary. The Durbars were not designed to fuel anti-colonial sentiments among the Indian people nor remind them of previously failed (and ongoing) revolutions. Yet the numerous pilgrimages that Durbar participants and visitors took to Uprising sites in the months surrounding both Coronation Durbars in the early twentieth century, the march of the Uprising Veterans (nearly all of whom were Indian) at the two Durbars, and the descriptions of the Uprising sites and Veterans in Durbar texts necessarily reminded both British and Indian readers of the Uprising. To re-experience through narrative a tumultuous period in British colonialism at the same time that the Indians were supposedly showing their “genuine loyalty” to Britain raises a number of questions about the purpose of the texts, the implied audience, and the interests of the real audience.17 Using the concept of background knowledge and deducing the “gaps” left in

17 For mid-Victorians, the 1857 Uprising and its aftermath were considered an extremely disappointing and traumatic time in imperial history. A July 23, 1857 editorial in The Times explained the “loss” of the
the texts, I argue that these Uprising stories were lessons that the ideal fin-de-siècle Briton was expected to have understood, for so much of the late-Victorian Indian narrative included the stories of the Uprising.

Background knowledge for Giltrow is “what is left unstated by the text” (157), and thus the gaps left in the text help explain the interest in the Uprising. For instance, the Durbars’ purpose was widely discussed in the Durbar texts. Because it was explained so often, their purpose was not background knowledge according to Giltrow’s definition. If the purpose of a Durbar had been background knowledge to British readers, then it would not have been included in so many articles, souvenirs, and reminiscences. Yet, it is the background knowledge, what is not stated in the texts—that the Indian Uprising proved to be a turning-point in British rule in India—that makes the discussion of the Uprising particularly apt at a time when Indians were pledging their loyalty to a new sovereign. By understanding and applying the concept of background knowledge to the texts, the incongruity of the Durbar/Uprising juxtaposition begins to dissipate. Moreover, the exclusion of descriptions of the Uprising, the historical and political importance of it

Indian Empire when it notes that in the midst of the Uprising, “we, here at home, should consider India as a country the conquest of which has to begin again…It may be that the resources and revenue of the country will be diverted from its rulers for a year, if not for longer, and that we may be obliged to re-establish our shaken dominion by the pressure of a large European Army and the administration of unsparing punishment.” The author goes on to suggest that if the Uprising worsens and the British are unable to recapture Delhi, the British soldiers in India may have to treat the Uprising in the same way that they would if France or Russia were their “antagonist in some great European war” (8). Though this editorial is only one instance of the dismay that Britons felt at the Indian Uprising, it is an example of the fear that some had about losing control in India. Indian independence attempts were obviously not confined to the mid-nineteenth century. In the period directly before and between the two Coronation Durbars, India too was experiencing different independence movements. Peter Heehs in “Foreign Influences on Bengali Revolutionary Terrorism 1902-1908” describes the numerous Bengali revolutionary attacks in India. Heehs explains that beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, revolutionary Bengali terrorist groups started to organize. Though these groups were rarely stable or long-term, violent revolutionary, or terrorist, groups were created and active in India drawing influence from Italian, Irish, and Russian revolutionary writings. The Coronation Durbar texts, including the popular news accounts of the celebrations, avoided discussing both the violent and non-violent revolutionary attempts that were occurring during the early years of the twentieth century.
to British imperialism suggest that the ideal reader or citizen would already have access to or already understand the importance of the Uprisings.

The Coronation Durbar texts describe and delimit the ideal citizen and provide lessons on how to be that idealized imperial Briton. The absent Uprising discussion, when the Uprising plays a significant role in the Coronation Durbars and the texts circulated about the colonial spectacles, implies that the ideal colonial citizen already knows that information. The texts create a new context for the Uprising, by honoring heroes rather than depicting treacherous Indians, suggesting a new way for the ideal citizen to understand the relationship between India and Britain. Giltrow’s definition of background knowledge, the absence of information, begins to answer why the Coronation Durbars and their circulated texts were so concerned with reviving the memory of the Uprising. The ideal, responsible citizen knew about the Uprising and needed to use the memory of it to create a new understanding of the relationship between India and Britain, just as the Coronation Durbars were intended to create or renew a relationship between the homeland and the empire.

The necessary exclusion of background knowledge in the texts themselves—indicated by the numerous discussions of the Uprising without detailing the events—allows modern readers some understanding of the “text’s coherence” and how background knowledge is “capable of providing the basis for understanding why the speaker chose to continue with one sentence rather than another” (Giltrow 155, Giltrow’s emphasis). By analyzing the gaps in the texts, namely the absent discussions of the battle sites and the importance of the Uprising to the relationship between India and Britain, readers might see the “why” of the text’s construction. This “why,” was also the purpose...
or the lesson’s objective, something that would have been covered in a teacher’s note of
lesson or introductory remarks to a lecture or classroom exercise. The Menpes’s *Durbar*
and the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir*, for instance, were not written so that contemporary
readers could relive the Uprising. That was not their purpose. Only the ultimate
conclusions of the Uprising, defeat of the rebel Indians and victory for the loyal Britons
(and a few, select Indians), were needed to emphasize lessons about loyalty, valor, and
bravery. These texts “continue with one sentence” (here, the sentence is a rather
extended discussion of the Uprising sites and veterans) to emphasize a colonial lesson in
honor. The exclusion of a direct answer to my question about the interest in the Uprising
actually provides the answer to it: because the ideal citizen was already aware of the
events of the Uprising—she had access to that background knowledge whether it was
through history textbooks or general reading—she could use that knowledge (both in
Giltrow’s and historians’ terms) to act appropriately. The already established background
knowledge of the Uprisings—the Cawnpore Well, the fat-covered munitions, the taking
of Delhi by victorious British soldiers and “loyal” Indian men—encourages the causes of
the Uprising (unsympathetic and treasonous Indian subjects) to lead to the effects (defeat
of Indians, more British control in the sub-continent). Through the organization of the
text and the resulting gaps, the conversational implicature is exposed. This
conversational implicature is the seemingly “irrelevant” message, such as the emphasis of
the Uprisings in the context of the Coronation Durbars, that when contextualized and
considered against the “unexpressed propositions,” becomes relevant. The Coronation
Durbar texts show that the Uprisings are relevant because they describe bravery and
loyalty in terms of warfare and in relation to the Empire and by including them in the
Coronation Durbars, where loyalty is encouraged in relative peacetime, the ideal citizen is expected to always be brave, not just when called upon in times of war or disturbance.

If Giltrow’s definition of background knowledge begins to answer *why* the Uprising played a central role in both the Coronation Durbars and their circulated texts (the ideal citizen was expected to remember the Uprising and then to apply that knowledge to the new relationship formed between India and Britain as a result of the Durbars), the Victorians’ notions of background or prior knowledge, begins to answer the question’s *how*. Victorian pedagogues argued that background knowledge had to be taught so that readers could apply that knowledge in later circumstances to understand cause and effect. Though most articles and stories attending to the Uprising provide no background knowledge, some articles and travelogues provided information about the Uprising that is akin to the Victorian definition of background information. One of the few Durbar articles that provides details about British casualties and battles during the Uprisings, Sir W. Lee-Warner’s article “India’s Romantic Past,” explains that “The number of killed, wounded, and victims of disease on the British side was 3,835, and our losses at Delhi exceeded the total casualties in operations at Lucknow, Cawnpore, after the massacre, and in Central India.” At the beginning of the Delhi Siege, “A small British force occupied the ridge on June 8, and clung to it with desperate valour against repeated assaults from some 40,000 trained Sepoys” (Lee-Warner 4). Though not infinitely detailed, Lee-Warner’s article provides readers with comparative numbers—only 3,835 British died yet one small force had to contend with “some 40,000” Indians and reminds readers of the Uprising. An important part of Indian history, specifically Anglo-Indian history, it seems logical that in a series about “India and the Durbar,” which included
articles on “The Indian Army,” “India’s Romantic Past,” and even “Interesting Personalities at the Durbar,” that the wide-ranging series would include the Uprisings, if only for a brief reminder of the sacrifices of those British and Indian soldiers who fought against the rebellious sepoys. The background information, in the Victorian sense, is not extensive. The lack of details—the “gaps” in the text show that Giltrow’s definition of background knowledge—is also at work, for the ideal citizen would know more information about the Uprising and be able to contextualize it. The lack of details shows that Lee-Warner (or the editors) expected readers to know the most important information regarding the Uprising and to apply that to the text.

In another instance, the Rev. T.N.H Smith-Pearse’s article “Lucknow, Benares, Agra, And Futehpur-Sikri” details the group’s adventures in Lucknow, one of the most famous sites of the Uprisings. He describes the gardens of Lucknow:

nothing has been touched but by the hand of time, and loving care has marked each spot where the gallant defenders stood. The peaceful gardens, and trim cemeteries, clustering bougainvilleas veiling the ruins, and shady trees hiding many a scene of carnage, or the monuments of the illustrious dead, all combine to enhance the pathos of the spot. (Smith-Pearse 21)

Readers who had not visited India would not necessarily know what the grounds looked like or whether they had been preserved by the time the 1911-12 Coronation Durbar occurred. Though photographs and illustrations of Lucknow were available, there is no guarantee that they were seen by Britons at home. He writes that “Not a vestige remains of the buildings of the native quarter where the sepoys conducted the siege, but the Kaiser Bagh can be traced, and farther to the south-east the enclosure of the Secundra Bagh, where the rebels were caught and slain” (Smith-Pearse 21). Smith-Pearse’s description of the grounds and what took place there—the “rebels were caught and slain”—
familiarizes readers with Lucknow and its importance to the Uprising. More important is the attention to the attitudes and attributes of the soldiers who were “gallant” and “illustrious.” Thus, while Smith-Pearse’s article includes some information to orient readers unfamiliar with the setting, the main lesson of bravery and loyalty comes through just as clearly. These Durbar texts advocate an idealized citizen who understands the Uprising and associates loyalty and bravery with good citizenship.

Though the information contained in these two articles is not as extensive as that which might be included in a history of the Uprisings, both Lee-Warner’s and Smith-Pearse’s texts describe British sacrifices and the spaces in which those activities took place. They, in Smith-Pearse’s words, “enhance the pathos of the spot” so that the reader is better attuned to the stories of heroes and bravery, incidents which depend more heavily upon the reader’s emotions than they do logic. If the texts arouse the readers’ interests, then the readers might be more attuned to the importance of the stories and lessons to come. J.A. Froude in his “Inaugural Lecture as Regius Professor [of History]” (1893) suggests that

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\text{The object of history is to discover and make visible illustrious characters, and pay them ungrudging honour. History teaches that right and wrong are real distinctions. That is the best condition of things which produces, not the largest amount of knowledge or wealth, but the men of noblest nature. Does history show that in proportion as men are left to their own wills they become happier, truer, braver, simpler, more reverent of good, more afraid of evil? This is a high ideal, but it is one the historian should strive to reach, for the only true progress is moral progress. (193)}
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For Froude, Smith-Pearse, and Lee-Warner, the inclusion of statistics, and slight mentions of “illustrious” and “gallant” soldiers seek to create Britons who are of the “best condition” and the “noblest nature.” To include the descriptions of the soldiers in the
Durbar texts is to further the purpose of the history lesson, continually pushing forward to create brave, loyal citizens.

Both articles may eschew common Durbar text practices (excluding specific statistics about the Uprising or specifically discussing scenes of battle) for a variety of reasons: Lee-Warner’s *Bombay Gazette* article circulated among those already in India and the series in which it appeared served quite literally as an Indian history lesson that included articles on Indian military prowess, ancient rajas and shahs, and religion. The article provides historical information and statistics like the number of casualties. This evidence contextualizes the Uprising and the other historical information. Moreover, when the texts include just enough information, as Smith-Pearse’s article does both spatially and emotionally, they remain a reminiscence and, at the same time, do not alienate potential readers unfamiliar with the Uprisings. Background knowledge, whether Giltrow’s rhetorically grounded definition or the Victorians’ historical facts, made the larger lessons of bravery more accessible (and obvious). Read in Giltrow’s definition of background knowledge, that information which is not stated but which allows readers to contextualize the statements of a text and make sense of them, the ideal citizen understood that the purpose of the text was not to be just another Uprising narrative, but rather a text from which to draw new implications. When the texts include information, as in Lee-Warner’s or Smith-Pearse’s articles, they contextualize events. This knowledge points readers to Britons’ bravery; for instance, the texts inform readers that “one small force” held off more than 40,000 Indian soldiers and the gardens featured the fights of the “illustrious dead.” Numbering the Indians while characterizing the British as “small force” does not necessarily allow for genuine comparison, but it does
emphasize the bravery of the British soldier rather than the revolutionary Indian sepoys. The Coronation Durbar texts like Lee-Warner’s article about the Indian Uprising and Smith-Pearse’s description of the daytrip to Lucknow emphasize the bravery of ideal British citizen and deemphasize the disloyalty of the Indian sepoys. By providing few details, or little background knowledge in the Victorian sense, the texts indicate the expected imperial or historical background of the citizen. Well-read citizens should know what the Uprising was, who if affected, and how it ended. They may not know its relationship to the Coronation Durbars or the importance of personal bravery in the empire. When the texts do not clearly explain the Uprising, they expect that background knowledge, in Giltrow’s terms, will allow the ideal citizen to understand the cause and effect relationship between the Uprising and the Coronation Durbars.

Another rhetorical phenomenon aids the development of the ideal citizen: uptake. The idea of uptake is especially important to current understandings of genre theory—that genres encourage typified social functions when they are taken up—as well as the integration of Uprising stories into Durbar texts, for those stories expect that imperial citizens “act” in certain ways: as brave and loyal (possibly even compromising) because the cause and effect, the repetition of history, must be prevented. Because the typified function of the Durbar texts and the history lesson was to describe or create a “good” imperial citizen, when the texts took up the stories of the Uprising, which included both “appropriate” citizenship acts like bravery and “inappropriate” acts such as rebellion, they provided reassigned historical fact to the history lesson that encouraged particular actions and mindset.
In both “Uptake” and “The Green Tarpaulin” Freadman uses the re-telling of Ronald Ryan’s hanging in Australia as an example of uptake, in both its constitutive and challenging forms. On anniversaries of the hanging, government officials’, abolitionists’, and others’ documents repeat the sentence “Ronald Ryan was the last man hanged in Australia.” The sentence’s repetition becomes “something other than a constative, truth-telling or memorializing function” (Freadman “Green” 5). Instead, the story’s retelling reconstitutes a specific rhetorical function for the abolitionist Australians who refer to the Ryan case as a standard of government corruption. In other words, texts do not repeat the sentence to explain that Ryan was hanged, what might be the expected uptake of the phrase, but rather the documents challenge the generic boundaries and create new genres of abolitionist and anti-corruption rhetoric. Freadman addresses uptake more clearly and generally when she explains that “uptakes… have memories—long, ramified, intertextual, and intergeneric memories” (“Uptake” 40). Uptakes—and the “original” speech-act—spread over time, space, and genres. Because uptakes can reify and test responses and have “memories,” rhetorical uptakes play a role in how history is constructed, for history is a collection of repeated “memories” so that those memories can be perpetuated. Moreover, because the texts “take up” history and expect the readers to act in a specific way, background knowledge, in Giltrow’s sense, is closely related to the process of uptake. Uptake’s “memory,” the ability for ideas, genres, and reactions to transcend texts, authors, and audiences is predicated on the ability for those genres and audiences to remember and to shape those memories in ways that respond to (expectedly or unexpectedly) the rhetorical situation. Without background knowledge, in Giltrow’s rhetorical sense, texts cannot participate in uptake because the audience will not
understand the “gaps” left in the text, or the “conversational implicature” which occurs when the “irrelevant” message is actually appropriate to the context.

The Indian Uprising of 1857 and the archive produced in its wake—in response to the Uprising—make an interesting case study to determine how and why Durbar texts take up the Uprising story to teach citizenship. The Ronald Ryan archive in Australia and the repeated sentence “Ronald Ryan was the last man hanged in Australia” moved the utterance from one which proclaimed Ryan’s hanging to one which stood for abolition of the death penalty and an instance of government corruption. Similarly, the Durbar texts like Menpes’s *Durbar*, Pearl Craigie’s *Letters from the East*, and the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir*, take up the Uprising narrative and create a new story not of treachery and rebellion but of bravery and loyalty. The texts, in other words, use similar information such as statistics, pictures and illustrations of the Uprising sites, and descriptions of the march of the Veterans, to inspire different action or reaction (bravery and loyalty). For instance, the Durbar texts do not describe battles but rather praise heroes, condemn Indian sepoys, and describe the Indians’ punishment. In the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* the caption for a photograph of the Cawnpore Well reminds readers that nearby the well is “the famous tree on which the rebels were hanged in batches, each man having first been made to lick up a square of the well besmeared with the blood of the massacred” (Photo 18). The caption describes not the well but the tree where the Indian sepoys were hanged. This choice is important both in terms of uptake and in the development of the history lesson. Intentional selection, “the step in which our uptake selects, defines, or represents its object,” is necessary. Uptake “is not automatic…[it] is first the taking of an object; it is not the causation of a response by an intention” (Freadman “Uptake” 48). For
uptake to occur, the rhetor must specifically choose how to use a linguistic object. It is important within the genre of the history lesson for teachers, and writers, to carefully select information. David Salmon explains that “Before facts can become History they must be selected according to some consistent idea, and arranged so as to show their mutual relations, in short, they must be organised. Till organised they are not worth learning or teaching; when organised they constitute an exceedingly profitable study” (Salmon 212). The photograph and the caption together have not only been selected but they have also been organized and positioned within an array—a story of—the Uprising and the Durbar. The Delhi Durbar Souvenir’s author had to decide how to explain the Cawnpore Well and its surroundings. The author literally “took” the picture of the well and its circumstances and decided to focus on the sepoy’s punishment in the description. Uptakes are not caused, they are determined, for there are a variety of responses to a particular situation. Moreover, through the uptake, or the repetition of the photograph and the story of the well, the photograph becomes part of the continued Uprising narrative. Though the photograph is not dated in the Souvenir, readers might believe that it was taken contemporaneously to the Durbars, for the memorial plaque and Angel of Resurrection statue are present and the trees and shrubs are fairly mature around the well. In using both words and images, the Souvenir asks readers not only to envision the massacre at Cawnpore but to actually “witness” it through a photograph. The photograph connects the readers, even those who have never been to India, with an Uprising site, just as Smith-Pearse’s narrative descriptions help orient readers to the Kaiser Bagh. The “picture story” garners reader interest and places them in the situation so that they can
more fully understand and appreciate the sacrifices of those women, children, and British soldiers.

The stories of the Uprising in photographs, souvenirs, travelogues, newspaper articles and even in the bodies of the veterans as they marched at the Durbars, “call” the past to the present, perpetuating the uptake of the Uprising narrative. The stories’ educative value is increased because details are not repeated—they are assumed to be present in the background knowledge of the readers. By not fully explaining or describing the reasons the Uprising occurs, but rather the actions of British soldiers like John Nicholson, the texts emphasize the lessons of bravery and loyalty.

Uptake occurs in two specific instances through the Durbar texts. First, Durbar souvenirs participate in uptake as they commemorate both the Durbar and the Uprising sites. These texts respond to material objects—plaques, banners, lectures, photographs, and statues. When Durbar texts describe the memorial plaques at Uprising scenes or the garden in Lucknow, as Smith-Pearse does, they take up, or select, pieces of the Uprising narrative by describing it for the readers. They remove the rhetorical artifact, the plaque or lecture, from its original context, for example, as a commemoration, and designate it as a new rhetorical situation, a history lesson dedicated to creating good imperial citizens. Second, the Durbar texts tell stories, an important part of historical education. They, in other words, take up, or revise, the genre of the history lesson. These stories, much like the retelling of the Ryan hanging, not only implicitly remind readers of the specific events of the Uprisings (and in the process ask that the reader fill in the gaps with her background knowledge), but they also participate in a different genre for the Uprisings stories: the imperial history lesson. The new history lesson, or Uprising narrative, teaches
the bravery of those killed in battle, extending (and possibly challenging) the original uptakes of the Uprising. Where original Uprising texts vilify Indian sepoys, Durbar texts, in the spirit of a colonial spectacle which lauded Indian loyalty, emphasize bravery over betrayal. In short, the Durbar souvenirs, newspaper articles, and documents that take up stories of the Uprising adapted the information to new social functions—teaching bravery over fear of the Indian. Rather than focus on the Indians and controlling the Indian soldiers, the Durbar texts promulgate a revised narrative of British and Indian heroism alongside the Durbar narrative of promised Indian loyalty; this new narrative re-envisions the Indian subject as loyal rather than disloyal. Background knowledge that is tacit or absent from the text and the uptake of the Uprising narrative—the defeat of the Indian sepoy and the bravery of the British soldier—create a lesson that privileges loyalty over fear and action over inaction. According to Durbar texts like the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir*, Smith-Pearse’s, and Lee-Warner’s essays, the ideal colonial citizen will be brave and fight for the honor of the Empire. When the texts describe or show the instances and location of this bravery, they provide a verbal and visual picture of the sacrifices Britons made to protect the British influence in the subcontinent. The texts reaffirm the power of the individual Briton to serve the Empire.

**The Durbar Souvenir: Contested Genres, Uptake, and Typified Rhetorical Actions**

The genre of the souvenir, especially regarding the Coronation Durbars and the Indian Uprising, is of particular interest in remembering and recirculating colonial ideologies. Susan Stewart explains that “We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable,
events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the
invention of narrative” (Stewart 135). Neither the Coronation Durbars nor the Indian
Uprising was directly “repeatable”: the same people could not rebel for they were either
dead or elderly and the same sovereign could not be proclaimed Emperor of India more
than once. The Durbar, however, was “repeatable,” for both the 1902-03 and the 1911-12
Coronation Durbars were repetitions of Durbars past and the 1877 Imperial Assemblage.
While a specific Durbar does not repeat, the idea, the typified social function of the
durbar does, and yet this repeated action still called forth and inspired souvenirs to
remember the “narrative” of the Durbar that the souvenir presents. Moreover, uptake
plays an important role in the souvenir’s development. Souvenirs, by their nature, remind
people of what has happened. In the development of the souvenir, the author adapts and
uses the physical story (whether words, visual images, or both) to create a new narrative,
the “invented” narrative Stewart discusses. In the initial creation of the souvenir or
reminiscence, the author must take up the original, “reportable” event. When the
souvenir is circulated, readers then take up the information, adapting it to their own uses
and interpretations within the framework of a souvenir or reminiscence.

Uptake takes place on several different levels: the souvenir takes up the original
event through photographs and written descriptions; the readers take up and adapt the
souvenir for their own use. The purpose or note of lesson for the souvenir may be to
teach people about the Durbar, for instance, or to describe instances of British bravery.
While the ideal reader may use the souvenir for its intended purpose, other readers will
adapt the text, just as Australians have adapted the sentence “Ronald Ryan was the last
man hanged in Australia” to serve many purposes from abolition of the death penalty to
arguments against government corruption. For some, the uptake involved when reading Durbar souvenirs or private letters may be remembering the Durbars because they were there. For others, it may be learning about the spectacles, for they could not attend them. The Durbar texts, like the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* or the Menpes’s *Durbar*, interpret the repeated Uprising stories in relation to the Durbar and to imperial citizenship practices. Durbar texts take up the Uprising narrative not to teach readers about the Uprising, for the Durbar narratives rarely include those facts, but rather to show how to respond to the Indian Empire in a more efficient and effective manner.

Souvenirs like the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* published after the 1903 Coronation Durbar and the collection of essays *The Cruise to the Indian Empire and the Coronation Durbar 1911-1912* connect the Indian Uprising with the Durbars. Bernard Cohn argues that the Uprisings and the Imperial Assemblage were directly related (178). As repetitions of the Imperial Assemblage, King Edward’s and King George’s Coronation Durbars similarly connected themselves to what Cohn calls the “cultural-symbolic constitution of British India” that developed after the defeat of the Indians in 1858. At the end of the Uprising, through the trial of the Mughal Emperor, the British crown gained official control of one-third of India and indirect control of the independent, princely states. The 1877 Imperial Assemblage codified this British control when Queen Victoria assumed the Empress of India title. The Imperial Assemblage, what might be considered the initial Coronation Durbar for the new imperial order in the Indian Empire, coincided with new travel routes that English visitors took when in India. Cohn notes that

For the Englishmen in the latter half of the nineteenth century, travelling in India as visitors or in the course of their duties, there was a regular Mutiny pilgrimage to visit the sites of the great events—the Delhi Ridge,
the Memorial Well and the Gardens in Kanpur, capped by a large marble statue of the Angel of Resurrection, and the Residency in Lucknow. (179)

The Durbar souvenirs produced in 1903 and 1911 show, too, that twentieth-century Britons in India undertook similar “Mutiny pilgrimages.” Given the responses in the Durbar souvenirs, at least some of these travelers understood the pilgrimage and the Uprising sites in similar ways to the mid- and late-Victorians, as “Tombs, memorials, stones and their inscriptions, and tablets which … marked for the English the martyrdom, sacrifice and ultimate triumphs of military and civilians whose death made sacred, to the Victorian Englishmen, their rule in India” (Cohn 179). Like history lessons, Uprising texts, and Durbar narratives, the physical marks of the pilgrimage—the Ridge, the Well, the Residency—too inspired loyalty and bravery. A history lesson from a history textbook was not the only way that Britons learned to support the Empire. Through visiting, and most importantly, documenting the pilgrimage in the same textual and visual spaces as the Durbars were, the souvenir authors and the texts connected British rule to the end of the Indian Uprising. The Durbars became what made the rule in India “sacred” and the souvenirs related the new institution of imperial rule to Britons at home.

The 1877 Imperial Assemblage, the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars, the texts produced in their wake, and the march of the Uprising Veterans, are all instances of generic uptake of the Uprising narrative perpetuated in the intervening sixty years. Moreover, the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars were active uptakes of the 1877 Imperial Assemblage.18 Just as the two twentieth-century Coronation Durbars took up the

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18 In many ways, the 1877 Imperial Assemblage served many of the same purposes that the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars did. The twentieth-century Durbars intended to show unity among the Indian people and a relationship between the British homeland and the subcontinent. In *Indian History of Our Own Times* (1893) Satya Chandra Mukerji explains that Lord Beaconsfield argued in front of Parliament that proclaiming Queen Victoria “Empress” “would cement the unity of the different parts of the empire
1877 Imperial Assemblage and the Englishmen in Cohn’s description took up the Mutiny pilgrimage, so too did the Coronation Durbar texts take up the Uprising narrative. The uptake of the Uprising narrative occurs not once or twice but numerous times over decades. Each time that the story of the Uprising is written, repeated, or recast, the narrative is taken up and adapted. The “long, ramified, intertextual, and intergeneric memories” of the uptake of Uprising narrative contribute both to the Durbar and Uprising narratives (Freadman “Uptake” 40). When souvenirs, letters, and newspaper articles discuss the Uprising, they take up the story of the Uprising. Each text, however, focuses on a different lesson. The Durbar texts, for instance, construct the ideal citizen by confirming the bravery needed to overcome imperial rebellion.

The lesson of the Durbar souvenirs is two-fold: on the one hand, the souvenirs remind readers of the Uprising and put forth the dangers of poor imperial rule. On the other hand, the souvenirs produce the Durbar images of the “new” ruling order in India, emphasizing the importance of civilized, organized rule. This new order, carefully recognized by the order of precedence followed at the Coronation Durbars, created what David Cannadine calls “analogical sociology,” where the Indian castes and the native hierarchy closely resembled Britain’s class hierarchy (43). Within this analogical sociology, Cannadine suggests, Britons recognized the division of independent-state and in view of the shifting phases of European politics such a demonstration was essentially necessary for the safety of England’s position in the East” (113). For Beaconsfield, the Imperial Assemblage would help solidify the relationship between India and Britain, as well as other parts of the Empire and strengthen England’s position as a colonial power in the East. James Talboys Wheeler explains in the official history of the 1877 Imperial Assemblage that “the English camps mostly stood on the memorable site which was occupied by the British army in 1857. On one side was the Ridge where British cannon was planted against the doomed city. On the other side was the Nujufgarh Canal, which formed the rear of the besieging force. It was difficult to gaze upon the different camps without recalling some of the scenes in that famous siege” (47). In 1902-03 and 1911-12, the Coronation Durbars, placing tents in similar spaces in Delhi, not only reaffirmed Britain’s position in the East and reintroduced Indian rulers and princes to the British homeland, but as the Durbar souvenirs, reminiscences, and letters home recall, including the march of the veterans, the Uprising remained in the minds of those visiting Delhi for the imperial spectacle.
princes, maharajas, and Indian rulers as something similar to what they experienced in
the colonial metropolis.¹⁹ The Durbar souvenir texts and images illustrate Indian
class/caste distinctions, move the narrative focus away from the violence of the Indian
Uprisings, and emphasize the imperial hierarchy in reference to the colonized Indian.
The necessary narrative of the souvenir, as Stewart defines the genre, creates the
narrative of a brave imperial citizen.

Not only did the Durbar souvenirs create Durbar narratives that circulated
Empire-wide, but they also affected the materiality of the history lesson. The
“materiality” of the Uprising and the Durbar potentially “escapes” when Britons leave
India. To replace or redefine the experience, the souvenir creates a different type of
material presence. Travelers could no longer touch or visit the ruins or personally see the
memorial statues and cemeteries, but they could, through their travelogues, news articles,
and souvenirs tell and show others what they saw, creating a new narrative about the
Uprising out of their own experiences. The souvenir helped readers (re)create a material
narrative of the Uprising memorials that was then circulated or took up, just as the news
reports and histories were in the days and years after the Uprising. For instance,
Photograph 18, “The Memorial Well, Cawnpore,” is literally a photograph of the well in
which British bodies were deposited during the Uprising (Souvenir). The accompanying
caption explains what happened at the well and on the surrounding grounds. Even
though the reader may not have necessarily experienced the well first-hand, the

¹⁹ This relationship was further explained and replicated through the circulation of Victorian periodicals.
Peers and Finkelstein explain that “The process of creating, disseminating and incorporating
representations of India required the coupling together of Indian, Anglo-Indian and British interests. The
Indian, Anglo-Indian and British media borrowed freely from each other, drawing on common sources, and
calling on each other to validate positions taken up in their writing. The regular exchange of information
between these three arenas was crucial to the integration of the metropole and periphery.” British
newspapers like The Times and Anglo-Indian and Indian newspapers like the Madras Male Asylum Herald
often reprinted news from other British and Indian newspapers (Peers and Finkelstein 13-14).
photograph and caption enhanced both the narrative and the materiality of the experience, allowing the reader who could not leave Britain the ability to “experience” the “Mutiny pilgrimage” that so many Durbar participants experienced while in India.

Like the Mutiny pilgrimage, the State Processionals and the Durbars could not be reproduced in Britain because they would lose the “exoticism” of the East that so many visitors deemed crucial to the Durbars’ success. These events, too, must have been reconstructed in such a way that physical texts embodied what was lost in the movement from India to the homeland. When circulated, the souvenirs create a new narrative of what the Durbars represent, and as I argue below, a new narrative of the Uprising because “the souvenir must remain impoverished and partial so that it can be supplemented by a narrative discourse, a narrative discourse which articulates the play of desire” (Stewart 137). For Stewart, this “desire” is for something lost; in the instance of the Durbar souvenirs, however, the souvenirs advocate the protection of the Empire, they work to ensure that the Empire is not lost by advocating good citizenship practices. The souvenirs, as they circulated, reinforced the loss of British lives and illustrated the personal sacrifices of Anglo-Indians during the Uprising. The Durbar narrative takes up the Uprising narrative. In the descriptions of the Uprising and the veterans bodies, the authors select facts, ask that readers remember what they already know, the background knowledge about the Uprising, and imagine an ideal citizen who understands history’s cause and effect.

The texts and photos of the souvenirs augment the knowledge of the imperial reader, both at home and abroad. Though they recreate the mid- and late-Victorian Mutiny Pilgrimage, they do so with the expectation that the ideal citizen was already
aware of or familiar with the Indian Uprisings. For example, Cawnpore and the well represent one of the most widely circulated stories of the Uprising—the murder of British women and children by Indian soldiers. The caption to Photograph 18 explains the importance of the city and well, suggesting that Cawnpore possesses a warm interest for tourists on account of the foul butchery of English women and children during the mutiny of 1857. The beautiful statue of Merorhetti, representing the subject of the picture, is immediately over the vault or well into which the bodies of the Victims were thrown. Another object of interest is the ‘Memorial Church,’ which occupies the site of General Wheeler’s entrenchments. (n.p.)

The caption provides a short history of the city in terms of its relationship to the Uprisings, but does not provide specific details or statistics. The phrase “foul butchery of English women and children” is descriptive enough to recall the events of Cawnpore. The lack of specific details, the days in hiding and/or as hostages, represents the “gap” and “conversational implicature” that Giltrow discusses in her definition of background knowledge. The gap or the lack of information is common or background knowledge for the well-prepared citizen. The caption emphasizes the importance of commemorating those who sacrificed their lives—who were brave—in the Merorhetti statue. By calling it “beautiful,” the caption brings to mind those who ought to be thought beautiful—women and children—and shows that there is an appropriate memorial to a specific group of people. In its description of Cawnpore and the Memorial Well, the Souvenir creates a citizen who is well-versed in the Uprising narrative and respects the women and children who were killed by Nana Sahib’s men.

In addition to demonstrating respect for women and children, the Souvenir also brings attention to the “brave” British soldiers and Captain Wheeler who were entrenched in Cawnpore during the Uprising. This return to the Uprising “heroes” is not unusual in historical or educational texts, for as Stephen Heathorn explains, “Sacrifice was also emphasized in the [historical] texts through reference to historical figures: national heroes whose efforts, suffering and/or death, were represented as the basis of the freedom, prosperity, and honor” (415). Similarly, Smith-Pearse’s essay extols the value of sacrifice for one’s empire when he explains that “loving care has marked each spot where the gallant defenders stood” and “monuments of the illustrious dead” are available for visitors to admire (21). If these men, the “gallant defenders” and “illustrious dead,” Captain Wheeler, the women and children of Cawnpore, sacrificed their lives to protect the colony, so ought the reader be prepared to do the same. Victorian history lessons taught students to honor the fallen. The pictures of the memorials, the caption of the scene, Smith-Pearse’s description of the soldiers, all ask readers to remember the dead British men, women, and children. The typified social function of the souvenir, commemoration, is the same as the memorial, and both align with the pedagogical purposes of the history lesson. Though not the traditional imperial heroes, in the context of the Uprisings, the women’s and children’s bodies and the statue marking their burial site become symbols of the loyal and brave Englishman or Englishwoman who protects the Empire. The formal generic requirements of the reminiscence, the souvenir, the memorial, are eschewed for the rhetorical generic requirements of the history lesson.
Story Telling and Heroes: Inspiring Interest in the Repeated Uprising Narrative

One of the mechanisms of uptake is the repetition and/or adaptation of information or genres. Texts ranging from the *Delhi Durbar Souvenir* to the Dorothy and Mortimer Menpes’s *Durbar* take up the Uprising narrative and provide a new story about the relationship between the events of 1857 and the Coronation Durbars shaping or describing a citizen who is brave, loyal, and respectful. These “attractive stories” follow historical teaching methods intended to interest students by relaying information through biographies, descriptions of rebellions, and illustrations of battles (Garlick 262). The attention to heroes supports the assertion that “‘The history of mankind is the history of great men.” Moreover, “To find out these [great men], to clear the dirt from them, and to place them on their proper pedestals, is the function of the historian,’” the history teacher, and as I suggest, the Victorian history lesson (Carlyle qtd. in Garlick 259). The Durbar souvenirs and reminiscences “clear the dirt” from the heroes by (re)introducing them. Smith-Pearse, for instance, cites “gallant defenders” and “illustrious dead” as those remembered in Uprising cities; the *Souvenir* honors the British women and children in the photograph of the Cawnpore Memorial Well; and, L.G. Moberly in “Impressions of Delhi” (1912) reminds the readers of John Nicholson and the ‘Captains and the Kings’ of the Uprising (12-13). Most memorable for many of the Durbar visitors, however, was the march of the Uprising veterans during both Coronation Durbars. Gertrude Bell writes to her family of the 1903 march:

The function began with the entrance of the Delhi siege Veterans - this was the great moment of all, a body of old men, white and native, and every soul in that great arena rose and cheered. At the end came some 20 or 30 Gurkhas, little old men in bottle green, some bent double with years, some lame and stumbling with Mutiny wounds. And last of all came an old blind man in a white turban, leaning on a stick. As he passed us, he
turned his blind eyes towards the shouting and raised a trembling hand to salute the unseen thousands of the race to which he had stood true. (1 Jan. 1903)

Even without names, the souvenirs and Bell’s letter bring brave Britons and Indians to the readers’ attention. Through the use of adjectives like “gallant,” “illustrious,” and “Captains and Kings,” and with the description of the blind man in the turban who “salute[d] the unseen thousands of the race to which he had stood true,” each text makes clear that the Indian and British men who fought for Britain during the uprising were heroes who deserved respect. Bell’s letter, unlike many of the other texts, deemphasizes the racial boundaries between Indian and Briton. When she notes the cheering crowd, she does not distinguish whether they celebrated British or Indian veterans, demonstrating both the popularity of the veterans and the appropriateness (thousands cheering) of honoring both British and Indian heroes. To honor, to support the loyal Indian (as the Durbars proclaimed to do) rather than to alienate him for being Indian, both supplements the heroic stories of the Uprising and demonstrates to the British reader the importance of forming a relationship with India. If British rule was to continue, the veterans’ march seems to convey, it was best to mark that rule with formal celebration and precedence, as the Durbars do, rather than to uphold it with warfare and violence.

When the texts name the heroes—like Nicholson and even the blind, turbaned man—the texts “make each person introduced an individual and a real character,” asking the reader to empathize with the soldiers who died during the Uprising and making the stories clearer (Meiklejohn qtd. in Garlick 259). The clarity of the storytelling is paramount, for if students were not intrigued by the stories, if they could not see the people and events, then they would have had no reason to be interested in them or to pay
them attention. Garlick emphasizes the importance of clear storytelling, explaining that “The teacher requires good descriptive powers to vitalize his characters and events. This will involve the possession of good vocal control, more or less dramatic ability, a readiness of illustration, and a skillful use of the forces of contrast and comparison” (Garlick 260, emphasis Garlick’s). Moreover, a good teacher understood the importance of selection to the lesson. Collar and Crook argue that teachers must be “selective” to “arouse” the students’ interest in the subject matter (190). If the narrative of the Uprising—the main events, the purpose, and the cause and effect—is already background knowledge for the reader (which we may assume because of the conversational implicature of the texts and the discussion’s absence), then that which is “selected” for the lesson receives and deserves more emphasis. For example, when Gertrude Bell writes to her family in England, she includes short descriptions of the Gurka soldiers and the turbaned man. Even without visual images, the reader can still imagine elderly men, hunched over, “some lame and stumbling with Mutiny wounds,” but all marching with pride as a crowd cheers them. To describe the Durbar to her family in England, Bell and all of the other authors had to “select,” what, who, and how to describe what they saw. Each selection illustrates what was important in a certain setting, what story the text was going to tell. According to Bell’s letters, the march of the Uprising veterans was an important story to tell.

Bell’s attention to, and the Durbar officials’ decision to invite Uprising veterans to march at the Coronation Durbars, not only takes up the commemoration and memorial of the Uprising, but it also adapts it. Nayanjot Lahiri explains that

What also stands out in the Mutiny Memorial’s encapsulated history are military and race distinctions. …Generally speaking, on memorial
monuments, the names of soldiers who died are listed, but in this case, of the 1,029 army men who perished, only forty-seven are specifically mentioned. Even in death, Englishmen were privileged over their racial ‘others’. The inscribed names are ‘European’, mainly those of dead officers. The fourteen ‘native’ officers who perished remain anonymous, reduced to a mere statistical detail” (50)

The majority of the veterans who marched in the Coronation Durbars were native Indian men. By choosing to commemorate and honor the Indians, the Coronation Durbars and the texts that described the march, those that take up the Uprising narrative adapt the way in which the Uprising is remembered. The Indian men marching are not “mere statistical detail[s],” but rather they become symbolic of the ideal citizen—one who protects the Empire at any cost. Stephen Wheeler explains that of the veterans marching in 1902-03, 387 were Indian and twenty-seven were Europeans or Eurasians (111). The uptake of the Uprising narrative at the Coronation Durbars changes the way that the Indian-Britain relationship is understood and the role of the Indian.

Gertrude Bell’s letters were not the only texts that eschewed depictions of the royal family (in 1911-12) or the viceroy (in 1902-03) in favor of those connected to the Uprising. Moberly’s “Impressions of Delhi” addresses topics ranging from the “Troops in Khaki, troops in scarlet, troops in blue and green, natives from various parts of the peninsula in varying garments of every colour of the rainbow” to “the ruins of the older Delhi, mile after mile of remnants dropped, as it were, by Hindu and Mohammedan kings, in their transitory conquests of this much-conquered country” (13). Yet, after describing Delhi, “Impressions” explains that the “lasting impression carried away from that city of the past” was in “the statue of that strong man, John Nicholson, with his face
turned towards the Kashmir Gate” (Moberly 13).²¹ Like Bell’s letter, “Impressions” specifically states that someone or something from the Uprising is more memorable than Durbar festivities, crafting a story so that the Uprising veteran becomes the most important figure. The statue’s design literally places Nicholson on a pedestal: Moberly’s narrative, too, raises him above all other people, places, and events, including the Durbar when it claims that the “lasting impression” of Delhi is the statue itself. In “Impressions,” John Nicholson the Uprising hero becomes the most important image of Delhi and the Indian Empire because we know that stillness, and goodness, and strength such as his, teach us to dream and to carry out the real Imperial dream, give to us the true spirit of Empire—an Empire where the least as well as the greatest shall have freedom, and opportunity to fulfill his destiny; where Justice and Mercy shall go hand in hand; where the people who walked in the darkness of oppression shall see the great light of Truth and Liberty!” (Moberly 16-17)

Despite the Church’s “bullet-ridden cross” and the death of John Nicholson, Moberly believes that readers will look to Nicholson’s “goodness” as an instance of the “real Imperial dream.” “Impressions” provides a clear sense of the ideal Empire and citizen. “Freedom,” “Truth,” and “Liberty” are hallmarks of the Empire (and of the British Empire). Citizens who live in the Empire will not only have access to this freedom, but

²¹ The commemorative statue to John Nicholson was built between King Edward’s and King George’s Coronation Durbars, thus, while those writing about King Edward’s Durbar often mention the importance of Nicholson to Delhi, those who visited the city for the 1911 Durbar, like Moberly, often speak specifically of the statue itself as an important landmark in the Delhi cityscape. The statue commemorating Nicholson was not the only way that visitors to tell could remember the British bravery during the Uprising. For example, Gordon Risley Hearn’s *The Seven Cities of Delhi* (1906) described the “Mutiny” sites and “pilgrimage” that visitors to Delhi could take within the ancient city’s limits, explaining that through these sites and monuments visitors would understand “the story of this strenuous struggle by which India was saved” (20). Moreover, the Durbar texts’ emphasis of Mutiny veterans, like John Nicholson and those surviving veterans who marched in 1902-03 and 1911-12, corresponds with the ways in which Britons and Indians were remembered directly after the Uprising. Nayanjot Lahiri explains that while the army “proactively” remembered and honored the fallen soldiers through plaques, statues, burial sites, and battle sites, few British or Indian civilians were memorialized in the months after the Uprising (46).
they will be free from “the darkness of oppression” and “the least as well as the greatest” shall experience it. The description of John Nicolson and the association of his heroism with the “Imperial dream” illustrate who the ideal citizen is (a “still,” “good,” “strong” man like Nicholson) and what the ideal Empire (free, just, and merciful) looks like.

Moberly’s descriptions of the type of Empire that men like Nicholson (and the readers) can create is intriguing, for who, exactly, will have this “freedom, and the opportunity to fulfill his destiny” and who, exactly, will have the opportunity to walk out of the “darkness of oppression” into the “great light of Truth and Liberty.” Taking the traditional usage of “he” as a universal pronoun at the time, it is difficult to tell whether or not Moberly, a woman, believed that women, too, would have the types of imperial freedom “Impressions” sees Nicholson representing. More interesting, though, is whether the Indian people who are colonized and oppressed by the British will find this freedom in the Empire. The context is unclear; though it is certain that Moberly pays homage to Nicholson and believes that the Empire ought to continue. Despite the inconclusiveness of who receives such wonderful rights, Moberly’s article helps to clearly articulate the lesson at hand where Britons are taught to be brave, like Nicholson, so that they can create a just, merciful, and truthful world (all of which can fall under the broad heading of moral values of the Victorian pedagogues).

Similarly, a January 1903 article in the Gentlewoman, “Where is the Durbar Held” also tells a story of the Kashmir Gate and John Nicholson. The article, trying to explain to its “gentlewomen” readers the importance of Delhi, notes that it is an historic city not only because of the magnificent Durbar now taking place there, but on account of the proposed monument to the memory of Brigadier-General
John Nicholson who, as the simply worded inscription on his tombstone states, ‘led the assault on Delhi, and fell mortally wounded in the moment of victory,’ during the dark days of the Mutiny. (“Where” 16)

Like the concern and interest shown in Moberly’s “Impressions” about Nicholson, the Uprisings, and the after effects of Nicholson’s heroism, the Gentlewoman’s article similarly speaks less of the Durbar itself and focuses more on the memory of the Uprisings and their importance to the colony, illustrating once again the importance of understanding the history of a location.

To an even greater extent than Moberly’s text, the Gentlewoman article expresses pride in Nicholson, encouraging readers to do the same. The Gentlewoman’s description of Nicholson illustrates the heroism of Uprising soldiers and the sacrifices that they made to protect the Indian Empire. The article describes a photolithograph above the article in the newspaper, noting that the picture depicts

the Kashmir Gate, by which, after it was blown in by the sappers, the gallant young Irishman, brave leader of brave men, marched on to victory and death. His noble and lofty figure, his marvelous personality, his all too reckless bravery has made such an impression on the natives of India, that even still [call him] ‘the great god Nikleseyin. (“Where” 16)

This story of Nicholson’s death uses pathos to encourage readers to keep reading and develop pride for those who help defend the Indian Empire. In this short excerpt, nearly

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22 Interestingly, the content and style of this article—explaining the importance of Delhi—is more akin to the type of information published before King Edward’s Durbar in the Anglo-Indian newspapers rather than British newspapers like The Times or the Manchester Guardian which were more concerned with reporting Durbar preparations rather than teaching people about the spaces and places of the Durbar. For instance, in the Eastern Bengal and Assam Era, the Bombay Gazette, and the Bengalee editors published articles like “What a Durbar Is,” “India and the Durbar,” and “India’s Romantic Past.” Each of these articles, much like that from the Gentlewoman sought to teach readers specifically about the Durbar and Delhi. While these articles from English-language Indian newspapers did not dwell on the Uprisings as an important instance in Delhi’s past, the emphasis on teaching readers about Delhi and the Durbar remained similar among the different publications. In publishing an article about Delhi, the Gentlewoman seems similarly interested in teaching readers about Delhi. Rather than show the “impression” of one reader, as Moberly’s essay does, or creating captions for photographs of other Uprising sites like the Souvenir, this article is nearly explicitly pedagogical, much like those women’s texts that were discussed in Chapter One.
all of the meaning-bearing words—gallant, brave, noble and lofty, marvelous, great, and even reckless—are adjectives that portray Nicholson as a hero. The article brings Nicholson to life, “clearing the dirt from him” and making him an “individual.” This excerpt exemplifies historical storytelling and uptake of the Indian Uprising narrative. It takes news and texts of the Uprising, Nicholson’s tombstone for instance, and repeats them, expecting the reader at home to remember and commemorate Nicholson (as tombstones are wont to do), the expected typified social function of the genre and its uptake. Moreover, the text situates Nicholson in the midst of the fight, the destruction of the Kashmir Gate, and his own death. By depicting Nicholson fighting and noting his death as a result of the Uprisings, the text emphasizes his bravery even more because it shows that he was in Delhi protecting the Indian Empire from the rebellious sepoys.

When the text highlights Nicholson’s bravery in an article intended to describe characteristics of Delhi and the site of the Durbar, it shows that, for some readers and writers, the Uprisings and the Durbar were inextricably linked together because of the space and the symbolism behind each event.

The Gentlewoman’s article serves two educational (and generic) purposes. First, as its title suggests, the article teaches readers about Delhi. More importantly, though, it takes up the narratives and scenes of the Uprisings when it describes Nicholson’s death and illustrates the Delhi wall, just as the Delhi Durbar Souvenir, Bell’s letters, and Moberly’s and Smith-Pearse’s essays do, and relates the Uprisings to the Durbars. The uptake of the old Uprising narrative and construction of a new narrative—one of heroism and loyalty—relates brave men who protected India with loyal Indians and Britons who honor Britain at the Durbars. Even though the Gentlewoman addressed upper-middle
class British women, enumerating who had traveled to the Durbar and describing the clothing styles worn and food cooked for those who visited India, it still took up the genre of the history lesson. The expected social function—honoring the fallen of the Delhi Siege—that the article completes is supported by the illustration and narration of John Nicholson’s bravery.

Gertrude Bell’s letter, “Impressions of Delhi,” and “Where is the Durbar Held” consider the Uprising veterans, memorials, and spaces the most important features in Delhi. Whether it is Bell’s description of the elderly, mutilated veterans, the Gentlewoman’s paean to Nicholson, or Moberly’s belief that Nicholson’s statue will be the most vivid memory that the travelers take away with them, these texts emphasize the importance of a past, violent event in the midst of a contemporary, peaceful, albeit power solidifying, one. These stories that these texts tell claim that the reminders of the Uprising—the veterans’ wounds, the statue of Nicholson, the “bullet-riddled cross,” and the Kashmir Gate—were what travelers would remember, rather than the Durbar festivities they witnessed. “Impressions of Delhi” and the photographs and their corresponding captions in the Delhi Durbar Souvenir focus on the ways in which Delhi, Cawnpore, and other Uprising sites have not changed in the forty to fifty years between the Uprisings and the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars. Each text recreates the Uprising sites.

By 1902-03 and 1911-12, the Indian Uprising of 1857 had been commemorated in newspaper articles, statues, memorials, plaques, and various monuments throughout India, especially in Delhi. Juxtaposed with the purpose of the Coronation Durbars—to inspire loyalty—the Uprising narratives that were taken up in the Durbar stories
advocated a citizen who remembers the past (and did not have to be reminded of it), who respects the bravery and loyalty of soldiers who fought for Britain, and who is prepared to sacrifice her own life for the “imperial dream.” Though the Durbar texts laud the Uprising veterans, portray the events of 1857 as fundamentally important to good citizenship, they do not explain why the events were so important or provide the most basic facts about the Uprising. To understand the importance of the Uprising during the Durbar celebrations, I turned to Janet Giltrow’s definition of background knowledge—the tacit information not included in texts but already available to the reader—and Anne Freadman’s concept of uptake. The Durbar texts that discussed the Uprising expected the idealized imperial citizen to have already participated in the uptake of the Uprising narrative. The missing facts and statistics, the emphasis on bravery, and the stories about John Nicholson, reveal that the Durbar texts used the Uprising to illustrate the importance of loyalty to the Empire at a time when loyalty was being constructed through massive colonial spectacles.
Chapter Three: Preventing Disaster: Advising Against the Durbars to Protect the Empire

According to Victorian pedagogues, one of the most important (and difficult-to-learn) objectives of the history lesson is to ensure that students have the ability to evaluate situations and use their critical reasoning skills. Reasoning skills, according to the educators, cannot be developed or taught until students possess sufficient background knowledge. Joseph Landon discouraged instructors from teaching concepts that were outside of the scope of the students’ understanding or asking students to make decisions that reached beyond their “judgment and reasoning” noting that

(a) The child should be called upon to learn only that which he can understand....(b) The teaching should be such as to exercise the pupil’s judgment and reason as far as they are developed. Nothing is gained, however, by attempting to force these faculties, but rather the reverse; and to make him quote parrot-like the results of judgment in others is a very different thing from leading him to exercise his own. (Landon 394, author’s emphasis)

Landon argues that students first ought to gain information, then learn to apply that information, and finally draw conclusions. To demonstrate the ways in which Durbar texts mimic or present the development of critical reasoning, rather than the “parroting” of others’ ideas, this chapter analyzes the English-language news in India. I argue that these articles supplement colonial knowledge because the documents provide neither background knowledge (in the Victorian sense where basic facts are provided) nor do they participate in the “story and picture stage” of the initial lessons. Rather, the news articles offer lessons appropriate to the “information stage” and the stage of “epoch learning” where teachers provide specific facts and teach students to apply those details in a reasoned manner (Landon 398).
These news articles, opinion columns, and letters ask readers to consider, “judge,” the arguments made in other texts. These articles do not provide background information, but rather, their note of lesson is to evaluate the quality of the government’s decisions, and if necessary, oppose those choices. The newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and opinion columns, like the women’s travelogues and commentary and the souvenirs and reminiscences featuring the Indian Uprising, take up the genre of the history lesson when they emulate the typified rhetorical function of the history lesson. The texts analyzed in this chapter, on the one hand, ask readers to pay attention to and judge the results and preparations of the Durbars, participating in the development of critical thinking. They, on the other hand, urge readers to be patriotic and loyal to the Empire by stopping the Durbars to protect life, thus inspiring the designated rhetorical function of the history lesson, for in a properly constructed lesson “history becomes a political education, as well as a moral engine” (Bain 282).

Though the letters and opinions columns seem to diverge from, and thus endanger, the colonial government because they question the usefulness or purpose of the Durbars, they do not criticize the government or challenge Britain’s colonial control in India. Rather, these dissenting texts contest the Durbars to protect the viability of the Empire. They argue that to maintain a successful Empire, government officials in India and Britain must be prudent; the government should ensure both British and Indian life

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23 Though the reasons for disagreement differ between the two Durbar years, the arguments put forth to not hold the Durbar or have King George and Queen Mary travel to India are surprisingly similar. For instance, in 1902/03, authors contend that the danger of plague and famine outweighed the necessity for the Durbar while many argue in 1912 that the King and Queen ought not visit India because it is too dangerous for them to be away from London for such a long period of time. The articles and letters that protest the Durbar events each cite the safety of the empire, often through the protection of the Indian people, as a reason not to hold the Durbar or to invite the monarch. The similarity in these arguments, representing two different situations, demonstrates that both the political dissent and the dissent that lives in patriotism are viable lessons for those in the Empire.
rather than encourage what the writers deem unnecessary celebration and expenditure.

The archive analyzed in this chapter spoke to Lords Curzon and Hardinge, Kings Edward and George, and other government officials; it also spoke to those who were not officials. If the government had a responsibility to protect the Empire, these texts suggest that so too did all citizens because part of being a good citizen was to protect the Empire. In this chapter, I identify two specific rhetorical moves the English-language Indian and Anglo-Indian Durbar texts make. First, some texts use a diplomatic style or rhetoric; critics argue that this “style diplomatic” provides little real protection from the plague that infected India during the opening years of the twentieth century and is used only to assuage traveler’s (and the government’s) fears. Second, the texts urge readers to remember their morals and ethics as they judge the Durbar ceremonies and preparations. The articles analyzed in this chapter argue that it was inappropriate, even immoral, to allow or enable the death of fellow British subjects to hold a celebratory Durbar. Instead, these texts advocate that British imperial citizens should have protected the Empire by protecting the lives of those who lived, worked, and traveled in it. During both 1902-03, at the height of a plague epidemic and following wide-spread famine, and 1911-12 when Queen Mary and King George traveled to India, Durbar articles showed concern about the preservation of life.

The documents discussed in this chapter demonstrate the complexity of citizenship and the range of views perpetuated in colonial and Durbar texts. The women’s periodical writings and letters and those Durbar souvenirs and reminiscences that discussed the relationship between the Indian Uprising and the Coronation Durbars advocated a citizenship that was overtly pro-imperial. According to the women’s texts,
accurate knowledge about the Empire and a concern for the diversity of people in the subcontinent was paramount. For those texts which described the Uprising sites and veterans, the ideal citizen was brave and patriotic; she would defend the Empire if it were under attack. This chapter investigates the nuances of colonial control in India, the responses to it, the role that Durbar texts played in exploring the continued relationship between India and the homeland. The English-language Indian newspaper articles suggest that the ideal citizen was not only one who sought to maintain control in India, but was also a person who understood the consequences of British actions in relation to the social and economic concerns of the subcontinent.

That people publically questioned the legitimacy and necessity of the Coronation Durbars in both 1902-03 and 1911-12 was apparent in the media. This is important to note, for it demonstrates that other writers, commentators, and visitors, too believed that people might read, evaluate, and act upon those columns that suggested it may not be in Britain’s best interest if the Durbars commenced. For instance, Pearl Craigie in *Imperial India: Letters from the East* notes other writers’ displeasure when she explains that

> The native Press, and certain journals in the English Press, which have criticised with much bitterness and more ignorance the pleasures and banquets, the reviews and the balls, enjoyed by the English officials and their friends at Delhi and Calcutta, have quite overlooked the fact that Englishmen work here as they work nowhere else. (Hobbes 36)

Craigie’s letter shows her displeasure with the ways in which the native and English press criticized the Durbar and the Anglo-Indian officials, and it provides evidence that the criticism comes from people other than Indians who opposed colonial rule. Indeed, to include the English Press in the list of complaints shows that both Indians and Anglo-Indians contested the Durbar. The nature of the available English-language criticism is
such that it is not the position that the British held in India, the presence of colonial rule, or the subservience of the Indians that is in question, but rather, the criticism hinges on how the British use their power and wealth. The texts under consideration in this chapter advocate the protection of the Indian people both economically and physically, and thus the Indian Empire, and not the dissolution of the colonial government. This distinction, between the concern over whether or not the British should continue to hold power in India and the responsibilities of colonial governments in relation to their subjects and citizens, is important, for I do not examine the texts in which British colonialism is overtly criticized and challenged. I am instead interested in the ways that Durbar texts encourage or describe the ideal imperial citizen and the texts relationship to and uptake of the genre of the Victorian history lesson. This chapter, because it focuses on disagreements with the ruling officials, emphasizes the lack of homogeneity surrounding colonial opinions and rule, and it demonstrates that even if the logic behind the dissent opposes prevailing government decisions, those disagreements still play a role in the typified rhetorical function of the history lesson. In other words, even though these articles, letters, and columns do not praise the government, they encourage patriotism, loyalty, and morality in a more nuanced way. If, as Alexander Bain notes, “history becomes a political education, as well as a moral engine” (282), then by protesting the Durbars, the Durbar texts both delineate the political consequences of expensive and lavish colonial spectacles and connect those consequences to fin-de-siècle morality.
The “Style Diplomatic”: Ineffectual Imperial Protection

Victorian education, history education in particular, focused on protecting the homeland and ensuring the continuity of the Empire; during the final decades of the nineteenth century, attitudes about what should and should not be taught in schools changed. Stephen Heathorn explains that “By the end of the century, the content of elementary education had moved …. to a system that also stressed economic efficiency and manual training (especially domestic skills for girls), commercial and technological progress, and a humanities curriculum centered on the development of patriotism, civic ideals, and basic knowledge about the nation and empire” (397). Though Heathorn specifically cites elementary education, adult education, such as that received through novels, periodicals, or personal letters like those written in the wake of the Coronation Durbars, also encouraged patriotism. To encourage this loyalty, popular literature criticized specific rhetorical mechanisms of government and colonial officials. For instance, opinion articles, letters to the editor, and news reports printed in English-language Indian newspapers warn that the Durbars damaged the health of the Empire because they made living conditions more dangerous for both Indians and Britons in a time of plague (all people) and famine (Indians). Authors accused the colonial government of using political speech and the “style diplomatic” to convince readers that the Indian Empire and its people were safe. The “style diplomatic,” as coined by one Durbar author, is a rhetorical style that removes responsibility from any actors and protects those in charge. In essence, according to the anonymous author, the rhetorical style works to make everyone happy, yet it accomplishes very little. This criticism questions the appropriateness of expensive celebrations that brought together many
people (putting at risk not only money for food but also making it much easier to spread disease).

Durbar texts in 1902-03 and 1911-12 both criticized and used the “style diplomatic.” On the one hand, articles, like the *Hindoo Patriot*’s “Delhi Before the Durbar,” argue against the government’s plague precautions and suggest that the colonists used inappropriate political rhetoric. On the other hand, others, like the *Bombay Gazette*’s “Sanitary Precautions in Delhi and the Camp,” that report on the Durbar’s progress and show support for the colonial spectacle use the “style diplomatic.” “Delhi Before the Durbar” plays on the already circulated information about the plague, background knowledge in Janet Giltrow’s definition; the article does not provide a history of the plague in India, nor does it illustrate the extent of the plague when it explains the plague inspections on trains travelling through the subcontinent. The articles describes the plague inspection, noting that visitors will be “disturbed in the raw misery of 2 o’clock a.m. by a Parsee doctor who has been commissioned to certify whether the passenger is or is not a plague subject” (2). By excluding specific information about the plague (duration of the epidemic, symptoms, and even location) the article implies that readers were already aware of that information, that it might be part of their prior knowledge that they might use to make judgments and draw conclusions. Instead, the article explains what visitors (and especially readers in Britain) may not know: the uselessness of the precautions. To make this point, the article indicts the government’s rhetoric. This criticism urges readers to be aware of other places in which the government acts and uses language to control opinions and attitudes about the Durbar.
The article invites readers to analyze the evidence and conclude that the plague precautions will not work and people’s lives will be endangered.

To condemn the colonial government, the “Delhi Before the Durbar” cites the search of trains traveling from infected areas, explaining that the plague inspections at the railway stations are

the usual farce. The doctor meekly demands your name and, the place of your departure, and without more ado, hands you a printed slip on which is inscribed the veracious assurance that—‘The bearer of this certificate has been examined and found to be free from suspicion of plague.’ The phrasing is a model of the style diplomatic. (2)

The clearance paper’s wording demonstrates the root of the problem. But what is “style diplomatic”? The passive construction does not refer to a specific person but rather the “bearer,” and that the person is not “free” from the plague, but is rather only “free from suspicion.” The passive voice frees the doctor and the government from any responsibility if the person cleared is infected. While the reader of the form knows that the person “has been examined,” she does not know who examined the traveler. The certificate does not mention the doctor or the government. By allowing no one to take responsibility for the person carrying the certificate, the government ensures that it protects the doctors and other colonial officials from harm if the plague were to spread because someone who was “assured” of not being infected actually was. The certificate is diplomatic in that it not only denies responsibility, but also that it avoids attracting any blame. In the end, everyone—passenger, doctor, and government—remains unthreatened by the wording of the certificate.

Not only does the passive voice enable the deniability of responsibility, but so too does the vocabulary. When the certificate states that the person has been “found to be
free from suspicion of plague,” it emphasizes not the plague itself, but rather the “suspicion” of the plague. The phrasing reiterates the examination’s farcical nature. If the officials were concerned about keeping the camps plague-free and guaranteeing that no one with the plague stayed in the camps, they would encourage the doctors to ensure that the travelers were “free from the plague” and not just from the “suspicion” of the plague. In this scenario, “suspicion” and “symptom” are synonymous, yet common sense alerts the close reader to the fact that symptom-free does not mean plague-free, thus allowing those who are potentially infected, but who do not yet show the infection, to continue their journey to Delhi and the densely-populated tent city. In no way does the author actually say the Durbar is dangerous; “Delhi Before the Durbar” instead asks readers to determine the associated dangers. Victorian educator Joseph Landon argues that good teachers will not “make him [the student] quote parrot-like the results of judgment” which “is a very different thing from leading him to exercise his own.” The article makes no explicit judgment, save the criticism of the “usual farce,” instead encouraging the reader to “exercise his [or her] own” reasoning to determine why the plague precautions are ineffective and the potential danger.

Many of the same concerns, especially about a wide-spread famine and plague, were discussed in articles that reported on the Durbars’ progress, yet these articles, rather than condemn the diplomatic speech, use it. These articles suggest that the precautions taken would completely prevent the plague, and warns that the Empire is not as healthy as civil servants hoped. The October 30, 1902, *Bombay Gazette* article “Sanitary Precautions in Delhi and the Camp” explains that

The Municipality of Delhi have [sic] made complete arrangements for securing the perfect sanitation of the city and securing the community
from plague or other epidemics….A disinfecting machine has arrived, which has been purchased by the Municipality at Rs. 3,000 to ensure thorough disinfection wherever it may be considered necessary.

The “disinfecting machine,” which was accompanied by an “efficient sanitary staff,” would be used throughout the city, including private residences, to ensure that all spaces were free of infection (5). “Sanitary Measures” takes up a different typified social function than other texts analyzed in this dissertation. Many articles written about Delhi and the Durbars included background information, in the Victorian sense, that was necessary to understand the other details in the document. The information provided in the article, however, is not background information, for it does not explain why the plague was a problem, how the city would be disinfected, or what problems may have occurred from the plague. In fact, the text implies that the reader is already aware of the epidemic in India, for the article begins by explaining not that a plague has spread through India but that the city will be cleaned. This conversational implicature, or “the message arising from an utterance which, on the surface, appears to be irrelevant in the context, but which a listener can interpret as relevant by consulting certain unexpressed propositions,” is explained by Giltrow’s definition background knowledge: the text assumes that readers are already familiar with the plague epidemic (Giltrow 155). By explaining what the city plans to do, “Sanitary Precautions” illustrates one logical progression of the plague, government precautions, and Durbar safety. The ideal citizen or reader of this article will bring together her knowledge of the plague, colonial government, and Delhi to decide whether to believe the absolute language of the article and the assuredness of the officials or whether to doubt their preparation. Using the background knowledge expressed in other articles or gained through personal experience,
this citizen might be able to “trace cause and effect; to generalize; and to make valuable inductions” (Garlick 258) about the success of the sanitary measures in Delhi.

The author’s tone is noticeable through words like “complete,” “perfect,” “securing,” and “wherever.” Absolute words like “complete” and “perfect” instill confidence that the plague would not infect the city, and serve as an integral part of the history lesson, for they ask the reader to decipher what exactly a “perfect” and “complete” cleaning of a densely populated colonial city means. This belief that the city would be completely clean, however, also encourages doubt for it seems as if the author (or the colonial and city officials) do not truly believe that they can “ensure thorough disinfection” of all parts of Delhi before the Durbars began. This “complete” sanitation of Delhi may have been one of the “usual farces” that “Delhi Before the Durbar” mentions. The ideal citizen or reader’s familiarity with India, the colonial government, and the plague, allows her to connect the different plague precautions and determine whether they would prevent the plague or simply pacify patrons. According to these texts, much like the women’s texts discussed in the first chapter, the ideal citizen requires experience with the India and its people. The tacit background knowledge, the “gaps” in the text, implies that the ideal citizen does not require daily newspapers to discuss major health and economic concerns. It is not enough to know about the people or the landscape good citizens must also know the health and wellness of the Indian Empire.

For the ideal citizen, these texts serve an important point in the development of an imperial history because they provide not stories of bravery and heroics but rather analysis and judgment. Even supposedly straightforward news reports encourage the honing of critical reasoning. For Victorian pedagogues, these skills are important to
well-rounded imperial education, for in the later stages of history education “We may
begin to criticise actions and character, and to look for causes and consequences of
events” (Fletcher 152). Not only do the texts encourage the assessment of cause and
effect, but both “Delhi Before the Durbar” and “Sanitary Precautions” create an ideal
citizen who looks for and assesses the consequences of diplomatic rhetoric that are
decidedly moral or ethical in nature.

**Persuasive Fear: Attacking the Durbars**

“Delhi Before the Durbar,” even though dismissive, and “Sanitary Precautions,”
imply that a plague outbreak is unlikely, for neither explicitly warns against the epidemic.
They, instead, considered only what the government has done to prevent it. Other texts
written in the weeks before the 1903 Durbar, however, address the likelihood (and
reality) of an outbreak, using pathos rather than “style diplomatic.” Similarly, in the
weeks before the 1911 Durbar, texts criticized Queen Mary and King George for
endangering their own lives by traveling to the Indian Empire and the colonial
government for inspiring (or asking) poor Indian people to spend money on needless
celebrations. In context, the contrast between the rhetorical approaches and the resulting
message is intriguing. On the one hand, those texts that either criticized or used the
“style diplomatic,” do not argue that the plague would strike Delhi, only that the
government’s precautions are ineffective as “usual,” but present. The rhetorical style
calms fears, removes responsibility, and works to keep everyone happy—it is, after all,
“diplomatic.” On the other hand, those texts that find the plague or harm to Queen Mary
and King George imminent neither use nor criticize the “style diplomatic.” Rather than
looking to make others happy or even placate them, these articles use emotion to create concern, asking readers to consider, judge, and act on the article recommendations. Both types of rhetoric—the style diplomatic and that produced to encourage direct and immediate action—created an ideal citizen who could consider facts and the consequences of others’ actions.

Though this pathetic appeal may seem inappropriate or illogical in light of the “reasoning” that is encouraged in the articles, the appeal embraces the pedagogical claim that presentation of “the matter itself, if carefully selected, arouses an interest which diminishes the need of elaborate methods” (Collar and Crook 190). By highlighting health and safety, life and death, the articles make a rhetorical appeal to pathos, presenting the Durbar, plague, and Queen Mary and King George in way that questions human safety, the value of life, and the Durbar’s moral appropriateness. An untitled Bengal Times column asks whether “in her [India’s] seething mass of human vitality, have we not reason to fear there may lie hid the germs of some fatal epidemic, as terrible as it would be unexpected?” (Dec. 20, 4). The text emphasizes the hidden, unexpected nature of a plague epidemic. If the epidemic is “terrible,” and at the same time “unexpected,” one might infer that little can be done to prevent it, for officials know not what regions or populations to sanitize. This phrase creates fear: fear of the uncontrollable and the unknown. By asking a question, even one that is rhetorical, the Bengal Times article prompts the ideal citizen to consider the Durbar’s consequences and use the information that “there may lie hid the germs of some fatal epidemic” to determine the reasonableness of holding the spectacle. By asking a question about a “fatal epidemic, as terrible as it would be unexpected,” the article signals that the ideal
citizen will be able to, or even expected to, use the tacit background knowledge, colonial facts, and new information to draw conclusions about whether it is appropriate to hold the event. This history lesson advocates for a citizen who thinks critically about the Empire in a way that measures her understanding of India, its people and culture, and the consequences of actions on Britain.

The *Bengal Times* column provides vivid descriptions of the plague moving through India as it “stalks” “carrying death in its track” leaving a “wail of anguish” behind. Despite the later stage of historical knowledge development in which these texts participate, interesting details and good story telling, hallmarks of the earliest lessons, remain important, for such “Graphic description must be cultivated by the teacher, so that the mental image created by the child may approximate to the real thing described. The mental effort required to form a picture of an Indian forest, or a mine, is greatly aided by good verbal description, pictures, and sketches” (Garlick 218). Even in reasoning lessons it might be difficult to form judgments if facts and images are not connected. These descriptions inspire ideal citizens to use “mental effort” to picture the depressed Indian towns struck by the plague. These articles create a lesson that expects the ideal citizen to use background knowledge about India, whether that was gained through other articles, personal experience, or traditional history education also to envision the plague stalking through Indian villages. Moreover, the article’s attention to detail, to the “wailing” of the living, inspires fear. If these news articles were to convincingly argue that the Durbars were unnecessary, they needed to provide compelling reasons, and (what they see as) preventable death and suffering may have been a compelling reason.
In addition to appeals to pathos—fear especially—to encourage action, anti-Durbar texts written in 1902-03 draw on background knowledge of the plague, Indian geography, and population density to imply an outbreak. While the articles that use the “style diplomatic” in 1902-03 do not consider the outbreak imminent, those articles that use emotion to connect Lord Curzon’s Durbar and the epidemic use a warrant-driven argument accented by fear and make a connection between the plague and the Durbar. For example, an October 21, 1902, Hindoo Patriot article examines the effects of the plague on the Mysore province, including major cities like Mysore and Bangalore. The article explains that Lord Curzon compelled all native princes to attend the Durbar celebrations, yet this requirement proved especially difficult on the Maharaja of Mysore. According to the article, in the weeks before the Durbar, the death toll reached 50 to 75 people per day in the capital city and in “Chickmagalore out of a population of 7000, so many as 700 died in the course of a few weeks” (2). This column suggests that the high percentage of deaths, 10% of the total population of cities like Chickmagalore, the plague caused and the requirement that the Maharaja be absent from his province for the Durbar is disturbing. It explains that the Maharaja had to decide whether to attend the Durbar, noting that “The tour cannot cost less than 2 or 3 lakhs, if not more,” or to provide protection for his people, when “With 2 or 3 lakhs, the drainage of more than one city can be completed!” (2).24 Though the article notes that “We would have been glad to see the young Maharaja among the native princes who will assemble at the next Durbar at Delhi,” it concludes that the Maharaja would act most responsibly if he remained in the province to oversee the colony’s sanitary arrangements. This article clearly equates the

24 According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 1 lakh equals 100,000. While commonly associated with money, such as rupees, the word can be used for any countable noun.
expenditure of two or three lakhs on Lord Curzon’s Durbar as money which ought to be spent on sanitation.

These columns judge the validity of the Durbars and emphasize the power of the plague and the causes and effects of Indian poverty. This attention to decision making and to specific examples emulates the Victorian history lesson. Collar and Crook explain that the reasoning stage develops “the judgement of the pupils….Still further detail can be worked in the scheme, and a new interest is attached to the previous knowledge on account of the new light in which it is regarded” (Collar and Crook 189). These articles take up the reasoning stage by implying background knowledge; the ideal citizen uses the new facts provided in the article to take into “account of the new light” the context of the background knowledge. For example, the *Bengal Times* article asked readers to imagine the “dismal scenes,” “tragedies,” and “terrible maledictions” that would accompany a plague infected Delhi and its attendant tent city (Dec. 20, 4). By bringing in new descriptions and the likelihood that the plague was “hiding” somewhere, the texts synthesize previous experience (the information for the “dismal scenes” and tragedies) and new information (the sanitary conditions of India, for instance) to determine whether to support the Durbar. Ultimately, by calling the Durbar “unnecessary,” the article moves to persuade readers to “reason” in a way that protected human life.

Though the plague fears had diminished by 1911, authors in English-language Indian newspapers also use appeals to pathos, emphasizing a fear of death and hardship, to argue against King George’s Coronation Durbar. To demonstrate the harm caused by the Durbar, columns and letters address the financial hardship that individual subscription and decoration caused Indians. “Royal Visit,” a December 13, 1911 news release from
the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era*, explains that “It cannot be doubted for a moment that, our King-Emperor’s visit to India will involve many in outlay they cannot afford, and to some, it will necessarily mean life-long struggle with debt, not unlikely, want, or even ruin, in their frantic demonstrations to excel their neighbours in decoration and outlay” (4, author’s emphasis). Another *Eastern Assam and Bengal Era* column on December 16, 1911, explains that

> His Majesty’s Durbar was no doubt, a magnificent and impressive spectacle; but we fear too costly, and one that will be sadly remembered by many families in straitened circumstances, who felt called upon to respond to a demand for loyalty and patriotism far beyond their means; and by their response, so heartily given, they must, we expect, have crippled their resources at least, for years to come, and not improbably for life. (“Coronation Ode” 4)

Both columns concentrate on the physical and emotional cost of the Durbar to Indians. Moreover, the damage to the people is not momentary or situational. Rather, both argue that by paying to decorate their homes, to demonstrate in their cities, and to show their “loyalty and patriotism,” Indians take on a lifetime of debt and suffering.

To demonstrate an opposition to the Durbar expenses these texts rely on pathos to argue that the Durbars harm the Indian peasant in ways both serious and avoidable. “Coronation Ode” notes that the Durbar would be “sadly remembered” because it has “crippled their [the Indian people’s] resources.” This “crippling” of resources will cause a “life-long struggle with debt, not unlikely, want, or even ruin, in their frantic demonstrations to excel their neighbours,” what “Royal Visit” deems a “heritage of woe.” The juxtaposition of the phrase “magnificent and impressive spectacle” with “sadly remembered” acknowledges both the striking nature of the celebration itself and the lasting effects. Though it was impressive to see, it will be “sadly remembered.” It seems
as if it is not the beauty or grandeur that will be remembered, nor possibly even the patriotism that the Durbar intended to inspire, but rather the hardship it causes. By emphasizing the hardship, the texts move away from praise to the difficulties that Indians would experience. Unlike the “imperial pedagogue” who advocates for control and protection of the British Empire in India, such as the sacrifice of one’s life to defeat rebel Indians during the Uprising, these columns look to create a citizen who understands the quality of life (both in monetary and moral terms) of the Indian people. While imperial control is still advocated, the lesson creates a more empathetic and considerate citizen who cares about and for the Indian citizen.

As Steel’s article, “Side Lights on the Durbar,” does, these columns try to present the typical Indian to create a more well-rounded and knowledgeable colonial citizen. According to “Coronation Ode” and “Royal Visit” the representative Indian was not the maharaja or the chief, but rather all of those Indians who had impoverished themselves to demonstrate their loyalty to their Emperor. The representative Indian becomes “crippled,” the families “struggle” for the rest of their lives because they “frantically” battled with their neighbors to show their own patriotism. Neither of the texts makes an effort to show that the people putting themselves into debt constitute a small proportion of the Indian people. Rather, the lack of clarification for how many are in debt demonstrates that if it was not a majority of Indians who would be in debt it was still too many. Using words like “cripple” and “ruin” demonstrates that after the Durbars, the Indian populace’s financial situation will worsen. Cripple and ruin connote long-lasting, if not permanent, effects to the population that rather than spur innovation, strength, or wealth for the greater imperial cause, may even hinder or “cripple” the empire itself. “Royal Visit”
suggests that alongside this long-lasting debilitation of the populace the Durbar expenses create a “heritage of woe” in India. While the word “crippling” is likely to suggest one person or one entity, the word “heritage” suggests a longer-lasting effect. A heritage is not composed of a single entity; rather, a heritage develops over time and encompasses a wide variety of people and places, over a long period of time. These columns show that a significant outlay of financial resources by the general population will spur the development of a legacy of debt and hardship.

There are at least two possible readings of these arguments in terms of their level of commitment to the imperial project. On the one hand, one could argue that because Durbar opposition manifests, so too does opposition to the colonial project. On the other hand, one might suggest that a favoring of the imperial project is present, which at the same time includes a disagreement with the current colonial government and the decisions that it makes regarding imperial spectacles. Anti-imperial sentiment, or opposition to the colonial project, however, is not present. The columns neither condemn colonialism nor argue that the British should leave India. Rather they suggest that the British should more efficiently manage the colony and protect the colonial subjects. The columns, whether criticizing Lord Curzon’s Durbar for its extravagance and the danger the plague may cause or King George’s Coronation for the excessive financial outlay of the Indian citizens, imply what it means to be a good imperialist or imperial citizen. To care for and ensure the health and well-being of the native Indian was tantamount to successful colonial policy. By exhibiting both patriotism and dissent, these columns reaffirm the various positions that imperial advocates could take and the different viewpoints from which the empire was administered.
Though many of the articles from both 1902-03 and 1911-12 address the health and safety of Indians—whether they suffer from (or are in danger of suffering from) a plague outbreak or whether they spend the little money they possessed on decorations and parades—English-language Indian newspapers also addressed the well-being and safety of King George and Queen Mary. Papers like the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era, The Empire, Bombay Gazette, Civil and Military Gazette*, and *The Bengalee*, not only covered Durbar preparations, but also published columns and letters to the editor which show doubts about the upcoming Durbar festivities. These articles, columns, and letters argue that by visiting India, King George and Queen Mary irreparably damage the health and safety of the empire and themselves.

The political environment in India and Britain at the time of the Durbar was one of the greatest causes of concern for writers. A December 2, 1911 article from *The Empire: Calcutta Evening News* entitled “Their Majesties’ Arrival” explains that “Their Majesties have not chosen a time of profound peace for their visit. The horizon is heavily clouded both at home and abroad” (4). This article is a column and not a letter to the

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25 Nine years after Lord Curzon’s Coronation Durbar, Lord Hardinge coordinated King George’s. Queen Victoria did not attend her 1877 Imperial Assembly nor did King Edward attend his 1903 Coronation Durbar; in 1911, however, King George and Queen Mary traveled to India for the second time in nine years. The King and Queen’s physical presence, combined with the fact that they had toured the country from October 1905 to April 1906, excited Lord Hardinge, members of the colonial government, and numbers of native Indians. Just as travelogues and news reports of the splendor, exoticism, and beauty of Lord Curzon’s Durbar had spread throughout the Empire and to the United States, so too did descriptions of King George and Queen Mary’s second Indian tour, accompanied by state-issued texts speaking specifically of their Majesties’ journey such as *The Historical record of the imperial visit to India* and J.W. Fortescue’s *Narrative of the visit to India*. News reports of the royal visit described the monarchs’ journey as a way in which “Their Majesties have accomplished their self-imposed task of visiting India” during their reign, emphasizing the beauty and symbolism of the trip explaining that the “journey from London to Delhi has been a series of triumphal arches, of decoration, of pageantry, a glitter of gold and jewels” (“Royal Visit” 4). Deftly woven with a rhetoric of colonial domination, read through the control of India in the article’s “triumphal arches,” wealth in the “gold and jewels,” and the perceived exoticism of the East in “pageantry,” it is no wonder that many Anglo-Indians in India rejoiced at the upcoming visit of the King and Queen. If the Durbars were designed to shore up support for the empire and guarantee fidelity to the throne, the presence of the monarchs highlighted with this background of domination, wealth, and beauty would not necessarily dissuade the populace from honoring its rulers.
editor; it is written in such a way to portray that it is trying to be more objective in its reporting than the opinions expressed in more emotional pieces like letters to the editor. When the article points out that neither India nor Britain is in a state of peace, it shows that King George chose, willingly, to leave the seat of government at an inopportune time. According to some articles and letters to the editor, the King’s willingness to leave Britain at a time of political strife implied that King George left both the colony and the empire at risk.

In addition to news articles like “Their Majesties’ Visit,” letters to the editor focus on the arrival of the King and Queen. Letters from writers such as “Fidelity,” “Cui Bono,” “Unpleasant Truth,” and “Old Stager” attend to the political unrest during the King and Queen’s visit. Each one emphasizes an increased level of uneasiness, whether in India, Britain, or both to show that the King should have remained in Britain. When the texts highlight uneasiness about the King and Queen traveling, they invoke an emotional response. Namely, Queen Mary and King George would be more secure if they had not traveled. When the texts foreground the uneasiness about the King and Queen traveling, they rely, like those that discussed the financial hardship or the plague, on appeals to pathos. The previously discussed articles attend to the care of the Indian people as a sign of good leadership and appropriate citizenship. When these letters and columns criticize the King and Queen, they show that not only is the general population personally responsible for India, but also that personal responsibility rests with the monarch. “Fidelity” explains that

I cannot too emphatically repeat by humble protest against such an arrangement [King George and Queen Mary visiting India], as I deem it in the last degree injudicious and even hazardous. There is not any occasion for Royalty to visit India with any object at any time, that I can see and
least of all, at this time, when India is suffering from unrest and a spirit of turbulence that so gracious a personality even of Royalty cannot lull to placidity. (5)

This letter is both supplicating and authoritative. For instance, it puts forth a “humble protest against” the King and Queen’s arrival. As a member of the community and subject of the crown, “Fidelity” demonstrates respect for the King and Queen by “humbly” requesting that they not visit India and by calling the King a “gracious personality.” Additionally, the writer signs off with the name “Fidelity,” suggesting, interestingly both loyalty and an exactness.26

While the definition of “loyalty” aligns with the respect that the letter shows to King George, the secondary definition of “exactness” introduces an interesting reading of the authoritative and absolute language used to protest the visit. After showing respect, “Fidelity’s” letter demonstrates conviction; for example, “There is not any occasion…any object…any time” that should compel the King and Queen to visit (5, my emphasis). The repetition of “any” and the refusal to accept any reason for the King and Queen to travel shows “Fidelity” feels confident in that claim and wants to make it clear that the King and Queen traveling outside of Britain, or at least to India, is dangerous, especially during a time of unrest. If “fidelity” also means to be exact or precise in the transcription or description of information, then the reading of “any” may be taken as a representative measure of the events and not as hyperbole, leaving little room for questions about the appropriateness of the journey to India. That neither “Fidelity’s” letter nor those of any

26 The Oxford English Dictionary provides a primary definition for “fidelity” as “the quality of being faithful; faithfulness, loyalty, unswerving allegiance to a person, party, bond.” A secondary definition of “fidelity” attends to description or translation in which “fidelity” is “correspondence with the original; exactness.” Fidelity’s “translation” of the imperial situation, may be read as “exact” or “precise” where not only is faithfulness shown but also an attention to detail in describing why the King and Queen should not travel.
of the other writers that discuss the “turbulence” of India discuss what the unrest was, what happened, or why the King and Queen should have been concerned about traveling in the subcontinent, reveals that similar to the extent and presence of the plague, this political unrest may be considered background knowledge. The combination of the background knowledge and the new information that not even a “gracious personality” could bring peace to India presents judgment on the appropriateness of the King and Queen’s visit.

“Fidelity’s” letter suggests that the political ramifications of the Royal visit are more important than the King and Queen visiting India. It argues that there is more danger done to the Royal couple because of their travels than there would be if Lord Hardinge would have represented the King and Queen just as Lord Lytton did in 1877 and Lord Curzon in 1903. “Unpleasant Truth’s” and “Old Stager’s” letters extend the argument of personal danger to the King and Queen, citing not just the possibility of political unrest, as Fidelity’s letter does, but suggesting that the simple presence of the monarch encourages political dissent among the Indians. For instance, “Unpleasant Truth’s” letter proclaims that people who were excited about the visit “are now heartily sorry he [King George] ever allowed himself to be so ill-advised as to come to this country” because “He has revolutionised India” (5). This letter and “Old Stager’s” look to the colony’s future and foresee not just revolution but “disaster” for the British.

“Unpleasant Truth’s” letter argues that “We are only just beginning to see the beginning of the end. I can foresee terrible difficulties, if not disasters looming ahead” (5) while “Old Stager’s” explains that “Our King has caused a revolution in political affairs, that will have far-reaching effects, such as no one could have suspected, and more serious
than anyone, even now, can anticipate, with approximate accuracy" (5). Both letters clearly blame King George for the unrest in the colony and create an atmosphere of fear or uneasiness. Using words and phrases like “disaster” and “terrible difficulties,” “Old Stager’s” and “Unpleasant Truth’s” letters bring to mind horrible effects, just as phrases like “cripple,” “heritage of woe,” and “ruin,” suggested during the 1903 Durbar and the suspicion of the plague epidemic or during the 1911-12 Durbar year when Indians were being asked to spend their money on decorations rather than food and shelter for their families. These letters to the editors play on readers’ emotions, looking to the future and considering the “terrible” consequences.

While “Unpleasant Truth’s” letter does not clearly explain the reasons, the revolutions, or the incidents that spur this opinion, implying as did “Fidelity’s” background knowledge about the civic unrest in India and Britain, this letter suggests the empire is in danger because of the decisions of the colonial government. “Old Stager’s” letter provides more specific details by blaming the revolution jointly on the King’s visit and the move of the colonial government from Calcutta to Delhi. Unlike the political unrest mentioned in “Fidelity’s letter,” which was written before the Durbars, the government’s move from Calcutta to Delhi was not announced until the Durbar itself. It is, in its most basic definition, new information in the history lesson. For Collar and Crook, this combination of new information and background knowledge is instrumental to the lesson. They explain that “the truest interest [in a lesson] is that which arises within the child’s mind from the association of the new knowledge with that which is already there. The lesson should afford pleasurable excitement combined with mental effort” (Collar and Crook 70). “Unpleasant Truth’s” and “Old Stager’s” letters both
provide new information and encourage the remembrance of “that which is already there,” and ask the readers to determine how to judge the results of the King’s journey. “Unpleasant Truth’s” letter provides a clear indication of how the ideal colonial citizen acts; it explains that King George’s visit “has done no good; must have, as a result foreseen by all observant and reflective men, and will eventually not, I fear, prove beneficial to India generally” (5, my emphasis). The ideal citizen will be “observant and reflective” and will use both background knowledge about India and new information about King George’s visit to render judgment on the Durbar, King George, and the colonial government. Neither the “observant and reflective” citizens nor “Every real well-wisher of India” (“Old Stager” 5) wanted change in India: a King who visited India, the central government’s transfer from Calcutta to Delhi, and a political revolution were all changes that the letters proclaimed harmful to colony’s health.

Whether discussing the plague outbreak in 1903, the immense financial consideration and burden Indians put themselves under in 1911, or political upheaval during King George and Queen Mary’s visit, texts deployed emotional appeals to argue for the inappropriateness of the Durbars. The texts imply that the ideal citizen will possess background knowledge that includes information about the plague, financial stability, and political unrest in India and Britain. According to these articles, columns, and letters to the editor, the ideal citizen is one who carefully analyzes situations, using the background knowledge and new information available, and shows about the lives of not just British citizens but Indians as well. Emotion, in addition to morality, becomes a driving force of the imperial history lesson.
Teaching Ethics: Morality as a Typified Rhetorical Function

In *Education as Science*, Alexander Bain refers to the history lesson as “a moral engine.” Not only were the Durbars deemed interesting and exciting, at the very least noteworthy, by contemporaries given the numerous documents circulated about the Durbars, but the colonial spectacles also provided an appropriate atmosphere through which to teach morals and ethics. Bain is not the only Victorian pedagogue who believed that history provided an avenue for moral education. For example, Collar and Crook argue that “The moral teaching is always so much more effective if based upon the lives of real men than if given merely upon the vices and virtues in the abstract” (Collar and Crook 183). During the Coronation Durbar years, even for those who remained in Britain, the Durbars were real in terms of news coverage, travelers’ reports, and other printed materials. If morals ought to be taught through real events, then the Durbars provided one that many people had access to on a regular basis. Additionally, Alfred Fletcher considers “the most valuable results of the teaching of history at schools are the love of fatherland, an interest in humanity, and a delight in all those nobler feelings classed under the head of ethic or moral sentiments” (Fletcher 151). Like Collar, Crook, and Bain, Fletcher notes that history as a discipline encourages an understanding of politics, the homeland, and humanity and an introspection attending to moral values. Joseph Landon envisions a pertinent relationship between history and morals when he suggests that “ Properly managed [history] will also have a moral effect; it will widen the pupil’s view of the conditions of life, ‘correct the narrowness incident to personal experiences,’ and shew him that every citizen has a duty as a member of the general body” (393). Landon’s views are appropriate to the discussion of the Coronation Durbars.
The news articles, columns, and letters specifically outline Indian life in a way that both provides new information about a foreign land and shows an expectation of background knowledge. Additionally, Landon brings to the discussion the concern that students of history would be encouraged to learn how to be citizens. Both the widening of perspectives and citizenship are important in terms of the Coronation Durbars when colonial spectacles took place outside of the metropole yet were designed to create a sense of fealty among all members of the Empire. These stories and columns “widen the pupil’s view of the conditions of life” because they provide news of distant colonies, descriptions of people, and discussions of the general atmosphere.

To develop moral sentiments, the anti-Durbar texts consider the consequences of the Durbars in terms that appeal to ethics. For example, a December 20, 1902, *Bengal Times* article suggests that the money spent on the Durbar should be used, instead, to feed the Indian people. It asks whether

we [can] justify to our consciences that, in a population said to be living precariously from hand to mouth, and that by contrivances of which, outsiders can have no conception, it is right and reasonable to outlay enormous sums of money, that might suffice to keep, tolerably well supplied, thousands of families, impoverished through plague visitation, or from other causes, in simple comfort and free from daily and recurring pecuniary anxiety for several years? (4)

When the column raises questions, it looks to consider the consequences of the Durbar. Rather than use pathos, however, invoking the wailing survivors of the plague, this excerpt’s argument is more logically and morally than emotionally driven. The language and syntax, on the one hand, questions the consciences of Britons. This rhetorical action engages with the expectation that history lessons would help to impart strong moral and ethical values. The article specifically asks whether or not the expenditures are
conscionable. The most successful students of this lesson, the ideal imperial citizen, would know not only background information, the likelihood of the article’s accuracy, and the consequences, but they also must have a firm grasp of their own moral and ethical values—an outcome of a historical education, not a prerequisite to it—which would help them to understand the importance of searching one’s conscience and evaluating the gravity of the situation.

The article puts the responsibility of caring for the poor Indian into the citizenry’s hands and wonders how Britons and Anglo-Indians will “justify to our consciences” the consequences of the Durbar. By bringing “our consciences” into the article, the text addresses an idealized audience who must reflect on the consequences of the Durbars. The article implies that by visiting India for the Durbar and participating in the festivities, Britons and other visitors hurt the Indians. Each individual visitor allows money to be spent on superfluous activities when the money could be spent on “thousands of families,” providing them with food, shelter, and protection from the plague. By questioning the Britons’ consciences and placing responsibility with them, the column shows that everyone has a responsibility to care for the imperial subject. To show responsibility to the empire and to those who Britain rules, one must ensure life. The complexity or nuances of the imperial citizen grow out of these articles that question the legitimacy of the Coronation Durbars. For some texts, the protection of British control is paramount, yet these articles written in the colony suggest that the protection of the lives within India are also important.

Like the December 20, 1902, Bengal Times piece, another untitled Bengal Times article published on January 7, 1903, brings attention to the difficulty that Indians have
feeding themselves and their families. It also questions the imperial subject’s duty to thank God for what has been provided. This appeal to God was also an appeal to moral and ethical values for some pedagogues. For instance, David Stow connects history and geography lessons, morality, and religion, noting that these lessons help students learn “the wisdom of God in arranging that for the exercise of the social interchange and the friendly feelings of mankind, no one country, or part of a country, can, or does produce all that is required for society at large” (302). The Bengal Times article too sees a connection between religion, God, and providing goods, services, and money for others. It condemns Lord Curzon for holding a “huge pageant” with “irrepressible demonstrations of loyalty offered to an earthly king,” and it situates the criticism in religious rhetoric by referring both to pageantry and an “earthly king.” Specifically, the designation of King Edward as “earthly,” contrasts with the unnamed “heavenly king.” Though the document criticizes the colonial government by showing “irrepressible” loyalty to King Edward, the more serious complaint is the government’s treatment of God and Indians, specifically the poor. It explains that amidst all of the Durbar celebrations not a prayer, publicly uttered, amongst that dense throng of man-worshipers, has ascended to heaven that has given us all we possess; nor have God’s poor been fed. Our countrymen have regaled themselves sumptuously, many, as our Viceroy’s guests, but there has not been a thought expended upon those unfortunates who scarce know what a square meal is like. These are duties that no rightminded man could forget. (January 7, Bengal Times 4)

If the religious undertones connected to the “earthly king” moniker provided to King Edward are unclear, the sentences following that proclamation provide a more secure sense that those responsible for the Durbar are religiously irresponsible. The moral values associated with this lesson are two-fold. On the one hand, Durbar participants and
organizers do not publically thank God and the article condemns them of idolatry by calling them “man-worshippers.” For Christians, the article implies, this action is unacceptable. On the other hand, the criticism is directly associated with more earthly ethical considerations such as feeding the poor. The end of this excerpt concludes that thanking God and providing for the poor are “duties” of a “rightminded man.” To be rightminded, or principled, attends specifically to the text’s urging that citizens consider their moral obligation to both God and their fellow imperial subjects.

A December 24, 1902, letter to the editor, in the *Bengal Times* asks a similar question about the appropriateness of giving thanks to God. The letter writer asks whether or not it

Would it not be better and more pleasing to Him who gives us all things, that we need, and much that we do not need, if we were to scrape together all our spare rupees, and bestow them upon some charitable institution [……] There cannot be a question that very many lakhs of rupees will be spent, aye wasted, never to make any return. Why not, then, dedicate at least, some proportion of it to an object that will live? (n.p.)

Though early twentieth-century British culture was obviously not entirely Christian or even religious, religion played a significant role in everyday life. Like the January 7 *Bengal Times* article, this letter also chastises the Durbar participants for their lack of recognition to God. The capitalization of the word “Him,” in addition to the reference that He “gives us all things, that we need, and much that we do not need,” follows some Christian understandings of God and his interaction in human’s lives. Moreover, both this letter to the editor and the January 7, 1902, *Bengal Times* article emphasize life. On the one hand, the January 7 column suggests that the money spent on the Durbar would best be spent on feeding the poor—who, one may infer, without food would die. The December 24 letter, on the other hand, suggests that the money ought to be given to a
charity, something “that will live.” This phrase, “that will live” when associated with the charitable organization suggests that a charity would be able to continue its work and do more good—for God and the community—than the Durbars.

Whether the texts criticize or use the “style diplomatic,” use fear to motivate and mobilize, or call on the moral and ethical (both religious and secular) beliefs, the articles, columns, and letters in English-language newspapers suggest that both the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Coronation Durbars are detrimental to the health and strength of the Empire and the people who live in it. Moreover, the lack of specific details about the plague, political unrest, and famine implied that the ideal citizen is expected to have a good sense of the politics, economy, and health of the subcontinent. These texts take up the genre of the history lesson by showing that critical reasoning, attention to detail, and a concern for moral and ethical values are an integral part of imperial citizenship. The ideal citizen is not one who blindly follows the call of the imperial government, but rather is one who questions authority, considers consequences, and maintains ethics.
Chapter Four: Writing from the Empire: Indian Men, the Indian Subject, and Protecting the Colonial Government

While the majority of texts produced in the wake of the Coronation Durbars were written by Anglo-Indians and Britons, Indian authors also produced work in English in the form of poems, addresses, tributes, diaries, and newspaper articles. This chapter takes up the Indians’ English-language publications about the Durbars, A.S. Mudaliar’s *A Durbar in a Dream: A Romance of a World to be Seen* (1903), Gureeb Admi’s December 27, 1902 letter to the editor, Nand Lal’s November 1, 1911 letter to the editor, and P. Seshadri’s edited collection *Delhi Durbar Addresses* (1912) to investigate the ways in which English-language Indian texts took up the genre of the history lesson. Seshadri’s *Addresses* includes a preface, introduction, and four essays delivered at the Pachaiyappa High School Literary Society before King George V’s 1911-1912 Coronation Durbar; Mudaliar’s *A Durbar in a Dream* attends to the author’s desire for an invitation to King Edward VII’s 1902-1903 Coronation Durbar, his lack of invitation and political status, and the importance of the Durbar he claims to have experienced in his own dreams. The texts follow conventional British educational methods: providing and advocating for the development of background information, and encouraging readers to develop their historical imaginations and to hone their ability to understand and recognize historical causes and effects. The Indian texts do not delineate between different “levels” of the lesson as they pair background lessons with reasoning lessons. In other words, they blend the different types of lessons and the genres available. The decreased time-line for the dissemination of Durbar materials—with most Durbar texts published in the weeks and months surrounding the Durbar events, and the far fewer English-language texts by
Indians than by Anglo-Indians and Britons may help explain why these colonial documents combine lessons while the British literature does not. In other words, far more English-language Durbar texts were written by Anglo-Indians and Britons than by Indians. Thus, if the lessons perpetuated or encouraged by the Indian texts were to be understood and applied to create a critically-thinking, active citizen who was loyal, brave, and patriotic, then English-language Indian texts needed to include a range of educational techniques ranging background knowledge to asking that the ideal citizen judge the recommendations of the colonial government. Additionally, the essays in the *Delhi Durbar Addresses* and Mudaliar’s *A Durbar in a Dream* excerpt British history and literature at length with little context. This generic blending and decontextualization of British history and literature implies not only a different audience than those texts written by the Britons and Anglo-Indians, but also an attention to British history and literature not shown in British texts, for texts written by Britons rarely, if ever, referred specifically to British history and almost never to literature.

Not surprisingly, given that the texts are in English, the political ideologies of both the essays in *Addresses* and *Durbar in a Dream* demonstrate support for and loyalty to the Raj, and like many of the texts discussed elsewhere in the dissertation, citizenship is encouraged. The inclusion of citizenship as a goal of these texts reinforces the typified social function of the history lesson. The collections buttress British educational attributes, including the call to active participation in the colony by citizens, with an attention to Indian culture and religion, specifically the ways in which Hinduism supported monarchical loyalty and strong rulers. By the turn of the twentieth-century, many Indian men (and some women) had been educated in an English system whether
they had traveled to Britain to obtain legal and medical degrees or attended missionary and secular schools in India itself. Gauri Viswanathan’s definition of the colonial “curriculum” in India may be useful to understand how English-educated Indians approached informative texts. She identifies the curriculum of English literature teachers during the nineteenth century as one which is “not in the perennialist sense of an objective, essentialized entity but rather as discourse, activity, process, as one of the mechanisms through which knowledge is socially distributed and culturally validated.” Moreover, this “curriculum,” especially literature, was used to instill Enlightenment values such as “the shaping of character or the development of the aesthetic sense or the disciplines of ethical thinking,” many of the same values that history education also sought to inculcate in students (Viswanathan 3). Though Viswanathan discusses English literature instead of English history, the ideal student would learn from both disciplines ethics and morality. The “curriculum” which the English-language Indian texts use is one in which “discourse, activity, process” delineates or creates the idealized Indian citizenry. In short, whether the texts were intended for British or Indian audiences, they take up the genre of the British history lesson. Taking up the history lesson while at the same time providing different points-of-view, these texts, like those written by British and Anglo-Indian writers, show that some native texts both buoyed colonial support among the Indian population and provided supplementary background knowledge about colonial history and the Durbars.

The collection of English-language Indian texts sought to create a citizenry that was knowledgeable about both Indian and British history, understood the relationship between India and Britain, and most importantly developed an attitude of loyal
citizenship toward the British colonial government while at the same time striving to improve India as Indians. Though these lectures and essays illustrate honor and respect for the colonial government, they seek to empower the Indian citizen by demonstrating how Indians affect imperial governance. According to these collections, the ideal citizen is not only knowledgeable about the Empire and loyal to the king, but she also has a firm grounding in Indian history and the accomplishments of former Indian rulers.\footnote{In \textit{The Citizen of India} (1897) William Lee-Warner explains that by the end of the nineteenth century fewer than 4.5 million Indian children, less than 13 percent, attended school. Lee-Warner argues, however, that this failure to attend a sanctioned school does not mean that the Indian population is uneducated. He notes that it was the responsibility of the British government to ensure that the “whole administration in every department should be an object-lesson to its citizens. If a government is to draw out (for education means to draw out) the healthy feelings of the people into sympathy with their neighbours and sympathy with their rulers, it must give them proofs of its sympathy with its citizens” (Lee-Warner 163-164). Lee-Warner suggests that hospitals, railroads, newspapers, the justice system, post-offices, and famine relief are all practical ways that Indians learn about their rights as British citizens. Though Lee-Warner speaks from the position of an Anglo-Indian and not an Indian, his schoolbook was used throughout India for Indian children.}

\textbf{Blending Genres: The Generic Markers of the “Note of Lesson” and Prefatory Material}

The note of lesson enables teachers to organize their thoughts, outline the purpose of the lecture or activity, and connect the material to previously taught or known information. Similarly, the first sentences of the letters to the editor and the Introduction and Preface of both \textit{Addresses} and \textit{Dream} clearly outline the purpose of the texts: these texts will provide a history or explanation about the Coronation Durbars and India. For instance, in the Introduction to \textit{Addresses} Aiyer explains that the essays will describe “the true significance of the Durbar” (vii). \textit{Addresses}, according to Aiyer, like the history lessons Victorian scholars found appropriate, will try to elucidate “A rational pride in past achievements” which “is a valuable foundation of faith in the future progress of the
country and is a potent stimulus to efforts for the uplifting of the nation” (Aiyer vii). *A Durbar in a Dream’s* prefatory materials also describe purpose of the lesson. P. Sankaranarayana, *Dream’s* preface writer, explains that he hopes Mudaliar’s audiences will “throw themselves into the spirit of your [Mudaliar’s] conception of Self,” the loyal Indian subject. Both Aiyer’s and Sankaranarayana’s prefaces create ideal citizens who honor Britain’s work and are loyal to their leaders.

The purpose of Rao’s lesson, though described less explicitly than the purpose of Aiyer’s *Introduction*, may be implied by the title “Delhi and its Durbars” and the essay’s organization. For instance, “Delhi and its Durbars” begins by challenging a Western historian’s claim that “Europeans are so accustomed to associate the name of Delhi with sovereignty of India that they do not easily realize the fact that Delhi is among the most modern of the great Indian cities” and then proceeds to describe the storied past of Delhi and the Coronation spectacles that have taken place there (1). Similarly, though the letters to the editor contain no specific title, their first sentences describe the letters’ purposes. Nand Lal’s letter begins “Sir,—To well-wishers of the country in general and to temperance people in particular it must be a source of deep and abiding gratification to learn that at the Badshahi Mela (People’s Fete) at Delhi, where people of all creeds, classes and communities will assemble in their thousands and hundreds of thousands, there will not be a single liquor shop nor will there be any nautches by dancing girls,” (8) and Admi’s begins “Sir—I also am of opinion that whilst so many recipients figure upon our famine relief lists, it is inconsistent, to say the least, for Government to waste lakhs of rupees upon decorations… to glorify an event that was sufficiently glorified at home in Westminster Abbey ” (n.p.). These introductory sentences provide clear topic sentences
and guides to the lesson: Rao’s essay will address “Delhi and the Durbars,” Nand’s letter attends to temperance during King George and Queen Mary’s Durbar celebrations, and that of Admi’s discusses the expense of Lord Curzon’s celebration, concerns similar to those columns, letters, and editorials that I examine in Chapter Three. Moreover, the introductions to the letters to the editor begin shaping the imperial citizen at the outset: Lal’s “well-wishers and temperance people” and those who feel it is “inconsistent” to spend lakhs of rupees on the Coronation Durbar began to shape an ethical citizenry who is concerned with others’ health and well-being. Whether it is through a specific statement like Aiyer’s claim that essays will show appreciation of and Indian participation in the progress of the subcontinent, Rao’s title and the implications of his own essay, or Sankaranarayana’s praise of Mudaliar about the “Rule of Law” explained in Dream the Introduction and the essays in Addresses and the preface to A Durbar in a Dream construct clear purposes. These purposes can also be understood as a note of lesson or lesson plan similar to those that would have accompanied traditional history lessons.

Because students do not normally have access to teacher’s notes of lesson in the classroom, for the note of lesson is intended to be an organizational tool for the instructor, the appearance of the genre of the note of lesson in non-textbooks might seem uncommon. As popular literature, these texts address a diverse audience and try to shape an ideal citizenry. To accommodate this diversity, the texts state their purposes at the beginning of the document. The notes of lessons or prefatory materials in English-language, Indian Durbar texts maintain the typified social function of the lesson plan: to guide the reader from simple to complex, from concrete to abstract, from familiar to
unfamiliar ideas while appearing neither alienating nor providing unnecessary or confusing information.

How do we understand the taking up of the genre of notes of lesson into popular literature? The genres of the introduction and preface augment the note of lesson. They do not eschew organizational techniques nor do these Indian Durbar texts necessarily teach only one, self-apparent lesson that needs no prior explanation. Victorian educational texts do not discuss the purpose or importance of introductions and prefaces. The manuals’ detailed discussions on creating notes of lesson and history textbooks introductions and prefaces, emphasize the importance of these introductory genres to history education. Introductions and prefaces need not be long or extensive; for instance, the preface to William Lee-Warner’s *The Citizen of India* (1897), two pages; Harmon Niver’s *A School History of England* (1904) is only one page; T.F. Tout’s preface to his *History of England*, two; E. Wyatt-Davies *A History of England for Catholic Schools* (1903), three; and C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling’s *A History of England* (1911) a mere sentence. Rather, their contents and organizational demonstrate the purposes they serve to construct the lesson itself: a preface or introduction explains the purpose of the text and its contents. The introduction to a history book acts in a rhetorically similar way to the introduction or introductory lecture that was described in a note of lesson. In history books, especially British textbooks, the preface or introduction also addresses the

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28 Numerous teacher’s manuals and history textbooks used during this period were published in India. For instance, A.H. Garlick’s *A New Manual of Method* was published in Bombay and Calcutta, David Salmon’s *The Art of Teaching* in Bombay. History textbooks like Lucy Dale’s *Landmarks of British History* (1910), was published in Bombay and Calcutta, H.O. Arnold-Forster’s *The Citizen Reader*, though not published in India was published in Melbourne, London, and Paris, and T.F. Tout’s *History of England* in Bombay. In other words, history books originally published in Britain were also exported and published in India.
importance of the British Empire to the development of a student’s historical knowledge.

For instance, Lee-Warner’s preface states that

It is the main purpose of the author of this little volume to place before Indian school-boys a few simple facts about the land in which they live; but it is believed that older citizens of the British Empire may find in its pages some information about India which will be of interest to them. Be that as it may, the author at least ventures to hope that his work may lead some of the rising generation in India to value their heritage of British citizenship” (vii)

Fletcher and Kipling’s short preface sufficiently suggests the contents of the longer, more explanatory introductions: “This book is written for all boys and girls who are interested in the story of Great Britain and her Empire” (n.p.). Lee-Warner’s title and its preface make clear that it is specifically for Indian students, but it also provides information for all British citizens. History textbooks use their prefaces, as Fletcher and Kipling suggest, to clearly state the book’s “story” and its lessons. Among many history texts in India and Britain, the story remained quite similar—“the story of Great Britain and her Empire.”

Addresses, Dream, and the letters to the editor’s stated purposes demonstrate the similarities between the Durbar texts and history lessons. The preface of Addresses explains that the essays “were intended to place before the students some of the responsibilities of citizenship in India, and now have been published for a wider fulfillment of the purpose” (n.p.). It presents itself as both a schoolbook for students as well as a widely-distributed text for non-students who are also interested in the Durbars and the “responsibilities of citizenship in India,” a task made easier by the patronage of “Mr. C. Srinivasachari of Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. [who] has rendered possible the free distribution of a large number of copies of the book” (n.p.). The wide-distribution of the collected Addresses also allows for a fair comparison with other
Durbar texts which were available either in publicly printed newspapers and magazines or as histories and travelogues published by well-known authors, government officials, and printing houses. This distribution, in other words, moved Addresses from the realm of schoolbook, like the history textbooks which guide my assessment of the genre of the history lesson, into the generic area of the “supplemental history lesson” facilitated by Durbar texts. Less explicitly, P. Sankaranarayana writes in the preface to A Durbar in a Dream that “Acquainted as I am with the turn and gravity of your thought, I fancy I rightly appreciate the force and import of your words and trust your readers would throw themselves into the spirit of your conception of Self and see as you see” (Mudaliar 8). Though Sankaranarayana does not necessarily refer to Dream as a “lesson” or a textbook, Sankaranarayana envisions readers or imperial citizens who will “throw themselves” into Mudaliar’s writing. The imperial citizen, for Sankaranarayana, will attend to A Durbar in a Dream and take away the message of the “British Rule of Law,” including what is perceived as the necessity of loyalty and the Indian peace that that loyalty brings with it.

The development of the texts’ purposes, the relationship between India, Britain, and the Empire as a whole, and the role that the Durbars played in this relationship were all meted out through the Introductions and the Prefaces. It is not unusual for an introduction or a preface to contain the purpose of the text or background information that might inform the body of the work itself. For example, Amardeep Singh, in “The Lifting and the Lifted: Prefaces to Colonial Modernist Texts” analyzes Forster’s preface to Anand’s The Untouchable, Yeats’s preface to Tagore’s Gitanjali, and André Breton’s preface to Aimé Césaire’s Notebook of a Return to My Native Land. Singh explains that while these European modernists commented on distinctly non-European texts, the
prefaces introduce Western readers to the colonial modernist movement. The prefaces, Singh argues, “facilitate the rethinking of modernism, from colonial internationalism to a kind of postcolonial globalism” (2). Both Mudaliar’s *A Durbar in a Dream* and Sheshadri’s *Delhi Durbar Addresses* utilize prefaces and/or introductions to state the purpose of the text, to remind readers of the relationship between Britain and India, and to introduce readers to new information and different ways of thinking about that British-Indian relationship, specifically in terms of colonial citizenship. In these Indian texts, the relationship becomes more than a colonized-colonizer relationship. When Aiyer’s Introduction uses the phrase “responsibilities of citizenship in India” and directs it to a specifically Indian audience, it asks Indians to consider themselves *citizens* and not *subjects* of India. Though the Introduction advocates for a continued relationship with Britain, this relationship becomes one of an interconnected, globalized world rather than one of colonial or imperial domination. The ideal imperial citizen understands the colonial relationship, but works to change it within a framework that still guarantees peace in the subcontinent.

Aiyer’s discussion of the essays that follow and the purported lessons focuses on the importance of nation-building in India. He explains that “A rational pride in past achievements is a valuable foundation of faith in the future progress of the country and is a potent stimulus to efforts for the uplifting of the nation” (Aiyer vii). For Aiyer, an understanding of and “pride in” the history of India would help the Indians develop their nation. Likewise, Sankaranarayana in *Dream* suggests that readers might gain “the fact of the greatest approximation the British Rule in India makes to the Rule of Law” (Mudaliar 8). For Mudaliar, the “Rule of Law,” also the “British Rule in India,” allows
Indians to “move toward one goal—to a peace that passeth all the ecstasies of sense.”

The ideal citizen is instructed to “Be loyal and happiness will attend you. If disloyal, misery will be yours” (Mudaliar 17). *Dream* equates happiness with fairness on the part of leaders and insists that those citizens who display loyalty will be happy. According to both Aiyer’s Introduction and *Dream*, citizens have a responsibility to develop the proper educational background to sufficiently respect India’s achievements, for the “pride” or respect that readers were expected to develop should be “rational.” The connotations of “rational” match the educative designs of the Victorian history lesson: to impart historical knowledge to students so that they could perform their civic duties within the nation and the empire.

Both texts’ prefaces and introductions not only emphasize the “story” of the British Empire in India by outlining the history of the Durbars, but they also ask citizens to seek out (and appreciate) the “Rule of Law” which the British Raj enforces through the texts’ rational approach to this information. With clear introductions/prefaces, the texts foreground the lesson: to learn about Delhi, its Durbars, and the British-Indian relationship. In other words, *Addresses* and its essays, *Dream*, and the letters to the editor narrate “the story of Great Britain and her Empire” in a most specific setting and circumstance, the Coronation Durbars. The prefatory material that lays out the intentions of each text serves as an introductory or written note of lesson. The readers do not have access to the authors, as students may talk to teachers, thus the texts provide a more formal recitation of the documents’ purpose and the outline to emphasize the imperial citizenship lesson.
Teaching the Masses: Victorian Background Knowledge and History in the Durbar Texts

Though the introductions and prefaces annotate what the texts discuss, they are short and also acknowledge friends and associates. The bulk of the “lesson” is reserved for the four essays in Addresses and the body of Mudaliar’s Dream. The texts practice a familiar logical and topical development, in addition to the prefatory materials, that categorize them as history lessons: the stated goals (“to place before students some of the responsibilities of citizenship in India,” for instance) alongside the instruction to learn background knowledge and develop the reader’s historical imagination give the texts the appropriate rhetorical exigence with which they reflect similar typified social actions in comparison with history textbooks and the other popular letters discussed in the dissertation.

The development of background knowledge is one of the most important parts of historical education. Victorian educationalists argued that for students to understand the causes and effects of history, they should first understand how, where, and when the events occurred; after the students learned basic facts of events, they could then draw generalizations about history. This background knowledge should be taught first, according to the educationalists, before the students approach a higher-level understanding of history and the events, like the Durbars, that occur around them. Though textbooks necessarily address events of the past, for the publication and writing schedule of the textbooks do not allow for the immediate inclusion of recent events like King Edward’s and King George’s Durbars, the Durbar texts provide nearly simultaneous
discussions of the history that the Durbars created. In some respects, the immediacy of this coverage may not be useful, as Seshadri explains in “The East and the West,” “The significance of the great event which has brought us together this evening cannot be easily realised by us in all its widest aspects as we happen to be its contemporaries—too near in point of time to view it through the perspective of History” (33). For Seshadri, distance from historical events enabled the community to recognize the events’ significance because the effects are better realized. Even though Seshadri claims that the Durbar’s historical importance cannot be understood, the essay provides ample information to address historical significance in the days, weeks, even years, after the Durbar. Moreover, Seshadri’s designation of the Durbar as significant helped establish the event as historical and not just spectacular, and thus, worthy of investigation according to the Victorian educationalists. Additionally, by classifying the Durbar as an historical event, these texts also allow for the Durbar to be used as a mechanism for teaching loyalty, patriotism, and citizenship, important aspects of the history lesson that help to define history lessons’ generic markers, exigence, and social action.

Textbooks could, and did, include discussions of the colonization of India and Queen Victoria’s Imperial Assemblage, and this information may also have served as background knowledge concerning King Edward’s and King George’s Durbars. The vast number of news accounts published both in India and Britain similarly provided background information. For instance, before the 1911-1912 Durbar, the Bombay Gazette included a series of articles entitled “India and the Durbar” which acted like Rao’s essay in Delhi Durbar Addresses in that “India and the Durbar” provided explanations of past Hindu and Muslim Durbars and the Imperial Assemblage. This series of articles, like Rao’s “Delhi and the Durbar,” explains the significance of contemporary events. These explanations provide basic information, background knowledge, about Delhi and the Durbars. This information is particularly important for citizens unfamiliar with Indian history, Delhi, and the 1877 Imperial Assemblage. Moreover, background knowledge, in the common sense, Victorian way (basic facts, statistics, and names of people and places), makes clearer those texts that do not include it—who use background knowledge in the rhetorical sense as a tacit, expected fact that the audience is expected to know. When texts provide Victorian background knowledge, they create a well-rounded citizen.

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To properly use the background knowledge that the Durbar texts put forth, texts encouraged the development of an historical imagination to envision the Durbars, as Mudaliar does in *Durbar in a Dream*. Thus, one consideration in applying genre theory to determine whether the Indian, English-language texts are supplementary history lessons is to ask whether the texts provide background knowledge and foster historical imagination. Both Victorian background knowledge and an historical imagination prepare citizens to participate in the imperial society because they are better able to understand the causes and effects of political and social actions. The development of historical imagination, alongside that of reasoning and memory was an important component of the outcomes of Victorian historical and geographical education. A.H. Garlick, for instance, suggests that students use geography, a subject which necessarily accompanies history, “for intellectual training; observation, imagination, memory, and reasoning all being cultivated by its teaching (217). Similarly, Alfred Ewen Fletcher in *Sonnenschein’s Cylopaedia of Education* (1892) explains that in learning history students train “in especial the imagination and the higher sentiments” (151). For educationalists like Garlick and Fletcher, using history and geography to train the imagination allowed a greater understanding of historical situations and helped develop their problem solving and reasoning skills. When the Indian, English-language texts include background information and promote historical imagination, they also take up the genre of the history lesson.

Not only was imagination cultivated and considered necessary for a solid historical background, but it was also one of the first components of the history lesson.
Collar and Crook describe the different stages students attend while learning history and note that in the Preliminary Stage

we aim chiefly at exercising the imagination. The teaching in this stage consists chiefly of stories and descriptions the object of which is to exercise the imagination, working the memory as little as possible, but trying to induce the children to picture the circumstances under which the events described later on took place. (Collar and Crook 187, my emphasis)

The primary method of training the imagination and conveying background knowledge is through stories, and “to excite the imagination of his pupils” the history teacher “should be skilful as a word-painter, and should be prepared to explain in simple terms the meaning of terms used in history” (Collar and Crook 185). In history lessons, teachers and readings encourage background knowledge and imagination to develop, in many cases, simultaneously. The circumstances are explained in detail, through stories, and these “induce” the students to “picture the circumstances under which the events described later on took place.” In this phrase, teachers and history texts ask students to use both background knowledge about the events and their imaginations.

The Indian Durbar texts use historical imagination to foreground the evolution of the Indian citizen. For example, Mudaliar’s Durbar in a Dream asks readers to allow him to imagine a Durbar and at the same time encourages them to develop their own ideas of the dreamed Durbar by suggesting that “you and I lust after worldly vanities and sensual ecstasies” by desiring an invitation to King Edward’s Durbar (Mudaliar 10). Through the phrase “you and I,” Dream creates the fiction of an audience who wants the same thing that Mudaliar does, an invitation to King Edward’s Durbar. Moreover, just as Mudaliar develops into the dreaming man who understands the “British Rule of Law,” so too will this imagined audience. The emotional and intellectual development outlined in Dream
indicates the desired, for Mudaliar, development in the imperial citizen. More importantly, however, is that this imperial citizen is that, a citizen, and while Mudaliar pledges his loyalty to the Raj, the text also promotes the adaptation and evolution of Indian subjecthood to a citizenship where Indians possess increasing opportunity. Dream encourages the use of imagination without clearly stating that this imagining will be instructive. The historical curriculum, whether in a schoolroom or through this popular literature, is by and large an implicit education.

Dream specifically tells the implied or narrative audience, the soon-to-be loyal citizens, how they should imagine the Durbar. When Mudaliar begins his description of the dreamed Durbar, he explains that

The description you can expect from me cannot but be a mere outline—the scene was so rich and varied, so great and grand, that mere word-pictures would not adequately exhibit to you that wonderland of a Durbar. I shall content myself with giving you a mere skeleton leaving you to clothe it with flesh and throbbing pulse. (12)

Mudaliar asks the readers to use their historical imaginations to “clothe” the Durbar that he describes. Mudaliar’s description—or lack thereof—poses itself as a lesson which requires background information, in Janet Giltrow’s rhetorical sense. If Dream provides only an “outline” of the Durbar scene, the ideal citizens are expected to develop the outline through or with their own imaginations and prior knowledge. Similarly, in “Delhi and its Durbars,” the first essay in Addresses, C. Hayavadana Rao encourages the use and development of historical imagination when telling the story of the Pandava brothers’ development of ancient Delhi. Rao does not directly translate, as far as the text shows, from the Mahabharata, but instead paraphrases and summarizes the story of the Pandava Brothers. Because “Delhi and its Durbars” does not include all of the details about the
founding, what the city looked like, and the positioning of the city itself, the ideal citizen creates ancient Delhi for herself.

Both Mudaliar and Rao use storytelling, Victorian pedagogues’ primary method of imaginative development, to facilitate their lessons. This connection to imaginative development and the encouragement to use imagination to better picture the events, connects these Durbar texts to historical textbooks and historical educational methods. All three groups of texts utilize storytelling in a specific rhetorical way: to discuss history and the “story of Great Britain and her Empire” which emphasizes moral and citizenship requirements. Whether it was the dream of a Durbar where the perfect “Rule of Law” is compared to British governance in India, the development of the political Durbar and its relationship to historical Delhi, or the support of the temperance movement during the Durbar festivities as Nand Lal’s letter suggests, citizenship responsibilities and the connection between India and Britain are sustained and reinforced through storytelling as a way to simultaneously develop background knowledge and imagination.

The development of historical imagination comes early in both texts—on the second page of Mudaliar’s *Dream* and in the first essay of *Addresses*. The early situating of background knowledge and imaginative development is important, for as the pedagogues argue, it was in the preliminary stages of historical education and intellectual development that the imagination and imaginative skills were developed (Collar and Crook 187, Landon 398). Moreover, some educationalists argued that the interest of the student “is in the present, and the past is only interesting to him by its connection with the present, and as food for imagination and feeling” (Fletcher 151). In the development of the lesson, the historical imagination should be “fed” or developed first so that
connections to the present Durbar and its impact on citizenship requirements could be understood in relation to the past’s “connection with the present.”

To connect the past and present, Rao’s “Delhi and its Durbars” relates the development—both historical and mythological—of Delhi and the Coronation Durbars beginning with the Pandava Brothers and moving through King Edward’s 1902-03 Durbar: this discussion follows the conventions of relating background knowledge, developing the imagination, and connecting the past and present that official history lessons follow. Rao’s essay progresses chronologically, as many historical texts of the period did. It begins by addressing the problems associated with historiography and Delhi’s development, and it explains that when discussing the Mahabharata historians have difficulty distinguishing between fact and fiction. “Delhi and its Durbars” explains that

Doubts and difficulties, no doubt, bewilder the historical inquirer in India, and often require him to give up plausible inferences or tempting generalizations. But, it is a question, if the writer quoted from has not been too wary lest he should slip. He would seem to be so obsessed with the idea of interpolated or rather invented legends that by one stroke of his pen, he dismisses the whole story of the Mahabharata about the founding of Delhi, not far away from its present site, by the Pandava brothers, and with it their Coronation there. (1)

This recognition of the “Doubts and difficulties” of contemporary historians is a response to a “Modern historian of ancient India” who believed that “‘Vague legends…irradiate the lands along the bank of the Jumna near the village of Indrapat with the traditional glories of the pre-historic Indraprastha, and these stories may or may not have some substantial basis’” (Rao 1).

“Delhi and its Durbars” and the historian’s text approach Delhi’s (and consequently the Durbars’) histories differently. Each tries to distinguish the appropriate mechanism for
conveying the background or prior knowledge of the growth of Delhi and the history of the Coronation Durbar. On the one hand, the “Modern historian’s” explanation suggests ignoring the *Mahabharata* because of the possibility that it may be part myth. While, on the other hand, “Delhi and its Durbars” suggests that historians and interested persons ought not to be scared to read and use the *Mahabharata* but advises the audience to be critical of the text. By engaging with the historian, the essay indicates the alternative historical texts and methods available to learn about Indian history. The text creates an audience that is aware of different readings and historical methods in approaching ancient Indian and Hindu traditions.

“Delhi and its Durbars” recognizes that “interpolated or rather invented legends” may be a part of the *Mahabharata* but cautions that not all of the text is fictional or mythological, and that it may be useful to learn about “the founding of Delhi, not far away from its present site, by the Pandava brothers, and with it their Coronation there” from the stories in the Hindu text (Rao 1). For Rao, the *Mahabharata* provides appropriate background knowledge that may not be available in other places if the historian is “too wary lest he should slip” and ignore entirely the *Mahabharata*. Instead of disregarding in its entirety the *Mahabharata*, which the historian suggests “‘may or may not have some substantial basis,’” the essay expects the audience to analyze and interpret the *Mahabharata*. Unlike the historian who refers to the *Mahabharata* and the “‘Vague legends’” that “‘irradiate the lands along the bank of the Jumna near the village of Indrapat with the traditional glories of the pre-historic Indraprastha’” who possesses a willingness to disregard the stories because they may be “vague,” may be “legend,” or implicitly they are “literary” and not “historical,” “Delhi and its Durbars” looks to the
text as a history that must be interpreted for/by the readers seeking historical knowledge. In short, the first essay in the *Delhi Durbar Addresses* treats the *Mahabharata* as a text which must undergo careful criticism and analysis; the ideal imperial citizen will read the *Mahabharata* critically. This critical thinking not only follows the function of British history lessons but also the importance of education as understood by Indians. Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy explains the importance of “mental training” and critical thinking noting that Indian “methods are superior in training the memory and producing that pointedness and concentration of mind which are associated with *Yoga*. Memory is of great importance to us….Let us not forget this in adapting our ancient to modern needs (of which an understanding of science and capacity for critical reasoning are chief)” (qtd. in Alston 64-65). For Coomaraswamy, critical reasoning and memory training, two important aspects of the Victorian history lesson, are tantamount to success in Indian education as well.

Though the initial discussion of the reliability of the *Mahabharata* may seem out of place, it introduces the background information contained in “Delhi and its Durbars” and at the same time shows that citizens should be self-aware of the historical texts. Without the discussion of a critical interpretation, the essay would not develop an adequate ethos from which to disseminate the more important background information: how Delhi was formed and the history of the Coronation Durbar. According to Rao, the *Mahabharata* discusses both topics when it describes the Pandava brothers’ founding of Delhi and their Coronation. After the essay outlines the lesson’s purpose, suggested in the title “Delhi and its Durbars,” it begins to interpret or read the *Mahabharata* with “true critical spirit” explaining the story of the Pandava brothers for readers who do not know
it. This re-telling of the Pandava story constructs a narrative audience who does not read any Indian languages and finds the *Mahabharata* inaccessible. It also implies that the story of Delhi is not necessarily common knowledge among the intended audience. The first pages of Rao’s essay include an outline of the history of Delhi (background knowledge) and a call to critically assess the historical/mythological *Mahabharata*. In other words, Rao’s text explains the lesson plan and then implements it by critically interpreting the *Mahabharata*. The ideal citizen or narrative audience not only knows, or actively searches out, Indian history but is also aware of the literary and historical value of Indian texts. The lesson expects (or creates) an audience that critically attends to the text to parse fact from fiction, reality from myth.

The essay teaches Delhi’s history; it suggests that Delhi remains the most important city in India both historically and contemporaneously. Additionally, because these addresses were given before the Delhi Durbar, the writer had no knowledge that King George would announce that the colonial government would move to Delhi, further indicating the importance of Delhi as the historical capital of India. Because Delhi was (and would become) an important locus of government control in the subcontinent, the story of its founding also becomes a story of Indian political power. In its explanation of Delhi’s historical development, “Delhi and its Durbars” fulfills one necessary part of the background knowledge needed to understand the history of Delhi and its Durbars. By discussing the historical importance of Delhi and the Durbars held there, the essay highlights Aiyer’s “true significance of the Durbar,” a specific educative purpose of the four addresses.
Though the background knowledge provided in “Dehli and its Durbars” acknowledges the Hindu origins of the city and the Durbar process, “Delhi and its Durbars” and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri’s “Loyalty to the British Raj and Why Students should cherish that Feeling” provide background knowledge that describes the British-sponsored Durbars. These essays address British Durbars and the Raj, highlighting Indian-British loyalty to one another. When the two essays describe British rule and British Durbars, they provide basic information, Victorian background knowledge, for the most pressing event at that time: King George’s Durbar. The background knowledge prepares the citizen to understand the political ramifications of the Durbar and participate in the imperial project. Specific background knowledge about British rule illustrates historical and political connections between the Durbars of the Hindu and Muslim rulers and the British Durbars. Both Rao’s and Sastri’s essays provide background knowledge about the Raj, and though they do so in different ways, their narratives serve similar purposes. “Delhi and its Durbars” addresses the 1877 Imperial Assemblage and King Edward’s 1902-03 Coronation Durbar. To show the importance of these two events the essay replicates the speeches given at the two events. Rao provides little context for, and even less explanation of, the excerpted texts. The excerpts, however, emphasize the importance of fairness to the Indian people and the support that the Britons provide for India. For instance, Queen Victoria’s proclamation read during the 1877 Assemblage addresses the British-Indian relationship:

We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection Ourselves and Our subjects; that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under Our rule the greatest principles of liberty, equity, and justice are secured to them, and that to promote their happiness to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare, are the ever present aims and objects of Our Empire. (Rao 14)
Similarly, an excerpt from Lord Curzon’s speech reaffirms the relationship between India and Britain, suggesting, much as Queen Victoria’s message does, that Britain aimed to “promote their happiness to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare,” and that India is more loyal than ever to Britain because loyalty “has been kindled anew in her by the West” by gaining the trust of the Indian people (Rao 15). Likewise, Sastri’s essay addresses the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer arguing that “if we confine our survey to the recent history of India and judge England solely by her doings here, the verdict would clearly and unequivocally be in favour of her justice and benevolence.” Sastri supports this claim by discussing the importance of the Charter Act of 1813, the 1833 renewal of the Charter, and 1835 movement to declare the Indian free press (21).

Though Rao’s essay is the primary vehicle of background information in the Addresses collection, other authors like Sastri also provide appropriate information for their topics, even when the topics return to the overarching “true significance” of the Durbars and the “responsibilities of citizenship in India.” When the texts provide background information and relate it to the importance of the upcoming Durbars, they emulate the design of not only history lessons but also history textbooks provided to students. The political history that “Delhi and its Durbars” and “Loyalty to the British Raj and Why Students should cherish that Feeling” provide, which includes the succession of rulers from Vajra to Humayun and Sher Shah to information about and speeches from the 1877 Imperial Assemblage and Lord Curzon’s 1903 Durbar and discussions of landmark legislation in India, serves as starting point for Delhi’s and India’s history. Not surprisingly, the form and purpose the text emulates the types of
lessons in English history books, many of which were published not only in London but also in Bombay and Calcutta. For instance, in the *History of England* (1894), T.F. Tout begins his discussion of British India with a similar, though less exhaustive, discussion of the different Hindu and Muslim leaders, placing particular emphasis on the Mogul Empire (1526-1707) and the Maráthás Empire (1674-1761) (262). Not only were these two of the most powerful empires in India, with much of Delhi’s architecture, even into the twentieth century, credited to Shah Jehan of the Mogul dynasty, but they were also the empires which British colonizers most closely associated themselves. Where Rao’s attention to Delhi’s history—dating back to the founding of Delhi rather than the beginnings of a more consolidated imperial rule by Indians themselves—helps distinguish Indian imperial rule from British imperial rule, Sastri’s essay provides a foundation for British interest in India.

Both essays serve several different levels of expertise: from imperial citizens who know nothing about the Durbars and Delhi’s history to those who may have learned about the Mogul Empire and its prominence, and for those who are unaware of the British history in India to those who may be less familiar with specific laws. The essays construct an audience who desires information about Indian history and looks to connect that history with contemporary political events. The ideal imperial citizen not only knows about and understands contemporary political events, but she can also discuss those events in relation to India’s long history of Hindu and Muslim rulers.
Citizenship Lessons: Teaching Loyalty and Patriotism through Durbar Texts

Just as British historians and educators encouraged students to embrace pride in their citizenship, they also asked students to recognize that “Every Englishman is a citizen in several different ways. He is a citizen of the town of the country district to which he belongs; he is a citizen of England...he is a citizen of the United Kingdom, and he is also a citizen of the great British Empire;” so too did the Indian texts encourage Indians to think of themselves as citizens of the Empire (Browning 10-11). The use of the term “citizen” is important for both Indian and British readers and their respective place in the empire. For example, Heathorn found that British textbooks, especially those designed for board schools that served working class children, often used the word “citizen.” He explains

That the term ‘citizen’ and not ‘subject’ was used in these texts, intended as they were for the mass of the population, is significant alone....the authors of English elementary school readers were not promoting a strictly political understanding of the concept [of citizen]—especially given the awkwardness of the still considerable franchise limitations. (Heathorn 413)

As Heathorn notes the texts “were for the mass of the population,” whether working-class children or women, and yet they adopted phrasing which encouraged readers to embrace greater ownership in Britain despite the “considerable franchise limitations.” This “considerable franchise limitation” applied equally to Indian readers and their position as colonial subjects and not just subjects of the Crown, yet the Indian texts similarly utilize the rhetoric of “citizenship.” William Lee-Warner, in The Citizen of India, not only directs his text specifically to “Indian school-boys,” but he also expects them “to value their heritage of British citizenship” (vii). Both British pedagogues in India (Lee-Warner served as a University of Bombay fellow, the director of Public Instruction in Berar and
Bombay, and a member of the education commission in India) and Indians, as I will show, constructed Indian students and the population as “citizens” of the Empire. Through stories and background knowledge, the Indian Durbar texts encourage their readers to fully participate in the colony to the extent that they were able and take responsibility for their actions and India’s development.

Durbar texts promoted imperial citizenship. According to Heathorn, “the understanding of citizenship actually promoted was that of an awareness of the rights and the responsibilities due to other fellow citizens within a defined community: an elucidation which marked citizenship, like nationality, as a form of social identity” (413). Citizenship along with loyalty to one’s nation (or empire) and nationalism were encouraged through the history lesson. The Durbar texts constructed imperial citizens who developed further knowledge by building on their prior knowledge from lower-level lessons. As these citizens gained more information, the texts expected that they could position themselves—form their “social identity”—in appropriate spaces within the empire. By utilizing lessons of nationality and loyalty, especially loyalty to the British colonizers, these Indian authors offered readers mechanisms to position themselves within the Empire in a way that would empower Indians or less influential Britons.

The desirability of this call to action, however, is certainly contested. For instance, in *Education and Citizenship in India* (1910) Leonard Alston argues that the “Indian University man has studied English constitutional history and practice, and is eager (over-eager, most of us think him) to apply what he has learned.” He quotes a 1907 *Edinburgh Review* article, stating that “‘A little knowledge is a dangerous thing,’ and the little they [Indians] have is enough to give them inflated ideas of their own value. Thus
‘Young India’ starts in life with a grievance—Why did the Government educate him on Western lines if the end of it was to be a full brain and an empty stomach?’ (Alston 97). Both Alston’s own statement about education and the Edinburgh Review’s complaint show that, for some Britons at least, Indians not only learned about their rights and responsibilities as citizens, but that they were also willing to carry those rights and responsibilities out in a way that Britons found inappropriate. Indians’ “citizenship rights” meant something different between the two groups. When the Indians used the word “citizenship” and called for more rights and responsibilities for themselves, they challenged the Britons’ conceptions of what it meant to be an imperial citizen—even when using similar background information, education, language, and rhetorical appeals.

The ideal imperial citizen for Indians and the ideal imperial citizen for Britons concerned with India may seem similar in description but each group understood their roles, their “own value” as Alston calls it, differently. For instance, in addition to the Addresses collection and Dream, Lal’s and Admi’s letters to the editor create an Indian citizen who acts responsibly. Lal’s letter’s “Temperance and the Durbar,” seeks to create concern for, and interest in, the “social and moral regeneration of the country” by praising the work of the temperance movement and noting that the “well-wishers of the country” will support the lack of liquor shops and nautches by dancing girls during the Durbar festivities. Lal not only praises the temperance work, but then asks for donations to build a “theatre for the performance of temperance dramas and other temperance purposes” (Lal 8). For Lal and the temperance society, King George’s Durbar presents an ideal situation to emphasize the work of the temperance movement, the moral aspects an important component of citizenship and history, and the responsibility of the citizen to
develop these causes. Lal creates a citizen who not only honors King George but also is morally responsible and fiscally generous. Admi’s letter also emphasizes that the ideal citizen will be fiscally responsible and generous when health and wellness are concerned, and that letter too uses a Coronation Durbar as a call to action. Admi’s letter, written in the wake of King Edward’s Durbar, criticizes Lord Curzon and the colonial government for its wastefulness and egotism, explaining that not only would King Edward prefer that the “the poor should be served first” but also that the Coronation Durbar “will honour [Lord Curzon] and if it be brought home to King Edward’s subjects who have not seen him, that he is a great man, there will be a strong suggestion that Lord Curzon, whom they see daily, is greater. Thus, Lord Curzon will be blowing his own trumpet and posing to his American entourage as a greater King than his Sovereign” (n.p.). Admi’s letter creates a citizenry that is not only responsible for the poor—a common call to action especially during Lord Curzon’s 1902-03 Durbar—but also one that is respectful and knowledgeable of King Edward’s supremacy over Lord Curzon. Both Lal’s and Admi’s letters construct an audience that is morally and socially aware of their responsibilities. Though the letters relate to the Durbar proceedings, the actions that they prescribe for the citizenry apply, according to these two letters at least, to one’s everyday life. While they show respect to the British government, especially Admi’s letter, they foreground the social well-being of the Indian first and foremost, creating a citizen who is cognizant of the Indian citizen first.

Because citizenship practices and calls to national and social identity are important generic markers of British history lessons, it makes sense that English-educated Indians would use similar techniques, especially given the pro-British stance that the
authors take in their Durbar texts. If the inclusion of background knowledge both
provided a basis from which to develop reasoning skills—and recognize the text as a
“lesson”—then the calls to citizenship and a protection of British rule (or at least British
concepts of rule) further relate the Durbar texts to the genre of the history lesson. This
familiarity of form and content prepares the reader, as Carolyn Miller argues, to interpret
and engage with the text for a specific purpose: readers must learn how to properly
engage with the imperial community. Texts display or encourage this citizenship
position by describing appropriate citizenship and/or criticizing those who do not act
appropriately, as Admi does when he criticizes Lord Curzon’s actions during the Durbar.
This “need” to teach others how to act in the empire becomes a rhetorical need where
“Exigence must be located in the social world, neither in a private perception nor in
material circumstance…Exigence is a form of social knowledge—a mutual construing of
objects, events, interests and purposes that not only links them but makes them what they
are: an objectified social need” (Miller 30). A citizen is in a necessarily social position.
Appropriate citizenship becomes an exigence “located in the social world;” each
“citizen” is encouraged understand her responsibilities to herself, her colony, and her
government. Texts like the letters to the editor, the *Delhi Durbar Addresses*, and *Durbar
in a Dream* connect the circumstances of the Durbars as a “social need” whereby readers
must understand not only the importance of the Durbar—as Aiyer’s introduction and the
background knowledge that follows it provide for the readers—but also their greater
involvement in the empire as citizens who must care for the colony.

The texts rely on descriptions of Indian peace, nationality, and patriotism to
construct the ideal Indian and imperial citizen. The descriptions of the Durbars, the
temperance movement, and the famine-relief lists, create a rhetorical exigence to which the ideal citizen will respond. The response, as indicated above in Alston’s and the *Edinburgh Review*’s complaints about Indian self-assurance, at once supports colonization because of the infrastructural and political stability and at the same time creates an audience that strives for personal power as an Indian. To encourage good imperial citizenship the essays in *Delhi Durbar Addresses* and *Durbar in a Dream* discuss the positive implications of British rule, insisting that British colonialism provides the subcontinent with unprecedented levels of peace. The Indians’ inclusion of peace corresponds with the ways in which peace was discussed not only by the educationalists but also in the British history books themselves. For instance, T.F. Tout praises the work that Britons have accomplished in India, explaining in a section on “The Indian Empire” that “This enormous mass [the Indian population] of human beings now enjoys a peace and material prosperity such as was never known in India before” (286). Lee-Warner ascribes Indian peace to four forces: “the navy, the army, the police, and the loyal citizen” (119). While the history books addressed Indian peace through Britain’s conquest, the Durbar texts, because they supplement the history books’ lessons, address peace in a wide-ranging manner, including in the discussions the development of Indian nationality and relationships between Britons and Indians. Both the 1902-03 and 1911-12 Durbar texts call to the “loyal citizen” to ensure that peace remains. For instance, Aiyer introduces the Durbars’ importance (which is only fitting given the focus of the texts and their publication period) to the development of Indian peace, arguing that the Durbars have signalized not the mere conquests of war, but the more renowned conquests of peace. They symbolize not merely the undisputed supremacy
of the British power and the blessings of peace and good government that this country has enjoyed under the British crown, but also the growing spirit of nationality in India, which, as stated by Mr. Montagu in his recent speech, is the direct product of British rule. (viii)

Aiyer’s discernment, between “conquests of war” and “conquests of peace” are informative given the ways in which the Britons discuss the introduction of peace to the Indian colony. As literary supplements to traditional history lessons, it is important to address the texts as literature, investigating the words and phrases Aiyer uses, the differences between Tout’s, Lee-Warner’s, and Aiyer’s phrasing. Though Tout explains that the Indian people were living peaceful lives in the colony, he does not assert that British rule was responsible for that peace; that the British were responsible for Indian peace is implied at the end of a section where Tout has clearly articulated the martial success of the British in the colony. Nowhere in Tout’s section on India does he suggest that the Indians were responsible for their own economic or political success. Instead, Tout ends this chapter by declaring that “The conquest of India is one of the greatest achievements of Englishmen. Its government by them is still more creditable and wonderful” (286). The text’s organization implies that the ideal audience will assume Britain’s power. Lee-Warner’s conclusion is different, for he provides the list of four forces at the beginning of the chapter, and then proceeds to move from what may be understood as the largest (military and navy) to the smallest (the “loyal citizen”). The “loyal citizen” or the population, however, is far larger than the military forces, moreover, Lee-Warner describes the people as the “strongest of all the forces of order” (130). While Tout does not ascribe authority or even ability to the Indian people, Lee-Warner suggests that the Indian populace may (at some time) be responsible for their own peaceful nation. The difference in the exposition of the two history books confirms the
difference in opinions that even Britons had in the power of the Indian populace and their ability to self-govern.

Aiyer, however, discourages readers from inferring who or what is responsible for Indian peace. For instance, Aiyer’s lesson, the Introduction, begins by clearly explaining the relationship between the Durbar that is taking place (and the use of the plural “Durbars” also suggests that Aiyer may also be referring to King Edward’s 1903 Durbar and even the 1877 Imperial Assemblage) and the peace that the colony has recently experienced. The text clearly connects the Durbars, British rule, and peace claiming that the Durbars represent not the “mere conquests of war, but the more renowned conquests of peace.” The lesson continues to be clear and to discourage the reader from coming to incorrect conclusions by utilizing words like “mere” and “more renowned.” The use of these adjectives serves two purposes: (1) it establishes a level of priority and (2) it prevents the association of the Durbars and Britain’s military domination. The text’s prioritization of “conquests of war” and “conquests of peace” reveals two different, yet corresponding, realities of British imperialism. Because there were “mere conquests of war” Addresses teaches the reader that there were military conquests in the colony. For few readers at the time of the Durbar could this statement be new information. With the continued discussion of the Indian Uprisings in Anglo-Indian texts, the march of the Veterans at both Durbars, and the continued occupation of India, British military occupation was a familiar topic. As David Finkelstein and Douglas M. Peers in “A Great System of Circulation’: Introducing India into the Nineteenth-Century Media” explain, India was often present in the popular press but especially during periods of war (6). The use of the word “mere,” however, indicates the inherent unimportance, for Aiyer at least,
of the British military operations. Even though most people know about those operations, Aiyer implies they are not the ones that are important. What is important, according to *Addresses*, and what needs to be taught, are the “more renowned conquests of peace.” Aiyer’s use of “renowned” does not correspond with the primary definition of renowned but rather the secondary definition. If peace were as popular as the military conquests, then the essays in *Addresses* would not devote as much discussion of Indian peace, prosperity, and nationalism at the hands of British colonialism as it does. Instead, peace is important to the colony, but it is not as well-recognized as “conquests of war.”

Even though Tout’s, Lee-Warner’s, and Aiyer’s claims are quite similar—even using similar words like “conquest”—each lesson not only comes in a different place in the text, but each text also concentrates on the different skills or knowledge developed. On the one hand, Aiyer’s lesson about the importance of British government to the health of the Indian colony, when he explains that the Indians have experienced “the blessings of peace and good government...under the British crown,” comes within paragraphs of the beginning of the text. The Introduction to *Addresses* is organizing and explaining its note of lesson; the text has not yet provided any background information about the Durbars, for that prior knowledge comes in the first essay “Delhi and its Durbars.” The lesson, according to Aiyer’s Introduction, will clearly express the relationship between peace, the British crown, and the Indian colony. The Introduction’s specificity about the four essays’ details also emphasizes the introductory nature of the essays, and hence the lessons, themselves. The Introduction explains how to read (and participate in) British colonialism so that the implied audience can adequately evaluate the claims made with the little background information it already possesses.
Tout’s assertion, on the other hand, that the Indians experienced peace, and the
claim that Britain was responsible for India’s peace, comes not only in the final
paragraph of the chapter on “British India,” but nearly at the end of the textbook itself.
The only chapter that remains is a short chapter, “The New Colonial Empire, 1763-
1887,” which attends to British settler colonies in Australia, North America, and Africa.
Unlike the Introduction to Delhi Durbar Addresses, which introduces the seeming
importance of British involvement in Indian peace, previews appropriate background
information, and attempts to ensure that no invalid conclusions are drawn, by the final
two chapters in History of England the note of lesson no longer requires this review
because the background information linking British colonialism and Indian peace has
already been established. Similarly, Lee-Warner’s chapter on “The Public Peace” is
chapter nine of twelve. The text and the lesson in History of England and The Citizen of
India encourage the student to use the higher level reasoning skills because that is the
level at which their historical knowledge, about the Indian colony at least, functions.

The essays in Addresses are considerably shorter than any of the history
textbooks, for rather than fully address wide swaths of English or even Indian history as
The Citizen of India does, Addresses is concerned only with the discussion of the
importance of Durbars, the 1877 Imperial Assemblage, the 1902-3 Durbar, and the 1911-
12 Durbar specifically. Though the emphasis is on the British Delhi Durbars, the
discussion covers hundreds of years when Rao begins the four main essays with a
depiction of the Pandava brothers founding of Delhi and their original Durbar. Though
shorter in comparison to British textbooks, Addresses is far more complete on a specific
topic. The essays address the specific topic of Delhi Durbars: Rao’s essay provides
background information, while the others encourage reasoning and learning to see the relationship between causes and effects. Thus, Aiyer and the later authors begin to draw conclusions about British rule and Indian peace.

The lessons put forth by *Addresses*, *Dream*, and the letters to the editor, encourage the reader to develop and demonstrate loyalty and patriotism concurrently, creating the Indian citizen who is loyal to the British monarch but also patriotic in relation to his or her Indian citizenship (and not just British or imperial citizenship). These arguments are similar to the claims made to schoolchildren in the same period where “The prefaces of readers and discussions of the use of such books in manuals of teaching method were replete with statements on the need to inculcate the fundamentals of citizenship and its perceived corollary, patriotism” (Heathorn 413). Sastri makes clearer the unstated relationship between patriotism and loyalty by suggesting that “It may be maintained on two different grounds that loyalty is a primary duty of patriotism to-day in India;” Sastri’s two grounds, justice and self-interest (20). The different interpretations of citizenship practices, loyalty, and patriotism (especially of the *Delhi Durbar Addresses* because they have the movement from Aiyer to Sastri) connect the knowledge of good citizenship practices to patriotism and the accompanying loyalty to one’s ruler.

To demonstrate how readers should be loyal, numerous essays insist that loyalty is an inherent quality of Indianness. For instance, Mudaliar’s dreamed ruler proclaims that if the people are “loyal” “happiness will attend you” (16); Aiyer argues that “Indians are by nature loyal to their ruler;” Lord Curzon, used as an example in the Introduction, suggests that “loyalty in India is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity
of the sovereign’s rule” (Aiyer ix); Sastri suggests that in times of peace “our loyalty is ungrudgingly given [to the British] and unquestionably accepted” by them (28); Seshadri notes that Indians possess “devotion [and] reverence” (39); and Sreenivasan’s article focuses specifically on the ways in which Hinduism does not “contain germs of disloyalty and sedition” but rather preaches loyalty to one’s ruler (46). In nearly every instance of Indian-men’s writing, the question of Indians’ loyalty to the British Raj either is asked for—in the case of Dream—or already expected to occur because of the relationship that India and Britain have formed, the relationship which the Durbar texts proclaim, and most importantly, because it was a duty of a citizen.

In Addresses, Aiyer broaches the subject of loyalty as a responsible agent for peace by explaining that the Indians’ “loyalty to the Emperor is based not merely upon a traditional attachment to the family of the sovereign, but upon an intelligent conviction that the progress of the country can be maintained only under the aegis of British rule” (Aiyer ix). In one sentence, Aiyer moves from claiming that Indians, traditionally, are loyal to their rulers to arguing that Indians know that only Britain can sustain Indian progress. Eight years earlier in the wake of Lord Curzon’s 1902-03 Delhi Durbar, Mudaliar makes a similar claim in A Durbar in a Dream. In a simulated speech addressed to the “Citizens of our Empire” the Emperor explains that “Under our Command you are all made of one essence. Under our Rule you all move towards one goal—to a peace that passeth all the ecstasies of sense. We treat you all alike. Be loyal and happiness will attend you” (Mudaliar 17). Both Mudaliar’s and Aiyer’s claims that British rule and Indian peace were inseparable encourage loyalty from the citizenry. The organization of this lesson and the articulated relationship between loyalty and peace,
Aiyer’s claim that “the country can be maintained only under the aegis of British rule” and Mudaliar’s acknowledgement that only under “our Rule”—British rule—do the Indians attain “a peace that passeth all the ecstasies of sense,” relates British rule and peace. Both texts seem to construct citizens who not only recognize the relationship but also understand the implications for Indian prosperity and peace. To ensure this peace, both texts articulate a need for loyalty. For these two lessons, and for lessons in British classrooms where there existed a “humanities curriculum centered on the development of patriotism, civic ideals, and basic knowledge about the nation and empire,” loyalty and patriotism were not only necessary attributes of the “Citizens of the Empire” (Heathorn 397), but they also ensure imperial and national continuity. The Indian texts though they praise and respect the British for providing Indian peace also concentrate on the Indian peace and not the imperial peace. Unlike the British texts that focus on the imperial nature of British imperialism in India, all of the Indian texts are most concerned with the benefits to the Indian people. They are imperial citizens, but they foreground their Indian citizenship. Their calls of loyalty and patriotism to the British are grounded in a desire for continued peace in their land. The ideal Indian citizen, while loyal to the British, understands and applies the benefits of that loyalty to the health of the subcontinent, just as Lal’s call for temperance or Admi’s plea to fund famine-relief is grounded in the health of India and not the Empire.

The integration of generic characteristics of the history lesson—background knowledge, cause and effect, reasoning—into Durbar texts helps these texts echo the desired effects of the Durbars and the history lesson: to ensure the continuity of India, citizens must understand appropriate citizenship, loyalty, and patriotism. The exigence is
made clearer through the organization and depiction of the note of lesson of each text. This note of lesson, found in the opening pages of Addresses, the preface to Dream, and the topic sentences of the letters, stresses ideal citizen attributes. In the preface to Addresses Seshadri asserts that the essays were “intended to place before students some of the responsibilities of citizenship in India, and have now been published for a wider fulfillment of the purpose.” In Dream, Sankaranarayana praises Mudaliar for suggesting that “The message (of the Emperor of the Kingdom of Law) not only impressed on the visitors the greatness and benevolence of the Role of Law, but also gladdened the hearts, replenished the hopes and stimulated the aspirations of every sentient, thoughtful being” (Mudaliar 8). The prefaces argue that citizenship and loyalty require one another; by placing that claim up front in the texts, the purpose of the lesson is announced and the note of lesson will then be completed through the exposition of the texts themselves. As written documents that were not mediated by a teacher—as textbooks were—the Durbar texts required both clear notes of lessons and a social and rhetorical exigence that encouraged appropriate imperial citizenship. By clearly stating that the texts will teach readers how to be good citizens, the texts fulfill both the requirement of a clear purpose for the text (lesson) and demonstrate a rhetorical exigence (if the reader does not remain loyal and patriotic to the British, Indian peace will not [cannot] continue).

**Using outside sources: Integration of British literature and history into Indian texts**

Though many features of Addresses, Dream, and Lal’s and Admi’s letters emulate other lessons discussed in the dissertation, the Indians’ integration of directly quoted British literature and history, especially in Addresses’ essays and Dream, into their
own texts without explanation and often without context, is unique to the Indian texts.
The movement from the “picture and story stage” to the “epoch or intellectual stage” of
the lessons in the Indian texts is far faster than those in British texts. For instance, Dream
and the different essays in Addresses combine background knowledge, the development
of the historical imagination, and the improvement of reasoning skills into fairly short
essays. In more traditional history lessons, such as those in textbooks, and in the Anglo-
Indian and British penned Durbar texts, these skills take numerous lessons—if not
years—to develop. The decontextualization of British history and literature and the lack
of author analysis of these texts is one way in which the texts advocate that the citizenry
quickly develop reasoning skills.

When British or Anglo-Indian texts integrate outside sources, they do so either
through summary or short quotations. Even in Rao’s “Delhi and its Durbars” essay, the
Indian texts from which Rao excerpts, especially the Mahabharata, are translated,
contextualized, and then either summarized or directly quoted in shorter passages. The
British texts, however, are not excerpted, but rather reproduced at length. For instance,
“Delhi and its Durbars” uses an excerpt from Lady Betty Balfour’s Lord Lytton’s Indian
Administration to describe the 1877 Imperial Assemblage and the entirety of Lord
Curzon’s speech at King Edward’s 1903 Durbar; Seshadri in “The East and the West”
quotes extensively from Rudyard Kipling’s poem “The Ballad of East and West,”
Matthew Arnold’s Southern Night, and Sir Alfred Lyall’s Verses Written in India. The
difference between Rao’s use of the Mahabharata and British texts indicates that the
intended audience is, on the one hand, more familiar with the Indian information but may
need to be reminded of specific details, and, on the other hand, has the critical capabilities
to interpret the British texts and integrate them into the lessons of citizenship that the *Addresses* proclaims to provide.

The Indians’ use of long excerpts of British literature, history, and addresses suggests the anticipated audience’s unfamiliarity with those texts and plays an integral role in introducing British literature and the purpose of the Durbars, especially British Durbars like the 1877 Imperial Assemblage and King Edward’s and King George’s Coronation Durbar. These British texts are ones with which readers may not be familiar, and their inclusion develops a better foundation of British culture—whether through political speeches or literature—as well as conforms to the genre of the lesson by presenting an opportunity to participate in “self-development and self-instruction” and shows the lesson “drawing on associationist thinking” where readers connect the British passages with their importance to the ways that Indians live under British rule (Larsen 466, 468).

Though the essays preface the British texts, commenting on their importance to the general idea of the essay, once the essay presents each excerpt it does not elucidate the quotation’s significance. This lack of explanation encourages associationist thinking because the text is not “cramming information into pupils’ heads,” but it is allowing readers to draw inferences themselves about the quotation’s importance (Larsen 468). For example, in discussing the famous Kipling line “East is East and West is West,” Seshadri chooses to include the rest of the stanza:

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But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.
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Rather than explaining how or why these lines “emphasise the common nature of humanity,” their stated purpose, the text follows with the claim that “There is however no denying the fact that it is possible to enter into a rough analysis of the tendencies which have from time immemorial taken possession of the two treat [sic] classes of races” (Seshadri 36). Seshadri’s claim about the characteristics which the “Eastern” and “Western” “races” demonstrate does not explain the purpose of the Kipling stanza in relation to Seshadri’s claim that the two “races” have been “treated” differently. Instead, Kipling’s stanza, and Seshadri’s ultimate argument, suggests that the two “races” are more similar than different.

That Seshadri chooses to use Kipling’s poem to demonstrate the similarities between Britons and Indians is not surprising, for the essay’s driving argument demonstrates how King George’s Durbar “stands for nothing less than the blending of two great civilizations which have played a mighty part in different spheres of man’s action, one supplementary to the other, now brought together effectively for the first time in human history” (Seshadri 34). If Seshadri’s essay emphasizes the importance of the partnership between India and Britain, rather than concentrate on the differences between them, the excerpt of “The East and the West” articulates the similarities not from an Indian point-of-view, but rather from a British one. The excerpted stanza, which includes the line “East is East and West is West,” perpetuates the text’s major goals of demonstrating similarities rather than differences.

Like Seshadri’s use of the Kipling stanza, Rao excerpts Lady Balfour’s Lord Lytton’s Indian Administration and uses Lord Curzon’s speech in its entirety. Rao’s excerpt addresses how and when Queen Victoria decided that taking the title Empress of
the Indian Empire was appropriate. “Delhi and its Durbars, like Seshadri’s essay, does not explain the importance of Balfour’s description, but rather moves directly into a detailed description of the 1877 Imperial Assemblage. Balfour’s excerpt ends in an enumeration of those invited to the Assemblage explaining that “68,000 were invited and did actually reside in Delhi and in its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the assemblage.” Rao’s own narration continues in the next paragraph when he explains that “Three large pavilions had been specially erected for the occasion, at some distance outside and overlooking an extensive plain to the north of the city of Delhi” (Rao 11-12). This continuation would make sense if it addressed Delhi’s camps, yet it does not, for the pavilions that Rao describes are those that sheltered the guests during the proceedings themselves, not the camps designed for living. Similarly, Rao integrates Lord Curzon’s speech and the text provided to Curzon from King Edward into the essay. Rao introduces Lord Curzon’s speech, writing that “On the reading of the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of King Edward VII by the Herald, Major Maxwell, the guns without fired a salute of 101 guns and the 40,000 troops encircling the Durbar fired a ‘feu de joie.’ Lord Curzon said” (15). He moves between Lord Curzon’s speech and King Edward’s proclamation that “‘Such are,’ he [Curzon] concluded, ‘the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar.’ He then read His Majesty’s gracious message to his Indian people” (Rao 17). The texts provide facts about the Durbars, the Viceroy’s speech, and the ways in which Britain and India are similar. They expect that the imperial citizen will use this new information, in conjunction with the background information provided and that tacit information the colonial citizen is expected to possess, to act in an appropriate way. By excerpting in great length Anglo-
Indian and British texts, the Indian essays seek to construct citizens who also know this information and can apply it.

Interestingly, Rao’s essay seems designed to provide background information: the title is, afterwards, “Delhi and its Durbars.” The essay begins with the founding of Delhi and the original Durbar and progresses toward the 1911-1912 Coronation of King George V; like most history texts of the period, the essay is organized in a chronological rather than thematic manner, providing a familiar format. Rao’s essay, however, rather than only providing background information also encourages higher level faculties. For example, other texts that include only background information, such as conventional history texts, also explain the events and their importance. For instance, *A History of England*’s final chapter “George III to George V, 1815-1911” explains that as the British conquered the Indian subcontinent “we enrolled in our Indian army all the best fighting men of these various races; of that army the Sikhs are now the backbone; but the Afghans have still to be kept at bay beyond the northern mountains” (242). Fletcher and Kipling provide facts: the British recruited Indian men to fight in the colonial army, and the Afghans threaten India. Unlike Rao’s and Seshadri’s texts, which might end the description at this point and expect the audience to already know or infer the dangers Afghans pose to the Indian people, Fletcher and Kipling conclude that the Afghans “are the ‘tigers from the North’; and, if our rule were for a moment taken away, they would sweep down and slay and enslave all the defenceless dwellers on the plains” (242).

*History* does not encourage critical thinking: its purpose, or note of lesson one might say, is to provide background information. The Durbar texts, however, expect the audience to understand the events’ importance without explanation. The ideal reader of the
Addresses already knows why the Durbar is important and requires only specific facts. Moreover, because the texts discuss one specific instance—the Durbar—that is repeated with unknown frequency, the educative process increases in speed and intensity.

Indian English-language Durbar texts, similar to those of Anglo-Indian and British writers, construct imperial lessons about the Durbars, Britain’s imperial history, and the relationship between India and the homeland. In addition to advocating loyalty to a monarch, insisting that British rule is integral to Indian peace, and lauding Indian patriotism, characteristics common to even the most anti-Durbar British texts, these native Indian texts also complicate the period’s understanding and definition of citizenship. The Indian texts frequently speak of native Indians as citizens; they argue that they have a responsibility to themselves and India. Moreover, in addition to defining citizenship in terms of an imperial or British citizenship, the Indian authors emphasize the role Indians play in maintaining a moral and socially healthy Indian nation, as Lal’s and Admi’s letters to the editor advocate. If British-authored texts advocate an imperial citizenship that includes India as a colonial possession, then Indian-authored texts promote a citizenship that is Indian first, not imperial. Even though the Indian texts couch their arguments in loyalty to the British monarch, they begin to push for responsible Indian participation. Durbar texts like the essays in *Delhi Durbar Addresses*, Mudaliar’s philosophical treatise *A Durbar in a Dream*, and Nand Lal’s and Gureeb Admi’s letters to the editor construct an Indian citizen who thinks about the country of India first, its health, wellness, safety, and people, and then the British Empire. The new imperial, Indian citizen, these texts argue, should be both—imperial and Indian. The Durbar texts define citizenship and the ideal citizen in myriad ways bringing to attention
the contested positions native Indians, Anglo-Indians, and Britons held in the British Empire and emphasizing the complicated and often diverse views of imperial citizens. It is obvious that many people in the Empire did not show blind loyalty to the imperial project, though that may have been the wish of some. Durbar documents, like those written by the native Indians discussed in this chapter, sought to create ideal citizens who thought critically, acted morally, and responded to passion about the Empire.
Epilogue: Looking to the Future: Cosmopolitanism, Decolonization, and the Modernist Colonial History Lesson

Written twelve years after King George’s Coronation Durbar in 1911, E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* (1924) takes up the genre of the *fin-de-siècle* history lesson. Like the Durbar texts which sought to create an ideal citizenry, *A Passage to India* also constructs a new, Modern British citizen through the character of Adela Quested, and less so Cyril Fielding. In the intervening years between the Coronation Durbars and the publication of Forster’s novel, Indian soldiers fought in World War I, Gandhi returned to the subcontinent from Africa, and the Indian independence movement gained strength, in both peaceful and militaristic ways. By 1924, Gandhi had been jailed and released and numerous riots undertaken throughout the subcontinent. If the Coronation Durbars were intended to inspire loyalty to and patriotism for the British Raj, the intervening years showed that those lessons were no longer appropriate to an Indian people who saw themselves as *citizens of India*, as the English-language, Indian texts argued. *A Passage to India*, in its portrayal of the Anglo-Indians’ waning power and fear and women’s and native’s voices, advocates a new imperial citizen, particularly a new British citizen.

Modern literary criticism has attended to Aziz and Fielding’s relationship as the most important portrayal of colonialism’s limitations; this criticism places the patriarchal Anglo-Indian civil service of early twentieth-century India at the heart of the novel. Adela, though a primary character during the first two parts of the novel, often receives critical attention only for the incident at the Marabar Caves. Though most scholars

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30 For examples of an anti-colonial argument see Hunt Hawkins’ “Forster’s Critique of Imperialism in ‘A Passage to India’” (1983), for readings of Adela as either sexually repressed or as a rape victim see Brenda Silver’s “Periphrasis, Power and Rape in *A Passage to India*” (1988), Nancy Paxton’s chapter on *A Passage to India* in *Writing Under the Raj*, Keith Hollingsworth’s “*A Passage to India*: The Echoes of the
who address Adela’s role in the novel focus on the portrayal and suppression of rape, I argue that the socio-cultural differences between colonial India and modern England enact a different imperial history lesson than one of rape or failed masculine friendships. Through a reading based in the genre of the history lesson, Forster’s portrayal of India investigates and criticizes the late-Victorian, pro-Empire attitudes encouraged by the Coronation Durbars, Empire Day, and the forty years of High Imperialism that preceded the novel. The novel advocates decolonization and cosmopolitanism that recognizes not only Aziz and Fielding’s friendship, but also that relationship between Britain and India.

As a product of Modernism, *A Passage to India* exemplifies the belief that the modernist era is coming to be re-read not simply as the manifestation of a period or style but also as the representative marker of a crisis within European colonialism’ [...] This offers a rather different perspective on the relation between modernism and empire, with the former functioning as the sign not of imperial power or confidence, but precisely of the loss of that confidence. (Williams 17)

*Passage*, as a history lesson, specifically addresses the Briton’s loss of confidence as the Empire moves toward dissolution and instills a different type of relationship with the subcontinent. Through the character of Adela Quested, *A Passage to India*, creates a new ideal imperial citizen, one who looks for friendship with the Indians, one who actively seeks information about India, and one who advocates equality with the native people.

Though more contemporary scholars of Modernist studies such as Patrick Williams and Mark Wollaeger attend to the different ways in which Modernist literature is now understood, rhetorical genre theory like that used in the first four chapters of this dissertation provides another way of looking at how Modernist literature reacts to the period’s imperial discontent. The Modernist novel’s uptake of the history lesson

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elucidates the connection between imperial participation and citizenship practices. Background knowledge and vivid storytelling are integral parts of the fin-de-siècle history lesson. The Anglo-Indian characters in *A Passage to India*, however, cannot obtain the necessary background knowledge to understand the evolving relationship between Britain and India; they refuse to allow Indians and Britons to finish stories and recognize neither causes nor effects of significant imperial and interpersonal problems. This failure, particularly Adela’s, prevents colonial revolution and adaptation. Without a change in colonial policy and the attitude held about Indians, the Anglo-Indians that Forster presents in the novel endanger the Indian Empire, working against the best citizenship practices of not only loyalty but also imperial protection. As an anti-colonial critique, *Passage* argues that those who serve the Empire must learn new lessons if the relationship between the Indians and the Britons is to survive.

The story, as Garlick, Collar and Crook, Alexander Bain, and other Victorian pedagogues argue, is the history lesson’s most effective and elementary vehicle, for stories “awaken the pupils’ interest in the subject and create in them a desire to learn” (Larsen 468). The history teacher (storyteller) “requires good descriptive powers to vitalize his characters and events. This will involve the possession of good vocal control, more or less dramatic ability, a readiness of illustration, and a skillful use of the forces of contrast and comparison” (Garlick 260, emphasis Garlick’s). In light of the importance of the story to the history lesson, it is fitting that I end my dissertation with a text that is intended to be—in the formal sense of the word—a story. At the same time, *Passage* takes up the genre of the history lesson through its use of background knowledge.
In terms of genre—and the genre of the history lesson—Passage embodies the typified rhetorical function of creating—“constituting” in Anis Bawarshi’s wording—the ideal imperial citizen. This ideal citizen, however, is new, “modern.” The novel challenges colonization, praises cosmopolitanism, and desires decolonization. The citizen also adheres to these desires. That Passage is a Modernist novel which moves toward cosmopolitanism and addresses colonialism as a public or citizen problem is important, for

The new feel of ‘metropolitan perception’ intensified the [Modernist] novel, and urban living also wholly changed the writer’s job, by making life a matter of overwhelming crowds, lonely isolation, and cosmopolitan connections to the larger world of commerce and culture. So even if the modern novel often seems autotelic—focused inward on itself, concerned only with its own styles and structures—it was utterly formed by public problems and responsibilities. (Matz 79)

If the typified rhetorical function of the Durbar texts was to ensure imperial continuity and promote patriotism and loyalty, Passage’s typified function looks outside the imperial relationship to or for something different. The novel considers the Anglo-Indian’s and Briton’s “public problems and responsibilities;” whether it is the bridge party held in Mrs. Moore and Adela’s honor, the martyring of Mrs. Moore during Aziz’s trial or the Hindu celebrations in the “Temple” section, much of A Passage to India is held in distinctly public spaces with the characters representing distinct imperial citizen personae. Forster’s “publicness” is distinctly different from that of the Coronation Durbars. While the Durbars were self-consciously public spectacles designed to emphasize the relationship between India and Britain, the public spectacles in Passage are not designed to strengthen imperial ties, but rather imperial control. The Anglo-Indian fears about India are manifest in the overt displays of colonial control, especially
Aziz’s trial and Ronnie’s desire to control Adela’s actions when interacting with native men.31

In “Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817,” Homi Bhabha uses H. Rider Haggard’s and Joseph Conrad’s writings as examples of the English novel’s loss of authority, a similar type of lost confidence that Patrick Williams suggests accompanied Modernism when he notes that if “imperial ideology speaks [of] Western progress and expansion, modernism highlights multiple forms of dislocation, fragmentation and entropy; imperial ideology proclaims Western superiority, modernism alternately celebrates and mourns the decline of the West” (Williams 23). Bhabha explains that fin-de-siècle novels mark the disturbance of its [the novel’s] authoritative representations by the uncanny forces of race, sexuality, violence, cultural and even climatic differences which emerge in the colonial discourse as the mixed and split texts of hybridity. If the appearance of the English book is read as a

31 Each part of A Passage to India tells a different story about Chandrapore, the Indian Empire, and Britain’s (in)ability to maintain colonial control. The first section, “Mosque,” relates Adela’s attempts to befriend Indians and Anglo-Indians with incomplete stories of imperial domination received from the Anglo-Indians and a lack of information from the Indians with whom Adela speaks. “Caves,” the novel’s second part, narrates Adela, Mrs. Moore, and Aziz’s journey to the Marabar Caves, Adela’s attack at the Caves, and the subsequent rape trial. As in the “Mosque” section, stories are started and stopped, interrupted and confused. Though Forster’s story of a “passage to India” proceeds, the novel’s interior stories that the characters try to tell one another founder. The new imperial citizen, as presented through Adela, cannot survive in the current colonial atmosphere. The final section, “Temple,” reintroduces Aziz and Fielding, and though Aziz forgives Fielding, their friendship does not (and cannot) prosper. The story ends without a resolution to the “story” inside of the text. Adela leaves India, Fielding becomes a civil servant, and Aziz loses his Anglo-Indian friends and medical practice in Chandrapore. The chapters are not individually titled, but the different section names (“Mosque,” “Caves,” and “Temple”) signal each section’s focal point. Successful intercultural communication is broached when Aziz and Mrs. Moore meet at the mosque, the impossibility of interracial discourse is realized at the Marabar Caves, and the “solution” of decolonization examined through the Hindu religious ceremonies at a temple and the death of the province’s native leader. The novel illustrates that old imperial history lessons—the ones that the Anglo-Indians attempt to teach Adela in the first and second sections (Indian subservience, a restrictive hierarchy, and uncontested loyalty to the Raj)—are no longer viable. Anglo-Indians and Indians can neither connect nor understand one another, sentiments extolled in the final lines where the horses, the earth, “the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House…didn’t want” a connection between Fielding, the colonizer, and Aziz, the colonized, even when the two people themselves desired it (Forster 362).
production of colonial hybridity, then it no longer commands authority. (Bhabha 113)

Like Haggard’s *She* (1887) and Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899), Forster’s *Passage*, using “uncanny forces of race, sexuality, violence, cultural and even climatic differences…no longer commands authority” because the colonial history lesson is no longer viable. The traditional lesson that the Durbar texts or those of Empire Day in later years taught the readers is inappropriate to the political reality of the Indian Empire. Readers cannot learn to respect the traditional lesson of bravery, heroism, and loyalty to an imperializing monarch because race, sex, and violence (of both Britons and Indians) threaten British control and the homogeneity upon which the colonial enterprise relies. In Adela’s revolutionary actions—speaking politely to Indians, looking to find the “real India,” and expecting equality for both women and Indians—the Victorian patriarchal colony meets resistance. Forster’s novel moves away from traditionally pro-imperial ideas and advocates a new imperial lesson grounded in women’s and native Indian’s rights.

The novel attempts to tell two stories, and in the process, conveys two history lessons: that of a traditional colony and one of a progressive, modern Britain. The Anglo-Indian characters try to show Adela how to live in India and how to be a well-behaved Anglo-Indian. The actions of the Anglo-Indians represent the traditional history lesson, such as those that advocated loyalty to the monarch, protection of British power, and British supremacy. The Anglo-Indians strive to maintain propriety, they carefully position themselves in a gendered and racial hierarchy, and they remain loyal to the Raj. They act in such ways that they believe they are protecting the Empire for Britain and thus being patriotic. For instance, early in the novel, the narrator emphasizes the social
and racial propriety of the memsahibs explaining that the “windows [of the playhouse] were barred, lest the servants should see their mem-sahibs acting” (Forster 22). Barring the windows promotes separation of the colonized from the colonizers, and the Anglo-Indians go to great lengths to prevent the servants from watching the women act. To shield the women from the native population’s gaze allows Britons to guarantee that Indians only observe Anglo-Indian women in spaces, like the home, where comportment can be keenly moderated.

Adela, however, as a representative of modern England, eschews common colonial practices in her attempts to befriend Indians. Adela and Fielding represent the new history lesson. This new lesson advocates friendship and equality, but the end of both the Caves section when Adela is “forced” back to England and the novel suggests that these new relationships cannot occur unless India is decolonized. Passage takes up the genre of the history lesson by first presenting the background information and old history lessons, through the description of Chandrapore and the Anglo-Indians’ attempts to teach Adela the appropriate way to live in India. When these traditional lessons do not satisfy either Adela, contemporary politics, or the Indian people, the narrative suggests that new lessons must be generated that are grounded in the decolonization and cosmopolitanism that the novel’s final lines and Adela’s attitude toward Indians suggest. Even though the narrative provides background information, like the descriptions of India and the already established colonial relationships, Adela’s actions do not correspond with the traditional background information.
The Traditional Lesson: Breaking Tradition through Incomplete Stories

The Anglo-Indians’ reliance on traditional colonial hierarchies and their attempts to re-create Victorian conventions in the colony foreground the conventional imperial history lesson. At the beginning of the novel, Mrs. Turton, the collector’s wife, organizes a bridge party for Adela, Mrs. Moore, and Indians. At the party, Ronny and Mrs. Turton ensure the Englishwomen understand the hierarchies. Ronny tells Adela that “The great point to remember is that no one who’s here matters” (Forster 39). Mrs. Turton later reminds Adela that “You’re superior to them, anyway. Don’t forget that. You’re superior to everyone in India except one or two of the Ranis, and they’re on an equality” (Forster 42). In this exchange, Mrs. Turton both communicates the colonial hierarchy and insists that there is no movement within it. The inclusion of this conversation—background knowledge about Chandrapore and the colonial hierarchy—suggests that Adela does not already have that information available to her. As a Briton new to the colony, she has not been taught about the colonial hierarchy in modern Britain. To overtly distinguish between Anglo-Indians and Indians marks a change from the Durbar texts, for while those texts may have described the order of the Indian princes themselves, no texts proclaim that the Anglo-Indians are “superior to everyone in India.”32 The omission of this argument in the Durbar texts and its inclusion in Passage suggest that older imperial citizens were already familiar and comfortable with such information.

32 See Stephen Wheeler’s *History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar Held on the First of January 1903 to Celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India* [1904] for a listing of the respective order of the Indian royalty, for instance. When Wheeler includes the order of the Indian royalty, it suggests that this order was not familiar to the British reader—it was not, in Giltrow’s sense of the word “background knowledge”—but instead needed to be learned to appropriately understand a very particular colonial hierarchy.
while Adela’s generation in Britain may not have been, and thus, she must be taught the appropriate way to interact with and perceive Indians.

Ronny, Mrs. Turton, and the other Anglo-Indians’ actions indicate that racial divides and a strict hierarchy still exist in 1924. This aspect of the lesson and of colonialism produces discomfort and near silence in the Indian women and Adela as they try to converse. Mrs. Turton further hinders Adela by refusing to speak with the Indians, insisting that the women “come over to me” (Forster 41). New to the colony, Adela expects that Mrs. Turton will introduce her to the women so that she and the Indians will feel more welcome. Turton’s rebuff of the Indians indicates how she and other Anglo-Indians feel about the colonized: they are not only unequal, but they are also not to be approached as guests. Adela cannot comprehend the lessons’ purposes as she tries to follow her own beliefs in treating others as equals and with civility. In some instances, Adela complains about the Anglo-Indians’ rude behavior; for example, she tells Fielding that “This party to-day makes me so angry and miserable….Fancy inviting guests and not treating them properly!” (Forster 47). Adela’s despair indicates her inability to understand why the Anglo-Indians act the way they do. In other words, Adela has not learned how to be a “good” Anglo-Indian; she has not learned, according to Anglo-Indian standards, appropriate citizenship practices yet. Yet, Adela neither actively communicates these desires to the other characters nor does the narrator. Adela’s contemporary lesson does not have to be taught—it is a conversational implicature—something that the modern imperial citizen ought to know. It is already established background information in Giltrow’s sense of tacit information. In other words, the lessons that Adela has learned in Britain and those being taught in India are incompatible;
she cannot reconcile two different sets of history lessons, for their notes of lesson—their purposes—contradict one another. Neither the stories used to teach the lesson, nor the background knowledge necessary for the lesson, coincide with the Anglo-Indians’ or Adela’s narratives.

Ronny repeats the lesson of traditional colonial information and hierarchies when Adela and Mrs. Moore visit Fielding’s college. While at the college Adela chooses to visit with Aziz and Godbole without a chaperone, disobeying the rules of colonial propriety by speaking alone with Indian men. When Heaslop finds Adela, his reaction reinforces different aspects of the history lesson (namely, that a British woman ought not to be left alone with Indian men and Indians ought not to be treated as equals). Ronny confronts Fielding:

‘I say old man, do excuse me, but I think perhaps you oughtn’t to have left Miss Quested alone.’
‘I’m sorry, what’s up?’ replied Fielding, also trying to be genial.
‘Well…I’m the sun-dried bureaucrat, no doubt; still, I don’t like to see an English girl left smoking with two Indians.’
‘She stopped, as she smokes, by her own wish, old man.’
‘Yes, that’s all right in England. (Forster 82-83)

Both Fielding and Heaslop feel Adela does as she pleases, for Fielding explains to Ronny that “She stopped, as she smokes, by her own wish.” Fielding, the only Anglo-Indian who befriends Adela despite her seemingly radical viewpoints, sees no problem when Adela socializes with the Indians. Ronny, however, makes it clear that England and India are incomparable when he explains that she may make her own decisions at home. The line “Yes, that’s all right in England” implies that it is distinctly not alright in India. Ronny’s reaction to Adela’s conversation with Aziz and Godbole provides information about basic intercultural communication in the colony: a distinct line is drawn between
business and pleasure, men and women, Britain and India. In short, India is not Britain. Adela’s actions again show that just as life is different in India, so too are the expectations of her fellow Anglo-Indians and Britons in the Empire.

The lesson Adela seeks to teach the Anglo-Indians—equality—and the information she wants to learn—about Indian culture—do not fit the approved Anglo-Indian educative script for new colonizers. Durbar texts like those written by Flora Annie Steel and Sara Jeannette Duncan advocated imperial citizens who were well-informed about India, its landscape, and its people, both Indian and Anglo-Indian. “Side Lights on the Delhi Durbar” and “Lady Curzon’s Home Life” implied that the imperial citizen would use their background knowledge to create a more efficient imperialism that would not meet with military resistance like that in 1857. Adela’s search for information, however, is not in response to her desire to control the colony and thus does not fit the Anglo-Indians’ prerequisites for background knowledge. The disconnect between her desire for education and the opportunities provided to her demonstrate that new imperial citizens and old colonizers do not agree on the available “curriculum.” For instance, Ronny has resided in India long enough to understand the expected relationships between men and women, Britons and Indians, and as a barrister, he is also in the position to enforce those rules with his bureaucratic prowess. He, in other words, controls the lessons new Britons in the colony learn and disseminate. When Ronny criticizes Adela’s choice to speak with Aziz and Professor Godbole without a chaperone, Ronny senses Adela’s choices will trouble the rest of the community because they are uncommon, and he works to prevent this disruption. By protesting Adela’s actions, Ronny prohibits a revolution of colonial knowledge and values—a new lesson from taking hold—and he
knows other Anglo-Indians will support this refusal. In Britain, Adela’s freedom and her actions toward Indians would go unnoticed; in India, however, for a solitary woman to maintain the company of two Indian men suggests impropriety and a lack of concern for imbedded values. When Adela moves outside of social expectations, the Anglo-Indians, whether it is Mrs. Turton at the party or Fielding and Ronny at the college, quickly prevent her from gathering the information that may challenge conventional views. Ronny, especially as a barrister, must protect the “law and order” that befriending Indians (or learning of the colony’s gross inequality) might disrupt. In *Passage*, the fear that the British may lose control prevents an appropriate education.

Ronny’s perceived power (or that of all bureaucrats) is potentially weakened by a better educated public and those who seek equality. He reacts as he sees fit, by interrupting Adela’s lesson. He is not bothered by her smoking, for he never complains about the smoking in particular, but rather, that she smokes *alone* with *Indian men*. The discussion between Fielding and Ronny highlights Adela’s ethnicity (and ultimately race), gender, and age when Ronny refers to her as an “English girl.” Adela represents modern English girls who want to learn about India, and Ronny’s refusal to allow Adela to pursue her own lessons shows that Anglo-Indians, as Ronny signifies them, will do the same in any other situation. Ronny and Adela, as symbols of their respective social systems, reveal that colonial India and modern England are incompatible.

Ronny’s control over Adela stems from age and experience in the colony. For Ronny, Adela is white, English (and thus superior to everyone), but also young and immature. He suggests that as a young, white woman in the colony, she has no right to participate in colonialism; like any “good” girl, she is too naïve to judge the situation. In
other words, Ronny’s reaction to Adela indicates the old ideal citizen who is not the modern citizen—white, male, and educated. Adela’s positioning in the discourse, however, shows that the new citizen does not necessarily have to be male. As Adela tries to understand India, Ronny stops her lesson, preventing her and the readers from gaining any new information or seeing a different type of relationship with subjects. Ronny, not Aziz and Godbole, is the colonial instructor, and Adela the student. Rather than teaching Adela about India in relation to contemporary opinions, Ronny relegates Adela to Victorian conceptions of race and gender. She can neither question nor can she “stop” as she wants. To move beyond background information available in textbooks and novels such as those written by Rudyard Kipling, the ideal citizen must ask questions, thereby challenging the colonial institution, and demand change. Without change, new information cannot be disseminated because Anglo-Indian habit prevents transformation.

Mrs. Turton’s unwillingness to interact with the Indian women and Ronny’s insistence that Adela not be left alone with Indian men establish background knowledge for those unfamiliar with the traditional colonial history and citizens’ expectations. After the incident at the Marabar Caves, the narrative, like many of the Durbar Texts, revisits the stories of the Uprising, reviving feelings of bravery and loyalty in an attempt to secure sympathy for Anglo-Indian women. After Aziz is arrested, the Anglo-Indian community gathers at the club. The narrator explains that with feelings reminiscent of the Uprising “The club was fuller than usual, and several parents had brought their children into the rooms reserved for adults, which gave the air of the Residency of Lucknow” (Forster 200). Because Forster does not gloss the Residency allusion, we are left to believe that his contemporary readers associate it with the Uprising. Unlike the
idea of inequality between Anglo-Indians and Indians, the Uprisings are still present in the readers’ minds, and thus, the background knowledge is already part of the conversation without its inclusion in the narrative itself. In other words, that part of the story has already been told. The attack, which happens after (or during a scene in which) Adela actively tries to learn about India from an Indian man though no chaperone is present, reminds colonizers that distinctions of class, gender, and race are all-important to maintaining the colonial hierarchy.33 The story, rather than illustrate the Anglo-Indian characters as secure or certain in their persecution of Aziz (as the traditional lesson would), creates a new narrative filled with hysteria and irrationalism. It, much like Adela’s disgust with Mrs. Turton’s actions and Ronny’s confusion and displeasure with Adela’s, shows the traditional and new history lessons positioning themselves in opposition to one another. Old citizens—the Anglo-Indians in Chandrapore—and new citizens—Adela—cannot understand one another’s purposes. This reaction allows for the certainty and the bravery of the Briton to be questioned. The traditional lesson begins to fail because even those who ought to be able to be brave and loyal are frightened and hysterical. The narrator explains that

One young mother—a brainless but most beautiful girl—sat on a low ottoman in the smoking-room with her baby in her arms; her husband was away in the district, and she dared not return to her bungalow in case the ‘niggers attacked.’ The wife of a small railway official, she was generally snubbed; but this evening, with her abundant figure and masses of corn-gold hair, she symbolized all that is worth fighting and dying for; more permanent a symbol, perhaps, than poor Adela. (Forster 200)

33 The attack is one of the clearest moments in which Bhabha’s descriptions of race, sexuality, and gender cause the British novel to lose authority or power, for the modernist narratology of Adela’s attack prevents the readers from understanding what happened at the Marabar Caves, whether Adela was truly attacked by Aziz or some other man or whether she suffered from hallucinations.
The reaction to the incident recalls both the Uprising and Victorian mores. Furthermore, it entails some of the most important aspects of the history lesson: protecting the Empire and those Britons in it, “all that is worth fighting and dying for.” By comparing the club to the Residency, Forster brings to mind a battle which many Britons considered horrific, with British women and children under siege. The narrated thoughts of the Britons show that the men feel they must protect the women and children from the Indians and that the Indians are necessarily inferior people. In the decades after the Uprising, the rhetoric of the savage Indian, the fear and delicacy of the Englishwoman, and the need to protect her played an important role in Indian administration and in the history lessons circulated to British children and readers alike. These assertions were often perpetuated by Anglo-Indian women themselves. Mrinalini Sinha explains that Anglo-Indian women believed Indian men were “unmanly” because of their treatment of their wives and mothers, and that these men “held ‘barbaric views about the female sex” (100). Moreover, according to the Englishman (an Anglo-Indian newspaper), memsahibs argued that “Hindoo women are degraded, they are totally devoid of all delicacy, their ideas and language are course and vulgar, their term of reproach and abuses are gross and disgusting in the extreme. Although they manifest much shyness and outward modesty there is little real virtue of the higher order among them” (Sinha 100). After the Uprising, Anglo-Indian women criticized both Indian men and women because they were different than the Britons, especially those native Indians who the Anglo-Indians viewed as “unmanly” and “barbaric.”

In an earlier colonial adventure novel, this scene of women and children afraid of the “niggers” attacking would not be unusual, for those novels often perpetuated the idea
that the Indian was a “barbaric” man.34 Passage, however, portrays the colonists’ response as absurd when the community includes a young woman for whom they normally do not care. The railway official’s wife becomes the symbol for “all that is worth fighting and dying for” because she represents the femininity, innocence, and motherhood that Victorian Britons privileged. Her body becomes “England,” and by including a woman they often exclude, the narrative announces the Anglo-Indians’ illogical and unseemly motives. The narrative asks, if this woman, why not Adela? The answer, when approached from the framework of the history lesson, is clear. This woman, a mother, wife, and “innocent,” replaces Adela because she better represents the traditional lesson of the colony and attitudes of the colonizers. For the Anglo-Indians, someone who they value—and who upholds their values—must have been “attacked” so that justice may be pursued and peace restored. Though Ronny’s intended fiancée, Adela is not yet valued by the community because she does not subscribe to the Anglo-Indians’ lessons. Adela’s incident evolves from a man supposedly attacking a woman into a general fear about losing the Empire. In “Heroes and Homosexuals: Education and Empire in E.M. Forster,” Quentin Bailey explains that both Heart of Darkness and A Passage to India “articulate a critique of colonial practice that details the ‘human cost’ of economically exploitative power formations.” Part of the “Modernist” tendencies of Passage is the portrayal of the Anglo-Indians’ “anxieties in encountering subject people.” These anxieties, as developed in Passage and through Aziz and Adela’s

34 Though the ultimate conclusion of the novel suggests differently, Flora Annie Steel’s Uprising novel, On the Face of the Waters (1896) shows protagonist Kate Erlton early in the novel as a woman who is afraid of Indian men, even though she has lived in the subcontinent for some period time. When an Indian man approaches Kate’s carriage, she responds by “unconsciously” huddling in the corner of her carriage to “escape from what she did not understand, and therefore did not like. That, indeed, was her attitude toward all things native” (Steel On the Face 10).
relationship, “determine the modernist themes of alienation and exile, and the mechanism that makes such a transfer possible is a notion of sexuality conceived of in terms of race and gender” (Bailey 326). In other words, the loss of authority that Bhabha attributes to the mixture of race, gender, sexuality, and culture also leads to portrayals of “alienation and exile” in modernist literature. Though the narrative presents characters who wish to treat Adela’s incident as they would any attack on a British woman in India, the story cleaves, producing uncertainty in the lesson about whether colonial values are valid because they use a woman who is not Adela to represent the victim. Adela, as a representative of modern Britain, can neither survive the attempted friendship with and lesson from Aziz nor can she represent the colony as its victim. Passage implies that modern Britain, or Britons, cannot survive the colony because the lessons that they have learned are inappropriate to the current colonial situation. Through the failure of Adela to learn about the colony and the irrationality of the Britons’ response to Adela’s attack in the Marabar Caves, the novel suggests that not only is the space inhabited by the ideal citizen contested, but also is the definition of the citizen.

Old Lessons Turned New: Adela’s Search for the Modern in the Colonial

Though Mrs. Turton, Ronny, and the Anglo-Indian community represent the vehicles of the traditional history lesson’s story, Adela’s desire to learn about India disrupts the lesson, for she is unwilling to listen to their story and through her a new lesson more appropriate to modern Britons begins. When she is ready to return to England at the end of the “Caves” section, she tells Fielding that “I am not astray in England. I fit in there—no, don’t think I shall do harm in England. When I am forced
back there, I shall settle down to some career. I have sufficient money left to start myself, and heaps of friends of my own type. I shall be quite all right” (Forster 291).

Adela knows that she will be secure in England—even without a husband or family. The juxtaposition of her inability to survive in the colony with the assured safety of England shows readers that modern women (and modern Britons) may not necessarily be able to survive the colony or to agree with what happens there. They can, however, prosper in the homeland. In other words, the disconnect between what the traditional history lesson tells people about the Empire, and what the homebound Britons already believe about the Empire cannot be fixed by simply “relearning” old lessons. The novel shows that old lessons are taught, but they fall short of the goals of teaching Britons to be loyal to the Raj and protective of British values, for the main pupil, Adela, does neither when she attempts to befriend the Indian people in Chandrapore. While Durbar texts like “Side Lights” and newspaper articles advocate acknowledging the representative Indian and caring for the poor and plague-infected people, these texts still pride British control in India over the relationship with the Indian people; for instance, Steel’s representative Indian developed the Western image of India. Adela, however, does not want to learn about India and Indians to push for Westernization or more colonial control. The two lessons are, in their purposes, structurally different and create two different citizens.

When Adela is forced back to England, the novel advocates that attitudes toward the colony must change, and Passage starts to build a foundation for the new lesson. We find, though, that the new lesson, like the traditional one, remains incomplete because the mechanisms and environment of the colony have not changed. Even though Adela—and modern Britons—may be willing to eschew traditional colonial practices in favor of more
egalitarianism, the attitudes of those in the colony, like Ronny and the Turtons and Burtons, make the completion or implementation of a new lesson impossible.

Forster begins to tell the story of new citizenship practices through Adela’s interactions with Indian people and the landscape. Adela’s liberal humanist attitudes of equality and civility hinder the narrative’s completion of the traditional lesson, and the colonial situation is such that her new lesson is stymied because she cannot communicate with the Indian women. The poor communication is not the result of a lack of language skills, for the Indian women speak English, but rather, seemingly impenetrable cultural differences. When Ronny and Mrs. Turton tell Adela about the bridge party, she assumes she will have the opportunity to speak with and learn from “those Indians whom you [the Anglo-Indians] come across socially” (Forster 26). During the party, Adela and Mrs. Moore attempt to discover India from the women through conversation, what might also be considered a form of storytelling. The description of the Indian women, though, makes it clear that Adela and Mrs. Moore will have a difficult time interacting with them. The narrator explains that

A little group of Indian ladies had been gathering in a third quarter of the grounds, near a rustic summerhouse in which the more timid of them had already taken refuge. The rest stood with their backs to the company and their faces pressed into a bank of shrubs….The sight was significant: an island bared by the turning tide, and bound to grow. (Forster 41)

Though out of purdah (Muslim and Hindu women’s “seclusion” or “isolation” from men and strangers), the Indian women are uncomfortable in public, retreating to the summerhouse and looking into the shrubs rather than out at the growing group of British guests. The narrator’s designation of the women as an “island” makes them seem unapproachable, distant, and separate from the rest of the party. For two women like
Adela and Mrs. Moore who have little experience in India and who are comfortable with mixed gender groups at parties, the distance between them and the Indian women may seem both insurmountable and at odds with the purpose of a party, especially a bridge party intended to allow Indians and Britons to mingle together. The Indian women’s reluctance to interact with the Britons makes it difficult for a story to be told about India. If the Indian women speak to no one, then no one has the ability to learn any lessons from them. The lesson learned, though tacit, is that India and England cannot yet coexist in a “social” way as some Britons might expect.

Adela expresses her frustration with the ineffectiveness of the party’s ability to “bridge” the Indian and British guests and the Britons’ lack of manners, their inability to “treat their guests properly.” According to Adela, the Anglo-Indians do not regard their subjects in a way Adela feels is suitable. At this point, when the characters do not (or cannot) communicate with one another, the story begins to lose its authority, as Bhabha sees it, for the ideas of race and cultural differences are not applied similarly across similar racial/cultural groups (Anglo-Indians and Britons) as Adela’s dismay with her “countrymen” demonstrates. When Adela defects from the Anglo-Indian group—as she does when she attempts to befriend and learn from the Indians—the traditional history lesson of loyalty to one’s own country and people becomes disjointed, yet the new lesson of equality and civility is hindered because the Indian women protect themselves like an island and cannot (or refuse to) tell their own stories.

Adela’s frustration reflects her expectations that the memsahibs will act as she does, and when they do not, she voices her disappointment, for she believes that they too as British citizens should work towards an egalitarian society. In Adela’s failure to even
speak with the Indian women at length and the hierarchical actions of the memsahibs, Adela’s story illustrates that systematic change in India is unlikely. Instead, a radical change, like decolonization, must occur. Adela, through the narrator, acknowledges the difficult road to forming new history lessons. At the bridge party, the narrator explains that Adela “was young herself; all the same she knew that she had come up against something that was both insidious and tough, and against which she needed allies. She must gather around her at Chandrapore a few people who felt as she did (Forster 49). Adela’s realization is startling in the context of a history lesson, for, on the one hand, Adela desires that she “should never get like that” (Forster 49). She acknowledges that she is “young herself” and that people can change, both for the good and for the bad. She sees her youth as something which can be impinged upon by the other Anglo-Indians in the colony and a youthfulness she must protect and develop through education. In other words, as someone who is subject to a lesson from the Anglo-Indians, Adela is concerned that she may absorb—properly learn the lesson that they try to teach her. Her thoughts are a warning to the readers that they too must resist the Anglo-Indians’ hierarchical, prejudiced colonial lessons. On the other hand, Adela represents a new lesson. If Adela did not represent a different lesson, she would not be portrayed as seeing her situation as “up against something that was both insidious and tough, and against which she needed allies.” The conditions she meets in Chandrapore are not isolated, nor will they be easily remedied. The connotations of “insidious” (evil or menacing) and “tough” (strong, sturdy, and unwilling to bend) suggest that the colonial condition is both dangerous to the people in the colony and well-entrenched, as evidenced by the obstinacy of Mrs. Turton’s
discriminatory actions and Ronny’s unyielding criticism and distinction of the colonial metropolis and periphery.

Adela’s criticism is grounded in unequal treatment of the Indians by the Britons and of women by men. She is clear about her desire to see attitudes change and initiates that evolution through her own actions. Adela strives to teach by example rather than through pedantic lectures, and by publically enacting her lesson, she creates discomfort in those that witness it. In every interaction that Adela has with Indians before the incident at the Marabar Caves she desires to treat Indians with respect and reveals her reluctance to privilege Britishness over Indianness. She is dismayed that her fellow Britons would be so rude; readers too, the narrative urges, should feel her displeasure. The narrative teaches that respectable, modern Britons do not discriminate despite conventional “colonial wisdom.” Adela’s thoughts reflect action against the colonial policies because allies are not needed to maintain the status quo, rather they are needed to fight opposing forces. When the narrative suggests that she looked for, but did not find, fellow Britons who “felt as she did,” Adela becomes not only a potentially threatening revolutionary teacher but an educator who must fail because colonial and modern ideologies cannot survive together.

Not only are Adela’s and Mrs. Moore’s efforts stymied by the Indian women’s physical placement on the lawn, but also when the Britons do speak with the Indian women, the Indians’ own perceptions of British culture prevent even the beginning of an imperial history lesson. For instance, after Adela discovers the Indian women at the party speak English, she exclaims “But now we can talk: how delightful!” (Forster 42). The ability for Adela and the Indian women to converse opens up the possibility that a
story—or the story of India will begin—and through the third-person narrator the story and lesson will be relayed to the readers. The Indian women, however, remain frightened and unsure of Adela and Mrs. Moore even though Adela purposefully and “delightfully” shows them attention. The narrator explains that “all the ladies were uncertain, cowing, recovering, giggling, making tiny gestures of atonement or despair at all that was said, and alternately fondling the terrier or shrinking from him.” In their attempts to interact with Mrs. Moore and Adela, the Indians “sought a new formula which neither East nor West could provide” (Forster 43). Whether unconfident about what to do with the distinctly English terrier or with Adela, the Indian women show that they have a difficult time working within the prescribed colonial system, especially when they are invited to a social function. Though they attempt to adapt social skills from the East, their home culture, and the West, a culture observed through colonization and visits to Europe, the Indian women’s understanding of East and West cannot mediate between the two cultural hemispheres. Neither the women nor Adela have the appropriate intercultural communication skills to adequately begin the history lesson or story that Adela seems so badly to want to hear. Because Adela and the Indians cannot connect, Adela discovers it is impossible to learn about the real India because she cannot communicate with those who she feels are most appropriate to share that information, the Indian women. The story at the bridge party ends before it even begins because the Indian and British women cannot find a common ground from which to start. There is no background information or “new formula” the women can draw from to connect to one another and propel the story forward. When Adela leaves the bridge party, Britain’s liberal humanist ideologies,
at least those practiced by Forster and other Modernists, are revealed as clearly unsustainable and unwelcome in the Empire.

More than any other incident in Passage, the expedition to the Marabar Caves expresses the incompatibility of the new history lesson with the traditional colonial ideologies, for though Adela, Aziz, and Mrs. Moore attempt to learn from one another without the inhibitions of the pukka Anglo-Indians, Adela’s own attitudes and concerns about her life disrupt the lesson. The knowledge that Adela cannot escape the “race and gender solidarity” of the imperialists, the racism, or the colonial hierarchies in the colony, disturbs Adela’s sense of self and her assurance in liberal-humanist values she brought with her (London 67). Before Aziz, Adela, and Mrs. Moore go to the caves, Adela tells Aziz of her “Anglo-Indian difficulty.” She explains:

‘by marrying Mr. Heaslop, I shall become what is known as an Anglo Indian.’
He held up his hand in protest.
‘Impossible. Take back such a terrible remark.’
‘But I shall! It’s inevitable. I can’t avoid the label. What I do hope to avoid is the mentality.’ Women like—She stopped, not quite liking to mention names; she would boldly have said ‘Mrs. Turton and Mrs. Callendar’ a fortnight ago. ‘Some women are so—well, ungenerous and snobby about Indians, and I should feel too ashamed for words if I turned like them, but—and here’s my difficulty—there’s nothing special about me, nothing specially good or strong, which will help me to resist my environment and avoid becoming like them.’ (Forster 160-161)

Adela is obviously concerned with becoming “Anglo-Indian.” The label, and the mentality that accompanies being a memsahib, have to this point driven her concerns for the Indians. Throughout the novel she criticizes the Anglo-Indians’ treatment of the Indians, insists that she shall not be like the other Anglo-Indians, and vows to find allies to help her fight against the entrenched hierarchies, actions which align her with modern Britain. More importantly, this exchange exposes her fear of becoming “ungenerous and
snobby,” and she feels ashamed because she cannot label Mrs. Turton and Mrs. Callendar for their injustices. She fears she is not “good or strong” enough to avoid becoming like the other women. Adela’s failure to label the memsahibs, her fear that she is not “good or strong” enough to fight against transformation that she is already undergoing, forces Adela to reconsider herself. She must consider her beliefs, the relationships that she must forge in the community to survive a loveless marriage, and the fact that these women will now be a vital part of her life. Adela’s awareness of her own transformation displays how acutely aware Adela is of her own ideals. She does not, however, know how to resist the changes, and it is this knowledge of impending failure that motivates the transformation into a memsahib. Adela’s inability to either resist the changes or to fully embrace the memsahib culture intimates that neither the traditional nor the new lesson is complete or even compatible with colonialism. As a modern British woman, Adela adamantly refuses to learn the lesson—and through that refusal shows readers that they too should not adopt the traditional colonial views. Adela’s failure, however, also demonstrates an inability of the new lesson to take hold in India. Adela’s experiences intimate that the new imperial citizen is one who pays attention to and respects differences in gender, race, and culture. The citizen does not stymie the voices of the disenfranchised, nor does that citizen use established social hierarchies to abuse her power. The ideal imperial citizen is polite and considerate in addition to well-informed about the Empire.

Adela’s discussion with Aziz only strengthens her mental anguish at the caves when she contemplates her loveless engagement and the marriage that will result. In the moments leading up to the “attack” in the cave, Adela’s mind “was mainly with her
marriage,” her “peeishness,” and her hope that she would “neither rail against Anglo-India nor succumb to it” (Forster 167). Though she tries to be logical about the marriage and its impending difficulties, she realizes with some degree of “vexation” that she does not love Ronny; Adela wanders “into a cave, thinking with half her mind ‘sightseeing bores me,’ and wondering with the other half about marriage” (Forster 169). While at the beginning of the novel, Adela would have been glad to see “the real India,” experience the Marabar Caves, and spend time with Indians such as Dr. Aziz (additional evidence of her transformation), her present concerns are only about marriage and Ronny. Adela’s experiences are not prompted by an attempted rape by the guide or Dr. Aziz, but they are caused by her inability to come to terms with her impending marriage to a man she does not love, and her role in a community whose standards she cannot support. The new history lesson fails, the typified rhetorical function of the lesson is not complete because neither Adela nor the narrator can adequately describe India, the people, or Adela’s experiences because they are incompatible with the real experiences in the colony and of the Anglo-Indians.

The failed friendships, the disrupted stories, and the inadequate background information presented in A Passage to India all allow the novel to take up (however ineffectively) the genre of the history lesson. The novel’s note of lesson or purpose is to demonstrate the dangers of colonialism through the stories of Aziz, Adela, and Fielding. The typified rhetorical function of Passage advocates a citizen who is well-informed, who treats the Indian with respect, and who participates fully (man, woman, Briton, Indian) in India. In short, Passage is a history lesson because it performs a similar typified rhetorical function as the history lessons discussed in school rooms, lecture halls,
and textbooks, using similar methodologies and ideologies to foster the best practices of imperial citizenship. The history lessons do not mimic those from in the Durbar texts, which encouraged loyalty to the Raj, bravery, and faith in the colonial project. History lessons and lessons of citizenship still existed, still circulated in the period’s popular texts. British and Indian texts alike reconsidered the colonial relationship with India, asking that the new citizen create a new relationship with the subcontinent.

That Modernist novels and media participated in the dispersal of information during the first fifty years of the century is addressed in Mark Wollaeger’s *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda: British Narrative Form 1900 to 1945*. *Modernism, Media, and Propaganda* discusses the relationship between propaganda and Modernist literature noting that “modernism and modern propaganda emerged as mutually illuminating responses to modernity” (Wollaeger xi). In many ways, the history lessons disseminated through colonial texts serve as a type of propaganda, convincing readers to be patriotic and loyal to the British Empire. More specifically, however, Modernist novels, including *A Passage to India*, coincide with an increase of targeted propaganda developed for World Wars I and II and the nation as a whole. Though some critics (and Modernist authors) argue that Modernism and propaganda are at odds with one another, citing Modernism’s attention to the apolitical, Wollaeger, Michael North, and others have looked to the ways in which Modernist texts like those of Virginia Woolf, George Orwell, and Ford Maddox Ford, participate in the construction of the public sphere including the use of propaganda in their own works. Wollaeger notes that “Provisionally holding at bay obvious differences, we can recognize that both modernism and propaganda provided mechanisms for coping with information flows that had begun to
outstrip the processing capacity of the mind; both fabricated new forms of coherence in response to new experiences of chaos” (xiii). The idea that early twentieth-century Britons were inundated with information about the Empire, India, and the relationship between Britain and its possessions, is not hard to believe given the wealth of information circulated about the Coronation Durbars. Authors and social commentators who wrote about the Empire, while participating in the oversaturation of literature and media, provide a generically coherent mechanism that creates or advocates new imperial citizens prepared for the modern world.

This dissertation, though grounded in the non-fictional texts of King Edward’s and King George’s Dubars, shifts its attention in this epilogue to Modernist literature, reconsidering E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* in light of this new way to reading popular literature. Homi Bhabha’s conceptions of race, gender, sexuality, and cultural difference that caused the British text (and ultimately the Briton) to lose authority did not disappear as the twentieth century moved forward, but rather encouraged the creation and dissemination of the new, cosmopolitan, rather than colonial, history lesson. Novels like George Orwell’s *Burmese Days*, Virginia Woolf’s *The Waves* and *The Voyage Out*, and Paul Scott’s *The Raj Quartet* all show the dangers of colonization and the importance of a new understanding of the world. Like *Passage*, *Burmese Days* ends not with a solution, but rather a continuous problem that those characters in the novel, colonizers and new arrivals from Britain, like Elizabeth, cannot solve without a “new formula.” In other words, the typified rhetorical function that these novels encourage is one in which imperial citizens are understood as partners not in the relation of colonizer/colonized. Instead, these novels imply that the modern Briton and Indian will form a relationship
with the Empire and Commonwealth that encourages movement among colonies and the periphery without constricting freedom.
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