



# THE INDIAN EYE

**Imaging the British imperial project in  
London from an Indian perspective,  
1810-1915**

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## Chapter 1-Introduction

The relationship between East and West has been a popular historic subject. Big topics in the field range from the slave trade to the development of the Western colonial empires. Central to many of the discourses revolving around colonialism, is how different the West was from ‘The Other’. In this thesis the West is represented by the British, while ‘The Other’ are the natives of the British colonies. Cultural hierarchy has not only been a subject in contemporary literature, but has also been noted in writings throughout history. However, in the historiographical debate the relation between East and West are set as part of binary opposition. A clash of views between the East and the West, brought on by a cultural tendencies to form cultural opposites in order to show that one was not equal to the other. Orientalism and Occidentalism are manifestations of that opposition.<sup>1</sup>

A popular scholar who wrote about the different views between East and West is Edward Said. When Edward Said wrote his book *Orientalism* back in 1978 he did not the longevity and nature of the debates that would follow. Said felt the need to clarify and supplement his standpoints in a revisited edition of *Orientalism* with new insights about the changed position of Orientalism in the twenty-first century.<sup>2</sup> The fluid nature of human interaction extends to the area of culture. Not only how people interpreted different cultures and societies, but also how cultures and societies are affected by these interpretations. In my thesis I adopt the definitions Said set for both Orientalism and Occidentalism, emphasising that relations and interaction between (people of) different cultures are not always “black and white”. For my research I will limit the ‘West’ to Britain, and expand the ‘Other’ to the natives of the British colonies, Ireland and Scotland. The reason I added other colonies, Scotland and Ireland to the analysis, is to show that British-Indian travellers ‘view connected Eastern and Western locales within the British-Empire together. Orientalism, in Said’s view, aims to describe the Orient, which exists as a viewpoint of ignorant Westerners with a peculiar mix of awe and demeaning attitude.<sup>3</sup> On the other side is Occidentalism, a postcolonial reaction on the Eurocentric view of Orientalism, though Occidentalism as a theory has been barely developed when compared to Orientalism. The term Occidentalism centres on how the East views the West.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London 2003, 3<sup>rd</sup> revisited edition) XIV, XVIII, 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, XII.

<sup>3</sup> Wang Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, *New Literary History Vol. 28, No. 1, Cultural Studies: China and the West* (1997) 58, 59.

<sup>4</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 62-65.

Discussions on the depiction of East and West extends beyond the view points of the research subjects themselves, up to the point that historiographical criticism is aimed at the overrepresentation of Eurocentric view of historic works. A countermovement could be found in the Subaltern Studies Group that started to plead for a new perspective in colonial history in the 1970s and 1980s. The Subaltern group is a social group of South-Asian scholars. Despite their intentions the Subaltern group remained grounded in Eurocentric views.<sup>5</sup> In the historiographical discussion, I lean more towards the side of Said and those adhering to the Subaltern theory with it's the criticism on the Eurocentric views. Similar to the Subaltern Group, avoiding a Eurocentric view remains a challenge. This was one of my motivations to use British-Indians as the main actors in my research. It has to be said that the West has played a dominant role in the East, which makes a Eurocentric focus in the historiography of the relationship between East and West understandable.

My approach is positioned on the 'rim of a coin', between Orientalism and Occidentalism, where not difference and isolation but exchange and mixture is emphasised. As such I propose another perspective of the relationship between the cultures and societies of the East and West. I state that besides upholding a strict hierarchy in the British-Empire, the British were capable of cooperation with its colonies. I do this by examining a group of British-Indian travellers who journeyed from India, across the stretch of the British-Empire, to London. These travellers were in a unique position to both interact and live between the East and the West. The main focus of this thesis lies in how cultural hierarchy between the British and their colonies was through the eyes of British-Indian travellers, who visited London between 1810 and 1915. I will look at both the relationship in a hierarchal sense (cultural hierarchy) and how the relationship was observed by the travellers (cultural representation).

During their journeys the travellers managed to observe how the interaction between different cultures affects the perception and understanding of the involved cultural groups. My research will use the perspective of the British-Indian travellers, not the viewpoints of the individual cultures themselves.

Concepts such as cultural hierarchy, difference between cultures and how the differences were represented all play a prominent role in my thesis. Much of the process of how culture and society are changed is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the study of cultural difference based on human interaction is not. This leads to the question whether or

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<sup>5</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subaltern\\_\(postcolonialism\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subaltern_(postcolonialism)) (20-5-2014)

not the practitioners of the affected culture can recognize how their cultures and societies are being affected by possible misrepresentations in other societies. I will seek the answer of this question by researching the position of British-Indian travellers as they lived between East and West. The travellers came to represent a special form of ‘hybrids’ in the British colonies and had their own reasons and ambition for maintaining the relationship between Britain and its colonies.

### **1.1-Research questions**

The central question of this thesis is: ‘*How did British-Indian travellers view the cultural hierarchy of the British-Empire during their journey to and stay in London during the period 1810-1915?*’ The Master thesis’ main focus lies with how persons from British-India, a colony of Britain, experienced, witnessed and wrote about the relationship between the colonizers (the British) and one of their colonies (including the visitors and expressions of British-India). I pay special attention to any comments the travellers made about how the British-Indian culture and society was portrayed in London, the heart of the British-Empire, and how the travellers reacted to the representations. Another point of interest is how the British-Indians used their observations to comment on their own culture and society. Looking at the self-reflection of British-Indian travellers might also show uncover information on how British colonial policies have affected (changed) British-Indian culture and society. Did the travellers see those changes as unwanted interference of the British?

Due to the nature of the primary sources, I will focus on the period between 1810 and 1915. This time frame is set because the earliest travelling journal dates back from 1810 and the last was published in 1915. Furthermore, because the majority of Indians were unable to afford traveling to London, the travellers did not represent the general Indian population.<sup>6</sup> This taken into consideration, I will also discuss the developing emancipation of the British-Indian colonial elite between 1810 and 1915 and how their awareness of other British colonies reflected on their opinions. To answer the main question the following four sub-questions will be answered first:

1. Who were the Indians traveling to London and what was their stance in relation to the British-Empire from early-nineteenth until early-twentieth century?

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<sup>6</sup> Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1930* (London 2000) XI, 1, 2.

2. How was culture hierarchy represented in the context of the British-Empire through the eyes of the British-Indian travellers during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century?
3. What were the travellers' opinions, observations and experiences about daily life in London?
4. How did the Indian authors reflect on aspects of the British imperial project during their stay in London?

### **1.2-Sources**

The primary sources I use are mainly travel journals written mostly by Indians who travelled to England and the rest of Europe. Considering my Thesis subject, I will focus mainly on the writings of those travellers that wrote about London. Sections where the travellers writes about other locations can also form a useful source of information when the travellers compare British and British-Indian culture and society with others. This is especially the case when travellers also reflected upon those differences in the context of the British and British-Indian colonial relationship. A benefit of analysing older journals, is that writers tended to be more descriptive than contemporary books not in the least because the lack of a (portable, simple) camera. Some works have Western editors or were written by Westerners about Indian travellers. Another aspect are the 'reviews' written by both Westerners and (British)-Indians that commented on the traveller's work, adding a new dimension to the primary sources. All the travel journals are pooled together in the 'The Empire Writes Back' collection (Part I) and published by Adam Matthew Publishing. The collection contains 36 works divided over ten microfilm reels, some written by the same author, multiple editions of the same journal or a compilations of works by the same author.<sup>7</sup> The entire 'The Empire Writes Back' collection contains writings about Africans, Indians, Australians and Canadians who travelled to Britain. The title of the collection is a reflection of what it contains: The published writings of inhabitants of British colonial territories describing their travels to and stay in Britain. The part that I used for this thesis (part one) contains the writings of the Indian travellers. The publishers' reason for putting the works on microfilm collection is to make rare works easier

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<sup>7</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Publishers-Note.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Publishers-Note.aspx) (3-2-2014)

available. The collection also lets students compare its works with volumes about British traveling to India in Colonial Discourses.<sup>8</sup>

Most of the texts in the collection have been written in English, though certain sections (including a few reviews) have been written in Hindi. The publishers of the works vary: some were published in British-India while others in Britain. Most journals have been written by the travellers themselves, though several had English editors and/ or were composed after the death of the traveller. The earliest journal dates back to 1810, while the latest was published in 1915, which at the same time also explains why I have decided to research the period 1810-1915. This collection is mostly text-based, with some drawings, handwritten notes, photographs, lists and tables. In all, ‘The Empire Writes Back’ collection covers around 6000-7000 pages and forms a source of information that is both diverse and rare. The collection was accessed through the Erasmus University Library (Reels 164.1-164.10). The original documents of reels 1-9 can be found in the British Library and documents of reel 10 at the Cambridge Library.<sup>9</sup>

The benefits of using this collection are that it is rarely accessed and contains extensive information. The information found inside is not only about the travellers journey’s across Europe and the British-Empire, but also historic discussions about British-India and also contains works written from a Western perspective by various Western authors, including the Canadian politician and businessman Joseph Salter.<sup>10</sup> The variety and quantity of the information also has its limitations. The collection contains too much information to fully examine during the time it takes to write a thesis. The information contained in the journals is limited to by both the travellers and third parties who edited and compiled the journals.

### **1.3-Research methods**

Analysing the ‘Empire Writes Back’ collection is mostly an undertaking of qualitative research. Although the number of journals used is substantial, I aim to analyse each one in depth. There are some quantitative aspects involved, as each journal contains information about a wide variety of topics, which I use to measure any change to the outlook of British-

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<sup>8</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Publishers-Note.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Publishers-Note.aspx) (3-2-2014); [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/collections\\_az/empire-writes-1/highlights.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/collections_az/empire-writes-1/highlights.aspx) (10-7-2014)

<sup>9</sup> Written near the beginning of each reel.

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.8. Reel 8, book 2. Joseph Salter, *The East in the West, or work among the Asiatics and Africans in London* (London, 1896)



Indian travellers between 1810 and 1915. To keep comparisons consistent, I will focus on topics and locales the travellers commonly discuss, including public buildings and the people of London. The analysis of the primary sources have a central position in this Thesis. Each chapter is dedicated to separate aspects of the journals. The first chapters concentrate on the travellers and their visit to the colonies: the identity of the travellers, the views of both travellers and colonials, how the travellers reflect on their lives back in British-India. The second part concentrates on London: how travellers viewed the people (native) they met in London and their society or culture. Furthermore, in part two I discuss how the travellers reacted to how Indian culture and society was visible in London. Additionally in part two, I research the relation between Britain and its colonies, and whether or not the travellers recognize their position between East and West.

The territory that I call 'Britain' in this thesis went through some names changes in its history. For simplicity I will use 'Britain' when talking about 'England', 'Great Britain' and 'United Kingdoms' and to avoid the confusion of having to quote various primary sourcing using different terminology, unless relevant to make the distinction. Another important distinction is my use of the word 'British-Indian'. I use the old definition, which means Indians living in the part of India controlled by the British (British-India). Anglo-Indians in my thesis are British people born or living in India.

During the analysis of the primary sources I make use of 'Comparative History' and 'reading against the grain'. Comparative History will be involved in the parts of this thesis where I analyse from the perspective of British-Indian travellers how native of the British colonies viewed the British in their colonies and vice-versa. The method will also be used to study how the British in London saw their relationship with their colonies and how this took form in London. Special attention will be paid to the opinions of the travellers themselves and their opinions about the relations between Britain and its colonies, especially British-India. The benefits of utilizing Comparative History is that it benefits research that compares parts of different societies existing in the same time frame. The method is commonly used and has been in development from the nineteenth century onwards. There are three forms of Comparative History: Parallel demonstration of theory, Macro-Causal analysis, and Contrast of contexts. Each compares cases in a different way. The first is used to demonstrate the usefulness of a theory or hypothesis using multiple historically relevant example. The second is used to find causal connection in so-called macro-level structures. The third form makes comparisons to find unique differences in historic cases. I position myself with the Parallel

demonstration of theory: despite the British-Indian travellers have different backgrounds, they all occupy a position between East and West.<sup>11</sup>

Some of the more prominent contemporary users of Comparative History in are the historical sociologists Philip S. Gorski and Julia Adams. Comparative History has been applied to a variety of topics, from the Atlantic slave trade to military history. Gorski, for example, used Comparative History to compare health care of England and the United States. Limitations of the method are that it has been mostly used in conjunction with old world colonies and makes frequent use of quantitative materials. The 36 works of the 'Empire Writes Back' collection, totalling between 6000-7000 pages, which can be difficult to compare against each other. This method also becomes less effective the larger the time period and the larger the areas of the world researched. Unlike most Comparative History subjects, my focus is on old world colonies, not New World colonies. The benefits of this method would be a thorough analysis of the overall picture, finding patterns or clear differences amongst the journals. Besides a comparison between travellers, it allows also a comparison between (parts of) societies and institutions. Important criteria are the existence of meaningful similarities in order to distinguish similarities and differences. This Thesis focuses on comparisons between travellers, not societies or institutions.<sup>12</sup>

The second aspect of my method revolves around 'reading against the grain'. Because analysing primary sources play such a prominent role in this Thesis, it is important to adopt a technique that helps understanding the meaning behind the stories written by the British-Indian travellers. Judging the journals by its content gives an incomplete image. In order to provide a meaningful analysis, I will also report on any signs that show the travellers (glaringly) leave out parts of their stories and what the travellers both state and imply. Overall, I will not read them the way the writers intended (I.E. as entertainment or as a travelling guide).<sup>13</sup> Just like the title of this Thesis is 'The India Eye', I will approach my sources with the eye of a critic. The title of the thesis does not refer to the existence of a single

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<sup>11</sup> Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, 'The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1980) 174-176, 179, 181, 182.

<sup>12</sup> Martin Gorski, 'Hospitals, Finance, and Health System Reform in Britain and the United States, c. 1910 - 1950: Historical Revisionism and Cross-National Comparison', *Journal of health politics, policy and law*, 37 (3) (2012) 367, 368; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comparative\\_history](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comparative_history) (11-12-2013); [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annales\\_School](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annales_School) (11-12-2013)

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read\\_grain.html](http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read_grain.html) (6-2-2014); Barbie Zelizer, 'Reading the Past Against the Grain- The Shape of Memory Studies', *Critical studies in Mass Communication*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1995) 214.

Indian perspective. The titles refers to common titles of travelling journals ('The Indian eye on English life', 'England to an Indian eye' or 'London and Paris through Indian spectacles') that also represent a form of cultural hierarchy. An example is discussed in the section dedicated to Behramji M. Malabari in chapter three.<sup>14</sup>

The idea behind 'reading against the grain' is to be critical, but not be overly so. Reading 'with the grain' allows you to adopt the author's viewpoint and to understand his motivations. Trying to understand how the author of a text wanted it to be understood is an important step if you want to understand the dynamics of a text. Reading 'against the grain' not only means questions your perspective as a reader, but it is also aimed at researching a writer's reasoning and the quality of his work. The difficulties of reading *with* the grain is agreeing too readily with the writer's ideas. Reading *against* the grain's pitfalls emerge when you position yourself to be too disagreeable with the author's text, making it all the more difficult to imagine the motivations of the writer. There is no set pattern for reading with or against the grain: the method's purpose is to provoke you to think about what you read, making it harder to apply the method consistently.<sup>15</sup>

## **1.4-Defining important concepts**

### **1.4A-Culture**

The way culture is defined in this thesis rests on the assumption that culture can be influenced by outside forces and by definition is not limited by geographical borders or closed communities. The precise definition of culture has to be kept ambiguous for (British)-India has no one 'Indian' culture, nor is there only one culture in the British-Empire. Culture manifests as ideas, viewpoints, rituals, practices (and physical objects derived from them such as an opera house) of humans of a certain region. Culture can also be traced back as such, and can be distinguished from other regions and are both persistent in that regions and by people as carriers of that culture. In regards to the objectives of this Thesis I will limit the cultural manifestations to those that can be found in the 'The Empire Writes Back' collection.

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<sup>14</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/detailed-listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/detailed-listing.aspx) (21-12-2013)

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read\\_grain.html](http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read_grain.html) (6-2-2014)

### **1.4B-Cultural hierarchy**

Cultural hierarchy is another way of looking at the relationship between different cultures. When speaking of cultural hierarchy there is not only a distinction between several cultures, but also a ranking in a society consisting of different groups of people. Where cultures are divided into tiers some groups value themselves higher than others. An example I used above is Indian society, which is divided into castes ranging from groups of people have different amounts of status. Cultural hierarchy exist within a country, but also between countries or within empires. The existence of a cultural hierarchy changes the interaction between cultural groups: depending on one's standing, people are treated unequal. The dominant culture set the tone, while those ranked lower are not only treated as inferior. Those belonging to a lower rank might also develop a lower self-esteem. Within a cultural hierarchy distinction can also be made by race in segregated societies.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.4C-Occidentalism and Orientalism**

Orientalism and Occidentalism are connected to each other, but are not direct opposites. Occidentalism revolves around how the West (Europe and similar societies, such as the US) is seen by people from the East. This thesis is predominantly about how Indian travellers shaped their opinion about the British and what kind of preconceptions they had about the heart of the British-Empire (London). The images of the Easterners can take the form of stereotypes, ideologies and visions of the West and those living there. Orientalism, on the other hand, is about the way Westerners viewed the East, such as the area we today call the Middle-East and the Far East (East Asia), including India and China. Westerners mostly look to the East in the context of Orientalism in a patronizing manner, though authors such as Peter Heehs has identified at least six different types of discourses ranging from romantic to patronization. It has to be noted that not all discourses are about Westerners writing about the East, but also contain nationalistic discourses from Easterners. Expressions of both Orientalism and Occidentalism can contain positive (romantic) and negative (de-humanizing, and also patronizing in the cause of Orientalism) constructions of the Other. The temporal demarcation of this Master Thesis is the nineteenth century, nationalistic discourses are possible

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<sup>16</sup> Gopal Guru, 'How Egalitarian Are the Social Sciences in India?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 50 (2002) 5003-5005; <http://www.sparknotes.com/sociology/society-and-culture/section6.rhtml> (26-12-2013)

recognizable in primary sources from Indian origins in the period between 1850 and 1947 and later.<sup>17</sup>

The term Orientalism has been around since Edward Said published his book *Orientalism* in 1978 and is used by those interested in the history of art, culture and literature. It describes how the Orient (or the East) was seen by the West and that these skewed views were used to justify the dominance of the East by the West through the use of colonialism. Orientalist views say more of the West than the East (and vice-versa).<sup>18</sup> Unlike Said did in his book, I (and scholarly colleagues of Said) do not focus my discourse of Orientalism on the Near-East or Middle-East.<sup>19</sup> In this Master Thesis the viewpoints will mostly be limited to the nineteenth century British-India, Britain and its colonies.

#### **1.4D-Cultural imperialism**

Cultural imperialism is about changing norms, behaviours and identities of other societies. The debate on cultural imperialism was strongly influenced by the work *Orientalism* by Edward Said who mentioned the subject in his 1993 book *Culture and Imperialism*. The term itself was developed in the 1970s in media studies and made popular by Jacques Lang.<sup>20</sup> The precise definition depends in which context it occurs. The context changes with whether cultural imperialism occurs in the Western world or third world countries, and whether you want to take into account 'traditional' or 'modern' forms of cultural domination. Traditional forms of cultural imperialism employed churches, education and the public authorities to affect non-western cultures. Other scholars speak of the three 'm's' of cultural imperialism: military, missionaries and merchants as the primary tools of subversion. Most discussions of how missionaries affected non-Western cultures focus on the period between 1850 and 1950. Within colonies, the natives were taught to be loyal and submissive to the rules class of the West. Other than modern form of cultural imperialism, traditional cultural imperialism aimed to subvert the local elite rather than the whole population. In the nineteenth century people did not think in terms of cultural difference, but of the West being a morally, intellectually and spiritually superior Civilization. Randy Dunch in his article *Beyond cultural imperialism* names missionaries as a prime example of actors that helped spread ideas of Western

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Heehs, 'Shades of Orientalism: paradoxes and problems in Indian historiography', *History and Theory*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2003) 172.

<sup>18</sup> [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/new\\_literary\\_history/summary/v028/28.1wang\\_n.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/new_literary_history/summary/v028/28.1wang_n.html) (13-12-2013)

<sup>19</sup> Ning, 'Orientalism versus Occidentalism?', 61.

<sup>20</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism* (New York 1993) 291.

superiority. Ideas such as social Darwinism widened cultural differences, by providing arguments that certain races were superior to others were introduced in Western society late nineteenth-century.<sup>21</sup>

### **1.5-Structure of the thesis**

Chapter 2 contains an extended historiography of relevant topics related to this thesis.

Chapter 3 provides biographical information of every British-Indian traveller. Included are their motivations for travelling to London.

Chapter 4 consists of three sections. The first section describes how the British-Empire developed between 1810 and 1915 and how British colonial policies affected the cultures in their colonies. The second uses the perspective of British-Indian travellers to describe how the British behaved in their colonies and how the colonial natives perceived the British colonists in the colonies. Finally, the thirds part described how the British-Indians perceived the colonial natives that tried to adapt to the Western presence in their colonies.

Chapter 5 focuses on the travellers' opinions of British society during their stay in London, and whether or not their visit changed their opinions of the British.

Chapter 6 shows which aspects of the bond between Britain and its colonies, especially India, were recognized and how this bond was perceived by the travellers while they visited London.

Chapter 7 brings the conclusions of all previous chapters together and provides an answer to the thesis' main question.

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<sup>21</sup> James Petras, 'Cultural Imperialism in Late 20th Century', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29, No. 32 (1994) 2070; Ryan Dunch, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity', *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2002) 301-303, 307, 308, 310.

## Chapter 2-Historiographic overview

### 2.1-Introduction

This chapter forms the historiography of the thesis and centres on the scientific debate that I have divided into four sections. Each section is dedicated to a debate that is relevant to my topic. The first section is about British imperialism and the formation of the British-Empire. Following in the second section, is the debate about relationships between Britain and its colonies. The third section discusses differences between British and Indian culture, including religion and law. The fourth and final section covers the historiographical discussion about Indian (colonial) travelling literature and its themes. The discussions are sorted by theme and at the end of the chapter a short conclusion can be found in which I give the general state of the discussions and how discussions effects on the shaping of this thesis.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.2-British imperialism and the reconstruction of Empire

There has been a great amount of historical work written on the British-Empire and its former colonies. Scholars have also developed different perspectives and methods of researching imperialism, including geography, anthropology and literature studies. Books and articles regarding the British imperial project also touch a wide range of subjects. An important subject involves how and why the British-Empire formed the way it did. Historians often divide British imperial history in two periods. The British-Empire before the independence of the Thirteen colonies in 1776 and the second period which would last into the twentieth century. It is argued by the historian S.B. Cook in his book *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* that the loss of the Thirteen Colonies was caused by a lack of structure in the British-Empire in the 1750s. The lack of structure questioned the (continued) existence of a singular 'imperial project' or even a British ideology. Policies and methods might have become more open to influence from the colonies by the lack of a 'grand plan'.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.postcolonialweb.org/misc/colonialbibl.html> (26-11-2013);  
<http://www.postcolonialweb.org/india/bibliography/indiabibl.html> (13-11-2013);  
<http://ihr-history.blogspot.nl/2013/07/bibliography-of-british-and-irish.html> (27-11-2013)

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/library/firstempire.htm> (27-11-2013);  
<http://www.britishempire.co.uk/library/secondempire.htm> (27-11-2013);  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiography\\_of\\_the\\_British\\_Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiography_of_the_British_Empire) (27-11-2013)

<sup>23</sup> S.B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi 1993) 12, 13, 15.

The lack of cohesion opened the discussion about whether or not there ever was a single British-Empire.<sup>24</sup> Cook's idea of the British-Empire as an empire made out of semi-dependant empires is put into question by contemporary historic scholars and in its place a question if and which policies and ideas from other British colonies were translated and introduced in other 'colonial spheres'.<sup>25</sup> The motivations of the British to expand their empire and the way they treat their colonies became subject to discussion. The debate changed by the addition of new ideas added to the discussion about European imperialism, such as the through the works of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher. The focus of research regarding the empire shifted from the centre of empires to their periphery. The motivation of the British to expand their empire gained more importance. New motivations (such as economics, national pride, chauvinism and humanitarianism) were accepted as plausible reasons for the British to develop their empire. Cook himself seems to be in the camp that favours the idea of this greater variety. Besides the increased popularity of portraying the imperial experience for both the colonizer and the colonized, there is a growing interest in how imperialism affected the colonizer's view of themselves. Another phenomenon that was noticeable when researching the recent historiography of British imperialism was the number of reprints and translations being done of older works, keeping older perspectives and debates relevant even today. Historic works researching imperial history fall into one of two categories: those that focus on the Western perspective and those that approach imperial history from an Eastern perspective.<sup>26</sup>

The motivations of the British became the target of a more critical examination by historians such as Preeti Nijhar and Edward W. Said. Instead of explaining the motives from a purely Western perspectives the two authors criticize the Eurocentric role. While Nijhar rejected the Eurocentric aspects of how imperialism could be understood through law, it was Said who tried to criticise the Eurocentric view that motivated colonialism itself.<sup>27</sup> In his book *Orientalism* Edward Said innovated in the way that he explained that 'Oriental identity is constructed in relation to its apparent opposite, the stability of a European identity'.<sup>28</sup> Said's work was mentioned regularly in books and articles that focus on culture and relations

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<sup>24</sup> Cook, *Imperial Affinities*, 9-15.

<sup>25</sup> Zoë Laidlaw, 'Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography', *The Historical Journal*, No. 55 Vol. 3 (2012) 808; Cook, *Imperial Affinities*, 14, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Laidlaw, 'Breaking Britannia's Bounds?', 807, 808; John Gascoigne, 'The Expanding Historiography of the British-Empire', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2006) 577, 578, 590- 592.

<sup>27</sup> Preetri Nijhar, *Law and Imperialism* (London 2009) 1, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Nijhar, *Law and Imperialism*, 20.



between Eastern and Western cultures. He criticised European Orientalists for creating a 'self-affirming image about the superiority of Europe'. The creation of Eastern stereotypes in the West was used to justify the domination of the East through colonialism.<sup>29</sup> Said's work was only part of the first wave of Orientalism. The second wave was work of Homi Bhabna and the Subaltern school and was being represented by the 'Subaltern Study scholars', a group of south Asian scholars who preferred 'history from below'. Subaltern thinking was greatly influenced by the historian Ranajit Guha. The subaltern approach although similar is different from Cook's as Cook maintained focus on Western historiography with no mention of 'history from below'. The subaltern scholars differ from Said in that they believe that Oriental and Occidental identities are not unstable and that Orientalism is basically a stereotype to make a generalization about the 'progressive' nature of Western identity. The identity of both the Orient and the Occident is not set in that it is a process of negotiation between unequal parties.<sup>30</sup>

Said's ideas and influence are still criticised and the following points are only excerpts of the debates evoked by Said. Firstly, Said's use of the term 'Orient' was found lacking by Wang Ning in his article, *Orientalism versus Occidentalism?* Said's definition of the Orient stops at the Near and Middle East, While Ning considers areas of Australia, Asia and Africa geographically as part of the Orient and rarely discussed by Said.<sup>31</sup> Another point of critique aligned to Said's work was that too much attentions was paid to Orientalism and British colonialism in the shaping of the new (post-colonial) India, forgetting or downplaying native resistance. Makarand R. Paranjape's in his book *Making India: colonialism, National culture and Afterlife of Indian English authority* claims that Said's view remains Eurocentric.<sup>32</sup> Another points of criticism is that Orientalism keeps alive an unrealistic (too negative or ignorant) image of how Westerners looked at the East. Experts such as Indologists, Sinologists and Asian Studies specialists point out that Said tends to lump their regional specialism into one Orientalism even though their research subjects different units of analysis.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Nijhar, *Law and Imperialism*, 32; Said, *Orientalism*, XVI, 152-154.

<sup>30</sup> Nijhar, *Law and Imperialism*, 20-25.

<sup>31</sup> Ning, 'Orientalism versus Occidentalism?', 61.

<sup>32</sup> Makarand R. Paranjape, *Making India: Colonialism, National Culture, and the Afterlife of Indian English Authority* (London 2013) 3.

<sup>33</sup> Paranjape, *Making India*, 3; Heehs, 'Shades of Orientalism', 169, 170.

### 2.3-Relations between the people of the East and West

A topic that has developed since the late twentieth century and has become the centre of discussion between scholars, is the way Britain and the British were affected in their daily lives by the Empire. Paranjape's criticism on Eurocentric views in discussing the relationship between East and West also extends to the interaction between countries and people. This is also a criticism pointed at Said. He does not only aim to describe what Westerners did in the East, but also how the India's responded to colonialism and how their resistance to Western influence affected their thinking and identity.<sup>34</sup> Literature on Indian visits to Britain (London in particular) is rare. Shompa Lahiri in his book *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity* tries to fill in the gap, by trying to encompass both British and Indian views.<sup>35</sup> Besides the increased popularity of portraying the imperial experience for both the colonizer and the colonized, there is a growing interest in how imperialism affected the colonizer's view of themselves. Where Paranjape focuses on Indians, James Berlich emphasizes the influx of settlers ('settler revolution' or 'settlerism' as he calls it) as an important factor. Obvious downside, besides that it generalizes and skips over factors such as gender, political and social history, is that Berlich's theory has been tailored for use with the British Thirteen Colonies. The historians who promote this viewpoint are called the 'new imperial historians'. The new imperial historians (amongst other such as the 'British World network') are influencing how contemporary historians view the relationships between Britain (as a metropole), and its periphery (the colonies). Even though the consistency (as discussed earlier) remains a point of discussion, many of today's historians refer in their work on the relationship between (nineteenth century) Britain and India to research done on other European empires. The 'new imperial history' (or histories) tries to incorporate 'a post-structuralist understanding of race, class, nationality, sexuality and gender, and combine that with attention to detail and historical context' of imperial history. This results in a method of studying history that is bottom-up. It is not only the history of the elite that matters, but also of the experiences of commoners through micro-histories and interaction between the common and exceptional aspects of the empire. 'History from below' is an approach shared with subaltern scholars. Antoinette Burton with her book *Burdens of History* (1994) is a part of the 'new imperial histories' approach. Other historians, such as Bernard Potter, criticise

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<sup>34</sup> Paranjape, *Making India*, 3, Gascoigne, 'The expanding historiography', 577, 578, 590-592.

<sup>35</sup> Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, VII, VIII, XI-XIII.

this approach as being too focused on imperial culture and the connection of common British people with ‘their’ Empire.<sup>36</sup>

The place of colonial law in the discussion about the British-Empire is in that law represented a medium in which ‘practices, priorities and the nature of imperialism’ could be debated. It is also a subject that can be approached by historians from several directions. Law can be approached as an ideal, law as how the term worked in practice, but also as a tool used both colonizers and natives to argue over intellectual and territorial disputes. It remains disputed amongst historians how to interpret the gap between how law worked in practice and as an ideal (and its role in subversion of the colonised), whether law is progressive or repressive. Two competing standpoints have their own obstacles. Those that see law as a progressive force need to explain the occurrences of colonial outcomes that were clearly not liberal. Those that see law as a means to oppress was actually not an institute of domination they claim it to be. Martin Wiener’s *An empire on trial* (2008) and Elizabeth Kolsky’s *Colonial justice in British India* (2011) are examples of the two sides of the discussion. While Kolsky argues that violence and law were interconnected and that inequality and violence against Indians was being justified and that even though violence committed by colonizers was sometimes condemned, imperialism as a source of violence was not. Wiener on the other hand, defended colonial law as it was also used by the colonized to fight their oppression. Besides the two positions on law, recent scholars, such as Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford have also come up with a third way. This third way is middle road, in which the law can both be a means to an end and a pillar of equality, justice and liberalism, without contradicting each other.<sup>37</sup>

#### **2.4-British and Indian cultural differences and the existence of imperial culture**

Writing about the history of the British-Empire has moved to include the cultural identity of both the colonizer and the colonized. Works such as the *Oxford history of the British-Empire* now including both perspectives.<sup>38</sup> The existence of a single Indian culture has been part of an old debate, in which Hindu nationals claim the existence of an Indian culture and on the other side the majority of India’s traditional schools who deny this. The idea of a single ‘Indian culture’ was introduced by Westerners and even in Europe the idea of culture being a secular

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<sup>36</sup> Laidlaw, ‘Breaking Britannia’s Bounds?’, 810, 811; Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (North Carolina 1994) 2, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Laidlaw, ‘Breaking Britannia’s Bounds?’ 821-824, 828, 829.

<sup>38</sup> Gascoigne, ‘The Expanding Historiography’, 577-579.

category dates back to the seventeenth century.<sup>39</sup> Religion forms another point of discussion. The debate moved from the question whether or not Islam and atheism has been represented fairly in the depiction of Indian culture, to how British and Indian religions affected each other. Peter van der Veer in his book *Imperial Encounters* (2001) tries to explain there was an exchange going on between British and Indian religion. The aforementioned Richard Price (2006) finds Van der Veer's argumentation lacking for he writes that van der Veer does not provide solid enough evidence to determine religions exchange transpired. Price concludes that Van der Veer's only valid argument lies in that the British saw themselves as secular and the Indians as deeply religious. This is remarkable because Van der Veer's book was written to debunk the myth of Britain's secularism and 'modern' reputation, while India was religious and traditional. On this subject Van der Veer and Peter Heehs share similar views. Heehs points out that the overemphasizing religion in Indian culture was done by Westerners to create a need to 'down-to-earth' rulers, which of course meant the English as they viewed themselves as secular.<sup>40</sup>

Another discussion about culture is about the differences between British and imperial culture. Did Britain and its colonies share a cultural bond that could be seen as 'imperial culture'? While historians of the 'new imperial histories' like to add post-structuralism as one of their methods in studying imperial history and culture, Richard Price in his article *One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture* (2006) considers the 'linguistic turn' provided by the poststructuralists in the 1980s and 1990s as a failure even though it started out hopeful. The linguistic turn being a Western tradition in which the meaning of culture is also extended to what can be created through linguistics and symbolism.<sup>41</sup> In the eyes of Price, the problem of new imperial history lies in its internal logic and its obsession with Orientalism. Price does agree that culture is an important aspect of understanding empire and British culture. In his article Price also discusses the development of imperial culture and the ongoing discussion about the differences and similarities between imperial and British culture in the nineteenth century. While historians of the new imperial histories harbour the idea of Britain and its colonies were intertwined in both history and

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<sup>39</sup> G. P. Deshpande, 'The Kingdom of Darknesse' or the Problem of Culture', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29, No. 29 (1994) 1864, 1867.

<sup>40</sup> Gascoigne, 'The Expanding Historiography', 586; Peter van der Veer, *Imperial encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (New Jersey 2001) IX, X; Richard Price, 'One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (2006) 602, 617-619

<sup>41</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 615; Amit Kumar Sharma, 'Association Elements of Indian Civilisation: A Sociological Perspective', *Indian Anthropologist*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2003) 74, 75.

culture, Bernard Porter has the opposite idea in his book *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*. Although he does not deny that empire was part of British culture. Porter puts the ideas of Britain and the Empire as being an 'imperial social formation' and British culture being affected by its Empire and vice versa to the test, by reviewing them using empirical obtained evidence.

### **2.5-Travelling and travelling memory**

Amongst scholars, literature written by Indian traveling to England and other Western countries in the late nineteenth century has become more popular in the last decade. The examination of these sources on a literary basis remains uncommon even though most of these sources have been put on microfilm.<sup>42</sup>

Research and analysis of historic (colonial) travel literature makes a distinction between those written by the colonizers (Westerners) and natives. There are several approaches in explaining why European travel literature depict non-whites differently than how these people actually lived. One approach from the Indian historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam rejects the Eurocentric concept of modernity in that modernity should be seen as a global-shift that occurred in multiple locations independently. Subrahmanyam rejects the classic idea that modernity developed in the West. This 'development' can be seen in the travel literature originating from both Western and Eastern writers. Those travellers from the East have forgotten the achievements of their own people, while marvelling at the developments in the West. This view is complicated by the fact that many Indian writers of traveling literature that depict Europe (in the late eighteenth century) belonged to a small segment of the Indian population.<sup>43</sup> According to Peter Heehs six different Orientalist writing styles have been used by Western authors when they wrote about India. Of the five that were used since 1750, three types have been used during colonial times: Patronizing (European perspective), Romantic (From a British perspective, also copied by Indian scholars) and nationalist (the latter was also used from an Indian perspective by educated Indians).<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Julie F. Codell, 'Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007) 173, 174.

<sup>43</sup> Michael H. Fisher, 'India to England and Back: Early Indian Travel Narratives for Indian Readers', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007) 156, 157.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Heehs, 'Shades of Orientalism: paradoxes and problems in Indian historiography', *History and Theory*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2003) 172-175.

## **2.6-Conclusion**

The place of this thesis in the overall historiography has been partially determined by how the definition of relevant concepts have evolved in recent years. It has become easier to research specific groups without the need to make sweeping statements. Terms such as Orientalism have changed since their conception, allowing scholars to apply them to groups that were more or less ignored, such as the difference in gender and unconscious behaviour. My own place in the historiographical discourse stems from my analysis of how the British-Indian travellers, all literate, cerebral and with a broad vision of the Empire between 1810 and 1915 both experienced and viewed the relationship of the British-Empire and its colonies. Instead of placing the traveller's views as explicitly Western or Eastern the travellers occupy a third position: between East and West. The question answered in the following two chapters is who these travellers were and how their opinions were shaped by their heritage and travels within the British-Empire.

## **Chapter 3-Introducing the British-Indian travellers**

### **3.1-Introduction**

In order to help form a better image of how the British-Indian travellers viewed London, it is important to find out who they were and their motivations for travelling abroad. The British-Indian travellers who made their way to Britain between 1810 and 1915 did so for various reasons. The travellers themselves, when compared, seemed to come from different backgrounds. Earlier in this thesis it has already been stated that not all British-Indians were able to afford journeys to London, let alone extended trips to visit other locations in the British-Empire.<sup>45</sup> This chapter will concentrate on the British-Indians themselves and their motivations. All the travellers mentioned in this chapter are part of the ‘Empire Writes back’ (part I) collection, which has been discussed in chapter one. British-Indian traveller as a group might have had something in common, such as income, ulterior motive or outlook. I will also discuss how they viewed their own homeland. Another research subject will be any personal, social or religious motives for travelling and writing their books. Furthermore, I look at prior journeys if any had prior travelling experience. This to see whether or not an earlier trip to Europe created any prejudgements. Finally, as a number of travellers write about the Indian’s fear of travelling the ocean, I note how the travellers managed their expectations during their journey. The sub-question that will be answered in this chapter is: ‘Who were the Indians traveling to London and what was their stance in relation to the British-Empire from early-nineteenth until early-twentieth century?’

### **3.2-Backgrounds of the travellers and their publishers**

One of the first things to notice about the publishers of the books is that the journals who were published in Britain were always published in London. Journals published in India were published in various regions, though mostly in the area where the travellers lived or worked. Practically all books were printed at different presses, even the works by the same author. Another point of interest is that the British-Indian travellers regularly hired British companies active in India to print their books, though local printers were also employed. The majority of the travelling journals had been published and printed within India. At least in “The Empire

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<sup>45</sup> Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, XI, 1, 2.

Writes Back' collection there does not seem to be a pattern between country and time of publication.<sup>46</sup>

The earliest British-Indian traveller in The Empire Writes Back collection is Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (from here on Abu Taleb), a Muslim scholar and poet. His book is called 'The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803'. In concordance with the title, the book (a travelogue) contains descriptions of his travels and was translated from Persian to English in 1810 by English translator Charles Stewart (Esq. M.A.S.) and printed in Herts, while being sold in London.<sup>47</sup> The editor had the title of esquire and was as such a man of note and a professor of Oriental language in the Honourable East-Indians Company's College at Herts.<sup>48</sup> The translator justified the work of Abu Taleb and his translation quickly. Stewart wrote that Taleb's book was of little literary value but the Indian writer gave an (interesting) neutral view of a different (British) society. The translator himself informed the reader that, he too, tried to convey the writer's original message. Stewart claimed he made as few changes as possible, except for translations difficulties and a few passages (which the translator still mentioned shortly). Charles Stewart also stated that potential buyer would also have had access to the original work at the bookstore for a limited time. An interesting passage of the translator mentions the existence of fake travelling literature of travellers from the East and assures the writer that this book is authentic. The writer himself also made a number of (unspecified) revisions and abridgements that he made for the 1810 ('present') edition compared to the 1803 ('Persian' / local) edition.<sup>49</sup>

Abu Taleb's family originated from Persia, where his father, an ethnic Turk, was born in Abbassad Ispahan (Persia), who at an early age fled from an oppressive regime of Nadir Shah to India. His father became an official in Oude, who moved to the city of Lucknow where Abu Taleb was born in 1752. There Abu Taleb received a good education. Later, his father had to flee again, this time to Bengal, which was also Abu Taleb's first journey. His father died when he was sixteen years of age, after which he had to take-over many

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<sup>46</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010)

<sup>47</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.10. Reel 10, book 4. Charles Stewart (translator), *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe During the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803* (London, 1810) I-IV.

<sup>48</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esquire> (8-3-2014); <http://www.royalmunsterfusiliers.org/d5colleg.htm> (8-3-2014);

<sup>49</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, II-IV, VI, VIII, 4, 5.



responsibilities. He worked for a Bengal prince before being invited back to Oude to work as a tax official.<sup>50</sup> The following years Abu Taleb acted as tax collector in several regions, travelling much and coming into contact and cooperated with the East-India Company and was protect as such. His dealings with the British left him vulnerable to his enemies. When his protectors left the area he lost his office, and his family moved to Calcutta. Eventually the British governor Cornwallis himself promised him an office at Lucknow. Cornwallis's patronage fell away when the governor left India. An English friend of his provided him with the opportunity to visit England. Bitter at mankind and without a job, Abu Taleb agreed.<sup>51</sup>

Another work dates back from 1841 was the 'Journal of a residence of two years and a half in Great Britain', and written by the British-Indian travellers, Jehangeer Nowrojee and Hirjeebhoy Merwanjee (nephews). These British-Indian naval architects from Bombay made their journey to Britain back in 1838, where they not only visited Chatham, but also other cities, including London.<sup>52</sup> The book itself was sold in London and printed in Pall Mall (Westminster, London). In the book there was no further mentioning of translators or other editors but themselves. The writers were both part of the Lowjee Family that had warm contacts with Sir Charles Forbes, since the time of their grandfather as the book was dedicated to him. Furthermore, their family had been working for the British for five generations.<sup>53</sup> Charles Forbes was a Scottish politician and popular philanthropist with connections in India. He did much for the rights and living conditions of the people of Hindustan, brought their plights under the attention of the East-India Company and raised large sums of money for his philanthropic work.<sup>54</sup> The writers came from a long-time family of shipwrights. Their father, and uncle, who was the master builder of the Honourable East-India Company's dockyard in Bombay at the time (1841). The writers were educated to continue that tradition. The dockyard was established by one of their forefathers in 1735, and the travellers worked there from an early age. The ships built and repaired there included ships of the line (warships), ordered by the British navy, and ships for the Honourable East-Asia Company. With the advent of steam-powered ships, the Head (Master?) Builder was encouraged to learn more about this technology from advisers, including representatives from the Honoured East-India

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<sup>50</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, IX, 4-10.

<sup>51</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 12-19.

<sup>52</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.7. Reel 7, book 2. J. Nauroji & H. Mihrbanji, *Journal of a residence of two years and a half in Great Britain* (London, 1841) 28, 29, 232, 246

<sup>53</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, I-V.

<sup>54</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_Forbes\\_\(politician\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Forbes_(politician)) (8-3-2014)

Company. The writers were sent to Britain as envoys of the shipyard as the nephews also acted as advisors of the Master Builder.<sup>55</sup> The nephews added what they learned of British naval technology to their journal, aided by familial contacts. ‘During our Sojourn in England we had the pleasure of becoming acquainted through our cousin Ardaseer Cursetjee, to the eminent engineers of London, Messrs. John and Samuel Seawards who are the manufacturers of steam engines particularly those for steam vessels.’<sup>56</sup>

The next work dates back to 1866 and is called ‘Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy’. This work is a biography of Rajah Rammohun Roy and was written by an Englishwoman named Mary Carpenter: author of various novels. Multiple editions appeared of this work, but only the first (1866) and third edition (1915) (and preface of the second edition, 1875) are part of ‘The Empire Writes Back’ collection. The journal itself is based on the collected writings of the traveller Rammohun Roy, but edited by the writer. Marry carpenter passed away before the third edition was put together: this edition was edited by D.N. Pal, secretary of the Rammohun Library in Calcutta. The first edition was published in both London and Calcutta, while the third edition only in Calcutta.<sup>57</sup> Roy himself was a Hindu and an Indian religious, educational and social reformer.<sup>58</sup>

Roy descended from a line of high-placed Brahmins (Hindu religious caste). Later generations gave up their religious life and became courtiers with various amounts of success. His recent ancestor and he were part of the sacerdotal order by both profession and birth. Born in 1774, Roy received basic native education from his father, learning Persian, and more extensive training in Patna and Baneras. He learned new languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic and studied works of Aristotle and Euclid, and was knowledgeable of both the Hindu and Muslim religion. Though trained by his father as a Brahmin, he became troubled by the division within the Hindu faith and the simplicity of the Muslim religion, which led him to learn more about other religions.<sup>59</sup> Roy left for Tibet at age fifteen, but returned to his father a few years later. The Tibetan religion left no positive impressions on him. He started to learn the English language and found employment as a tax collector of the East-India Company’s

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<sup>55</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, VI-XI.

<sup>56</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 358.

<sup>57</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 5. Mary Carpenter, *Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy* (Third Edition, Calcutta, 1915) I-V.

<sup>58</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram\\_Mohan\\_Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram_Mohan_Roy) (9-3-2014); EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, XI.

<sup>59</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, 1, 2, 22, 23.

Civil Service for a number of years, where his mastery of English improved. His father and brothers died in a short period, which left Roy with considerable financial means. Roy dedicated himself to reforming the religion of his fellow Indians.<sup>60</sup> By describing practices of Hindus as idolatry he made enemies. He also began to publish his works in English and translate religious works from Sanskrit to Bengalee and Hindoostanee. While his popularity spread, he conversed with Europeans whom he felt would discuss with him on a rational level. Legal attempts were being made by Roy's enemies to have him thrown out of his caste. Not long before Roy left for Britain, he refuted the accusations aligned against him. He started on his extended journey to Britain in 1830, where he died in 1833.<sup>61</sup>

The next book is the 'Diary of the late Rajah of Kolhapoor during his visit to Europe in 1870', has been edited by captain Edward W. West and released in 1872 in London. The edited diary does not contain information that captain West deemed unworthy of transcribing, including the journey to Marseille, which was the first stop in his diary.<sup>62</sup> Still, the diary was deemed interesting enough to be published. The Rajah was a Hindu living in Kolhapoor, a region near Bombay. His ancestors were both high officials in the Dominion of the Three Kings of the Deccan, and eventually managed to attain a kingdom of their own. Eventually this kingdom faltered and it was their relationship with the British that kept the kingdom from collapsing. In 1866 the Rajah, at age sixteen, was adopted by his uncle, who before him ruled the kingdom and appointed him as his heir before his death. With British support the Rajah began preparing for his ascension to the throne. It was captain West, at the time assistant Political Agent, who was appointed to watch over the Rajah and his education until he reached adulthood. He was removed from the palace to receive a private education, while the kingdom was led by British colonel G. S. A. Anderson.<sup>63</sup> The Rajah also had an interest in European society, and after he ascended the throne, he fulfilled his long-standing wish of travelling to Britain.<sup>64</sup>

The following book was published in 1873 and is called 'Three years in Europe'. It was written by Ramesachandra Datta (also named Romesh Chunder Dutt). Datta was an

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<sup>60</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, 3-6.

<sup>61</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, 5-9, 12; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram\\_Mohan\\_Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram_Mohan_Roy) (9-3-2014)

<sup>62</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 6. Rajarama Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah of Kolhapoor during his visit to Europe in 1870* (London, 1872) XXIV; [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010)

<sup>63</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B6. Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah*, V, VI, VIII, XV, XVI.

<sup>64</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B6. Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah*, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XIV.

Indian writer of some fame in both India and Britain. The book about his trip to Europe consists of a number of letters he sent back to India to his elder brother. Multiple editions were added to 'The Empire Writes Back' collection (second and third edition). Included in the third edition is an account of a second trip to Europe in 1886, eighteen years after his first journey. The second edition was sold in Calcutta and London, while the third edition only in Calcutta. Both editions were printed in Calcutta. Originally a collection of letters, Datta released them as a book, because he thought his fellow Indian travellers did not publicise about their travels to Europe.<sup>65</sup> The book does not contain any biographical information of his youth, but he was raised in Bengal as part of a Hindu caste of scribes. He studied at the University of Calcutta (Presidency College), where he received a scholarship. He and two friends of his went to Britain while he was still a B.A. student in India and without the permission of his family. While in Britain, he studied at University College in London.<sup>66</sup>

'Pictures of England' had been edited and translated from Telugu by Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya, a Hindu, and published in Madras, 1876. Before she published her book her experiences were written down in a letter (in Telugu). Before she and her husband made the trip to Britain in 1874. Not much background information was given, except that his parents, brothers and sisters were against her making the journey. She was also familiar with Marry Carpenter, who I have already mentioned above. A copy of this book was given to Queen Victoria in 1876.<sup>67</sup>

The next travelling journal is 'Sketches of a tour around the world' written by Pratapachandra Majumdar and published in 1884, Calcutta. He wrote his journal under the alias 'P.C. Mazoombar'. He had never published a book before. Majumbar did not spend much space writing about himself, but he was a Hindu reformer and called himself a 'mild patriot'. Majumdar went on a ten month trip around the world, including London.<sup>68</sup> He was a member of the Brahmo Somaj movement, an organization rooted in Hinduism.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.3. Reel 3, book 1. Ramesachandra Datta, *Three years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1873) I; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.3. Reel 3, book 2. Ramesachandra Datta (R.C. Dutt), *Three years in Europe* (Third Edition, Calcutta, 1890) I, 110.

<sup>66</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romesh\\_Chunder\\_Dutt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romesh_Chunder_Dutt) (9-3-2014)

<sup>67</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.4. Reel 4, book 3. Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya, *Pictures of England* (Madras, 1876) I, II, 3, 141.

<sup>68</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.4. Reel 4, book 4. Pratapachandra Majumdar (P.C. Mazoombar), *Sketches of a tour around the world* (Calcutta, 1884) I, II, 1, 6, 7.

<sup>69</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 151, 152-157, 158.

Samuel Saththianadhan's earliest work in the collection dates back to 1886 and is titled 'England and India. Lectures'. The works of Saththianadhan make up a significant portion of 'The Empire Writes Back' collection with 8 of the 36 books being written by him. All of his works in the collection have been published in Madras in the period 1886-1898. He visited Britain multiple times in his life. Saththianadhan's father was a Hindu who converted to Christianity and was also a clergyman (reverend) and missionary.<sup>70</sup> His father, having had a Western education in the London Mission Institution in Black Town. His father and mother had also visited England (as envoys of their Church Missionary Society) in the same year as Saththianadhan, in 1878. Saththianadhan himself was a Foundation Scholar, fellow at the Royal Statistical Society in London, and the University of Madras. Furthermore he was Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at Presidency College in Madras. He went to the Anglican High School in Vepery, Madras, and studied at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. Both he and his wife wrote stories and he included several contributions of her in his works.<sup>71</sup>

Closely following Saththianadhan with six books in the collection was Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari. He had his works published either in Bombay or London. His earliest work in the collection is 'Infant marriage and enforced widowhood in India' from 1887, but he describes his visit to Britain in 'The Indian eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer...' This book was first published in London in 1893. A later edition was published in Bombay (1897), in which he wrote that his British publisher had forced him to make changes to his book.<sup>72</sup> The work of Malabari showed that publishers and publicans had influence in the way the travellers named their journals. A possible explanation why many travelling journals had similar titles (as mentioned in chapter 1.3) could be the pressure on travellers to emphasize their 'Indian' perspective. This in order to make it in the eyes of publisher better marketable for Western readers. 'And, as a bad name sticks faster than a good one, it is useless, at this stage, to try to run the "Indian Eye" away from its appointed task.'<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> R9B1 I; [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010); Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.9. Reel 9, book 4. Samuel Saththianadhan, The Rev W T Saththianadhan, B D, *a brief biographical sketch* (Madras, 1893) 5.

<sup>71</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B4. Saththianadhan, *brief biographical sketch*, 5, 24, 25; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.9. Reel 9, book 5. Samuel Saththianadhan, *A Holiday trip to Europe and America* (Madras, 1897) I;

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S.\\_Saththianadhan#Saththianadhan\\_Family\\_Album](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S._Saththianadhan#Saththianadhan_Family_Album) (10-3-2014)

<sup>72</sup> [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010)

<sup>73</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.6. Reel 6, book 1. Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari, *The Indian eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer... (Third Edition, Bombay, 1895)* VII, VIII.

Malabari was a poet and a journalist, who was not financially dependent. He had been planning to go to Britain for a long time, but only left for London in 1890.<sup>74</sup> Malabari himself came from a poor family. His father worked for the British colonial government and died when Malabari was seven years old. Malabari received education at the Irish Presbyterian mission school and was eventually adopted.<sup>75</sup> Although he was not a Christian, he did see himself as a missionary with a mission. Besides being a poet and journalist he developed himself into a reformer, addressing the problems such as those of Indian women and children. Before his travels to Britain he already made a name for himself amongst the Indians and the British in Bengal. In total, he made three visits to Britain.<sup>76</sup>

In 1889 appeared the book 'A visit to Europe', written by Trailokyanatha Mukharji and published and printed in Calcutta. Mukharji was one of three representatives of the Indian Government who were sent to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886. The book itself is based on a weekly correspondence and pieced together by Mukharji from folders, guidebooks, etc. he kept from his trip to Britain. Not much has been written about his personal life before his journey, except that he travelled within India and was a modest writer and poet. He made his journey as one who lived his entire life in Hindu society. He had been living in a small (old) village. His family had been living at the same village for 400 years.<sup>77</sup>

Several of the journals have been published in the year 1893. The first of these was 'My trip to Europe' written by Jhinda Ram. This book was printed and published in Lahore and contains no separate biographical information about the writer. He was a pleader at the Chief Court of Punjab, who published a number of letters he first published in the Lahore *Tribune* about his travels in Europe and compiled them in book-form.<sup>78</sup>

Another journal published in 1893 is 'England and India: Being impressions of persons and things English and Indian and brief notes of visits to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Ceylon'. It was written by Lala Baijnath (B.A.) and published in Bombay. This book was

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<sup>74</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.5. Reel 5, book 4. Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari, *The Indian eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer...* (London, 1893) 1-3.

<sup>75</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behramji\\_Malabari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behramji_Malabari) (10-3-2014)

<sup>76</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.5. Reel 5, book 1. Dayarama Gidumal, *The life and work of Malabari* (Bombay, 1888) LVII, LXIV, LXXXVI, LXXXVII.

<sup>77</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.7. Reel 7, book 1. Trailokyanatha Mukharji, *A visit to Europe* (Calcutta, 1889) III-V, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, 27; [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/empire\\_writes\\_back\\_part\\_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx) (8-3-2010)

<sup>78</sup> I, Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.8. Reel 8, book 2. Jhinda Ram, *My trip to Europe* (Lahore, 1893) II, 1-3.

not his first work of literature, but it described his first journey across the sea. Standard printing was done by an English company, while 'limited' printings by an Indian company. His other books had as subjects legal maxims in Urdu compared to British rules and Indian social reform. She worked for the N-W.P. Judicial Service. First published in the *Indian Spectator* as papers, its text was altered and reprinted in book form. While writing her book she was advised by T.W. Arnold whom she described as a friend and distinguished scholar of the M.A.O. Collage in Aligarb (Aligarh). While in Europe she travelled in the company of an Indian prince.<sup>79</sup>

The third book to have been published in 1893 was written by Nandalala Dasa and is called 'Reminiscences - English and Australasian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, etc.' While writing this book he used the pseudonym Nundo Lall Doss. The book was both published and printed in Manicktolah, Calcutta. Dasa was part of the London Missionary Society and likely a Christian himself. He dedicated his book to the director of that organisation, William Blomfield (Esquire).<sup>80</sup>

1887 was a year where many disasters transpired in India, including plagues and earthquakes, but was also a year where several authors of the collection published their works.<sup>81</sup> The first of those is 'England to an Indian eye'. The writer, Thomas Pandian (or Pandiyan) of Madras was, besides being a reverent (as such, a Christian), also an experienced author. Pandian wrote at least two books about ordinary Indians before the publication this journal.<sup>82</sup>

Next is G. Paramaswan Pillai's 'London and Paris through Indian spectacles'. Pillai was both learned (B.A.) and an experienced writer, having already written a biographical book about a number of noteworthy of Indians of varied backgrounds. In essence this work is a collection of twelve essays. The letters containing the essays he wrote and published in the

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<sup>79</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 2. Lala Baijnath, *England and India: Being impressions of persons and things English and Indian and brief notes of visits to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Ceylon* (Bombay, 1893) I, II, 1, 2; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aligarh\\_Muslim\\_University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aligarh_Muslim_University) (11-3-2014)

<sup>80</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.2. Reel 2, book 2. Nandalala Dasa, (R.L. Doss), *Reminiscences - English and Australasian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893) I, II.

<sup>81</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.3. Reel 3, book 3. Ramesachandra Datta, (R.C. Dutt), *England and India: a record of progress during a hundred years, 1785-1885* (London, 1897) VII.

<sup>82</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.7. Reel 7, book 3. Thomas Pandiyan, *England to an Indian eye* (London, 1897) I-III.

*Madras Standard*.<sup>83</sup> During the publication and review of his other work ‘Representative Indians’, his occupation was listed as Barrister-at-law.<sup>84</sup> He is not to be confused with ‘Rajyasevapraveena’ G. Parameswaran (‘GP’) Pillai for their similar name and occupation. Both lived in a similar time period, but the former published his travelling journal when the later was only seven years old.<sup>85</sup>

The first book in the collection of the twentieth century is ‘Some impressions of England’. This book was written by Mary Bhore (or Bhor) and was published in 1900 (Poona). The book itself is based on a lecture she gave after her return from Europe. Bhore herself was an assistant working in the High School for Native Girls in Poona. Although she did visit Britain for the first time (and stayed for seventeen months), she had learned about Britain before. Bhore’s sources included books and the stories of her friends who went to Britain before her.<sup>86</sup>

In 1903 the book ‘Journal of A visit to Europe in 1896’ appeared. It was written by (Rao Bahadur) Ghanasham Nilkanth Nadkarni. He carried both the title of B.A. (A Bachelor of Law and Legal Practice to be precise) and was a fellow at the ‘University, and Pleader, High Court of Bombay’. Nadkarni did travel in the company of a British professor of the University of Bombay, Mr. Justice Jardine, both of representatives of said university.<sup>87</sup>

Although the last book of the collection was written by Marry Bhore in 1915, but the latest author was Awatsing Mahtabsing who wrote ‘Something about my trip to Europe’. The book itself was published in 1905 in Sukkur. Not much is written about Mahtabsing himself, except that he was a Pleader.<sup>88</sup> It is noteworthy to add that the title page of this book also adds that the book had been registered under the XXV act of 1867. The purpose of the act was to regulate the printing (presses and newspapers), and the preservation of copies of books and

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<sup>83</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.8. Reel 8, book 1. G. P. Pillai, *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) I-III.

<sup>84</sup> [http://archive.org/stream/asiaticquarterl02instgoog/asiaticquarterl02instgoog\\_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/asiaticquarterl02instgoog/asiaticquarterl02instgoog_djvu.txt) (15-3-2014)

<sup>85</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rajyasevapraveena\\_G.\\_Parameswaran\\_Pillai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rajyasevapraveena_G._Parameswaran_Pillai) (15-3-2014)

<sup>86</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 3. Mary Bhore, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) I, 1, 2.

<sup>87</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.4. Reel 4, book 1. Ghanasyama Nikantha Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903) I-III.

<sup>88</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 1. Awatsing Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) I, II.



magazines in India. Other books either had no special notice or a standard ‘All rights reserved’ copyright notice.<sup>89</sup>

### **3.3-Reasons for travelling to Britain and writing their journals**

A trip from British-India to London before the time of flight was not to be taken lightly. Depending on the journal you read, seafaring journeys could still be quite comfortable for resourceful traveller or a complete misery, but the general traveller was well aware of the dangers. Besides storms, seasickness, mutiny and desertion, the travellers also risked the dangers of plague on ships (with the added risks of an extended quarantine in ports). Ongoing hostilities between the British and French, added the danger of French corsairs, especially when travellers hired British ships, not to mention other parties looking to plunder ships. Even with the advent of steamships, a trip in the nineteenth century could be arduous and fraught with risk.<sup>90</sup> Finally, some travellers had to go against the wishes of their family and guardians, which led some to depart without notifying them.<sup>91</sup>

A trip to Britain was a special occasion that had been prepared and discussed a long time ahead. As already discussed earlier in this chapter, the British-Indian travellers of the Collection were a diverse group and the reasons for travelling to London varied a great amount. Overall their motivations (where given) can be put into several categories. The first category is work and study and these are amongst the more common reasons amongst the traveller for crossing the oceans. That is not to say that all were required for their work or study to move to Britain. Being in a special position or having an opportunity played a significant role amongst the travellers and the writers are forthcoming in mentioning them. Extended visits were planned in combination with a study at a British university, while work visits were occasionally combined with pleasure trips. In regards to both education and work, it were the extensive facilities (good quality education and advanced technologies) in Britain that drew the British-Indian traveller to London.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>[http://artassam.nic.in/Information%20&%20Public%20Relation%20Deptt/The%20Press%20and%20Registrai%20of%20Books%20Act,%201867\(25%20of%201867\).pdf](http://artassam.nic.in/Information%20&%20Public%20Relation%20Deptt/The%20Press%20and%20Registrai%20of%20Books%20Act,%201867(25%20of%201867).pdf) (15-3-2014)

<sup>90</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 1, 3, 4, 30, EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, X-XII; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 19, 33, 34, 41-43, 47.

<sup>91</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 2.

<sup>92</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, II; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, XI, EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, I, II.

Another opportunity for British-Indians to travel was when they acted as envoys or invitees. British-India as a colony of Britain maintained close ties with the heart of the Empire. Both the native Indians and the British living in India, worked and corresponded with their colleagues in Britain and as such were sometimes invited and had their journeys sponsored or travelled as part of a greater group. Examples of this were members of the Missionary Society that were being invited to visit Britain, or university representatives visiting Britain for a jubilee. Not unique to a particular category of travellers, British invited visiting Indians to talk about India itself. Alternatively, the British-Indian government sent representatives to Britain in order to visit the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London.<sup>93</sup> A different cause for travelling was to address a social problem in India. British-Indian travellers in this category, most of which lend a voice to the rights and plights of Indian women and children, corresponded with women in Britain that were willing to provide support. Besides those British-Indians that wanted to bring Indian problems under the attention of the imperial centre, so called ‘social reformers’ also had political power and broader objectives in India.

Trips to other countries in this category were not an exception.<sup>94</sup> Category three was formed by those travellers who went to Britain because they had the desire to visit Europe, or wanted to inform their fellow Indians about the home country of those who ruled about them. Tourists and quasi-journalists still had to have the monetary means to travel. They had in common that they dreamt of visiting Europe and also combined their visit to Britain with trips to other iconic places of Europe. Popular were other big cities and the places of ancient European civilizations such as Greece and Italy (especially Rome with its Coliseum). Like in other categories, pleasure was sometimes combined with business and the travelling tourists also travelled in the company of friends. Some of these friends had already visited Europe and acted as guides. Other friends actually came from Europe and had already been befriended through correspondence. Some European friends had also worked in India.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, II; Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, II; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, VII.

<sup>94</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.1. Reel 1, book 4. Mary Carpenter, *Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy* (London & Calcutta, 1866) V-VII; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, III; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, I, 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.5. R5B1. Gidumal, *The life and work*, Preface, I; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.5. Reel 5, book 3. Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari, *An appeal from the daughters of India [on infant marriage]* (London, 1890) 1-3.

<sup>95</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, XXIII, XXIV; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, II; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.8. R8B1. Pillai, *London and Paris Preface*, 6; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 18, 19.

Whatever their reasons for travelling to Europe, their experiences eventually ended up being written down. The actual reasons for doing so varied from author to author, but their motivation affected the way they described their journeys. One of the premier reasons for the British-Indians to publish an account of their journey, was because they kept a diary or other form of record about their trip to be read by their friends. It were these friends that encouraged the travellers to work-out their notes into full-fledged books. A slightly different approach was that their friends showed interest in their journeys and the travellers decided to write a book in order to make his work easier to read. It cannot be automatically concluded that the travellers adapted their writing for publication.<sup>96</sup> 'I think the descriptions written on the spot even with their disadvantages are the best mode of making the reader travel with the traveller and show his first impressions in their original vividness.'<sup>97</sup>

Another reason for publishing a book came to light when the travellers decided before or during their journey to publish their experiences in papers. An example of this was how a collection of previously published letters were reworked into book-form. Encouragement was in this case received from both friend, family and other readers. Friends, both Indian and British, appeared to play a central role in the traveller's considerations.<sup>98</sup> Their stories and speeches in book-form were easier to reach the regular Indian population and some travellers actively considered the price of their work so as to make their stories about Britain available for as many people as possible.<sup>99</sup> Informing their fellow Indian about the outside world was but one of the 'higher' goals set by the writers. Amongst the Hindu population there existed a stigma on travelling across the ocean (or 'black water') and one of the objectives of the writers was to take away any prejudices the regular Indian had against travelling.<sup>100</sup>

Other travellers decided to write and publish their works for a more select audience. Besides dedicating their work to a British patron, some travellers wrote their work to be read by those British interested in knowing how British-Indian travellers viewed their country.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, Preface; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, I.

<sup>97</sup> R1B1 Preface

<sup>98</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 1; R8B2 EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.8. R8B2. Ram, *My trip to Europe*, Preface.

<sup>99</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, Preface.

<sup>100</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, I; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.4. Reel 4, book 2. Nagandra Natha Ghosha, *Indian views of England* (Calcutta, 1877) 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B5. Sathianadhan, *A Holiday trip*, reface; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kala\\_pani\\_\(taboo\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kala_pani_(taboo)) (18-3-2014)

<sup>101</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R1B3. Bhore, *Some impressions of England*, I.

The travellers were generally aware of their target-audience during the writing of their books. In addition, they frequently apologized in the prefaces of their work about the lack of time to form an accurate view of the locations they visited. Some writers also expected their works to be reviewed (both by reviewers and friends) and adjusted their prefaces accordingly.<sup>102</sup> Others apologized beforehand for the quality of the writing, but convinced themselves to publish their material for the general lack (or scarcity) of extensive British-Indian traveling literature. Travelling journals in the eyes of their writers provided added value when compared to ‘ordinary’ traveling-guides that were prevalent in, at least, the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>103</sup> Another traveller (by the end of the nineteenth century), did not want to publish his work, concluding that there were already many stories of European travelogues stories. Against the traveller’s expectations he was approached by a publisher, who convinced him that there was a high demand for such literature still.<sup>104</sup>

A writer’s background indirectly affected the subjects that were added to the travelling journals. Examples of ‘personal touches’ added by writers based on their background, include visits made to friends in Britain, paying attention to aspects in Britain that had their particular interests (including naval architecture and literature) and being guest at universities or at societies through contacts. A good example of this are the writings of Rammohun Roy who had a religious upbringing. He paid special attention to discuss and compares Indian and Western religions as Roy had interest in studying Christianity.<sup>105</sup> Difference remained limited between journals as many travellers visited the same locals in London as will be further explored in chapter six.

A different motivation can be found in journals that had been published after the death of the traveller. Unlike the quality of the reading or the described experience outside India, the writer or editor published the book because the traveller was a person of note. Partially a biography, the traveller was just as important as the trip itself. Besides the ‘regular’ high-profile Indians such as the reformer Rajah Rammohun Roy (equivalent to a king), famous social reformers also had their journals published. The popularity of the travellers varied,

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<sup>102</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 7-12; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.9. Reel 9, book 3. Samuel Sathianadhan, *Four years in an English university* (Madras, 1890) Preface.

<sup>103</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, I, II; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Malabari, *The Indian eye on English life*, VII.

<sup>104</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, III.

<sup>105</sup> R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, 40-43, 57, 58, 80, 81.

some were widely known alive or only after death, in India and/ or in Britain.<sup>106</sup> Editors had decided what writings made it into book form and as such these sources had to read carefully to spot where the traveller's writings stopped and an editor's personal comments started. 'The descriptions which Rammohun Roy here gives of the degradation of women in India, and the extreme cruelties practices towards them, we will not copying, hoping that they are now matters of history only.'<sup>107</sup>

### 3.4-The journey to London

First-time travellers embarking on their journey to Britain, described the voyage itself as a point of transition. Dressing like a westerner on a British ship was one of the more awkward changes a British-Indian had to undergo as not all of them were accustomed to dressing as such. Not all changed clothes, but some would be persuaded once they arrived in London. It was said by their friends that they would be viewed like curious animals instead of gentlemen. A motivation for not dressing like the British was a refusal by travellers to distance themselves from their "national habit". This resistance could be perceived as an intent not to become a hybrid of East and West, or more plainly, a "black Englishman".<sup>108</sup> Travelling on a ship for an extended duration was a confronting situation for the travellers. Not only did they had to live in a confined space, but they also had to deal with their fellow passengers, including the British. The way how the travellers were treated on the ship made them either aware of the colonial hierarchy, in which the Indian was supposed to have a subordinate social position, or in cases where the traveller had a positive experience feel themselves (and India) being part of the British-Empire. Some traveller also tended to make a distinction between the British living and working in the colonies, and those living in Brittan.<sup>109</sup> A traveller's opinion about the trip and a ship's facilities were at times connected with their opinions about the British. Traveling on a British ship brings the traveller into contact with how the British operated and treated their passengers, both the native and the British (a distinction that was easily observable on a ship).<sup>110</sup> Another explanation of the divergent

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<sup>106</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B4. Carpenter, *Last days*, V-VII, IX; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, III, IV.

<sup>107</sup> R1B5. Carpenter, *Last days in England*, 105.

<sup>108</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 24, 25; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 21; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 44.

<sup>109</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 1, 2; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 2, 3.

<sup>110</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 1.

attitudes of Indians and British on ships, was that the Indians left their home while the British returned to their country of origin.<sup>111</sup>

Travellers generally had a positive perception of the British-Empire and their part in it. The composition of the passengers and the quality of the company also seemed to be a factor in how the travellers rated their experience. Some travellers brought along friends, companions and sometimes family members on their journey.<sup>112</sup> When the travellers felt good about their treatment it reflect positively on the British and their achievements in the British-Empire. The British brought technological innovations that some of the travellers experienced first-hand: sizable steamships with comforts such as fast travel, electrical lights, good food, a ship doctor and attentive personnel that could be summoned using an electric buzzer. In one journal the traveller writes it was explicitly stated that the on-board comforts were for both natives and Europeans.<sup>113</sup>

On the other side, those that had either a negative opinion about Westerners or (over-) awareness of one's lower social position in the Empire as a British-Indian, made their opinion know early on in their book. How bad the British treated Non-Westerners did not require the travellers much effort to describe in their books. A positive attitude towards being part of a larger whole (the British-Empire) was much less profound when a traveller found himself isolated from his fellow passengers and suffered unequal hardship. With rare exceptions all travellers were bothered by seasickness, but this was accepted as a necessary evil. Travellers who were (or felt) isolated adopted a negative attitude.<sup>114</sup> Reasons for isolation varied, but most were social. Social segregation happened were both caused by the travellers themselves and their fellow passengers. Sometimes the British passengers isolated themselves from the native-Indians, while on other occasions British-Indian passengers did not want to be around a traveller because of his social status as a Baboo.

The term 'Baboo' had more than one meaning. The definition I use is that of a native Indian working as clerk or scribe for the British colonial government. The precise meaning of the word Baboo in the journals was left ambiguous. In chapter 4.6 I will discuss the term in-

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<sup>111</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 2, 3.

<sup>112</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 1.

<sup>113</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 1; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 14.

<sup>114</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 19; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B5. Sathianadhan, *A Holiday trip*, 1.

depth. The feeling of being treated badly also contributed, though this depended partially on the inclination of the travellers themselves. Some complained about the quality of their food and lodging, while others in a similar situation did not.<sup>115</sup> Financial means also mattered to a degree, as passengers that paid more received better care on the ship, though this was not seen as a major problem.<sup>116</sup> Overall, the travellers seem to have a more positive outlook on the British and the British-Empire when they are among good company during their travels. In the following chapters, I will discuss if this pattern continued once the travellers arrived in London.<sup>117</sup>

### 3.5-Conclusion

Although all the British-Indian travellers had the resources or the contacts to make a journey not normally affordable by the regular Indian population, they did not consist of a single social group. The gender balance listed towards a strong majority of males, but women were still represented as both travellers and writers. Occasionally husband and wife travelled together and worked on the same traveling journal. A few of the journals were translated or composed by a third party and the accuracy of such journals is questionable. The backgrounds of the traveller show a great variation in upbringing, education and social status. They came from a variety of places around India. Some travellers traced their origins to a locale outside India. Social status differed wildly, from journalists to royals and this also extends to their castes. Those that shared their caste with the reader show that, amongst others, scribes, naval architects and religious castes were represented amongst the travellers. Hinduism, Islam and Christianity were the most common religions amongst the travellers. Even though Hinduism placed limits on how a practitioner is allowed to travel across water, it is also possible that the travelling Hindus were liberal or loose practitioners of their faith. Another possibility discussed in chapter two, was that they gained another perspective on religious law due to the intervention in Indian law by the colonial government. The Christian travellers came from families that have only been converted a few generations earlier. When looking at their occupation professional writers and law practitioners seemed to be overrepresented.

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<sup>115</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 2; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 2, 3.

<sup>116</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 2.

<sup>117</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 1-4.

Motivations for travelling ranged from vacations and study trips, to those seeking to inform Indians of life in Britain or ask assistance from the British for social reforms in India. Important to say is that not all travellers took the initiative in writing their books: both fellow Indians and British demand played their part. Travellers wrote travelling journals for many reasons. Some wrote to because there was a demand for such literature: either from publishers, friends or other readers. Other travellers wrote purely to inform or entertain the people of India or Britain. The way travellers wrote was a reflection of their intentions. They focused their writing on what they (or their editors) deemed most important, describing places, objects and people they saw. Their travelling motivations affected both their destinations and what ended up in their travelling journals. Those travellers intended to visit the whole British-Empire saw many things others did not. This enabled those that travelled across the British-Empire to form a better developed opinion about British behaviour in the colonies and in Britain itself. Travellers with a special interest saw things in Britain other British-Indians rarely visited, such as steam engines. Many of the travellers described what they saw during their travels. Whether journals were being published to inform British-Indian, or to entertain the British practically all travellers had the objective to write what they saw. For British-Indian readers it was important what they observed, while British readers were also interested in the observations of someone with an 'Indian' background. Sometimes editors left out parts they considered boring or too graphic for British readers, blunting the message some travellers hoped to convey about the social problems in India. Editors were not the only people who, besides the travellers, had a direct influence on the journals. Publishers and publicans had the influence to force travellers to make changes in their work, most notably a journal's title.

The social-cultural background played an important role in the background. The Indian caste system limited an Indian's range of possible occupations. An example of this were the naval architects Jehangeer Nowrojee and Hirjeebhoy Merwanjee. Both were born into the business and their business affected their writing as they described ships and naval architecture besides what travellers usually describe (public buildings etc). In regards to their position in the British-Empire, they seem to change in how they look at their place in the Empire, at least when comparing earlier and later journals. Behaviour did change in response to how they were treated though, with social isolation and material deprivation affecting a traveller's outlook.



The reason why certain travellers received more attention than other will be discussed in chapter four. The following chapter will discuss topics such as the British isolationist nature in their colonies, race and social status also play a role, how Baboo had a lower social status in India, and how those of mixed-descent or any low class Indians with a dark skin tone were sometimes associated as being partially African, a negative trait in the Imperial hierarchy.

## Chapter 4-The British-Empire and the Indian traveller abroad

### 4.1-Introduction

A number of British-Indian travellers did not only travel to Britain, but also visited other territories of the British-Empire. While travelling they had the opportunity to learn how the dynamics between colonizer and colonized worked in those areas. The first part of this chapter discusses the development of the British-Empire. The second part describes the connection between imperial culture and the British-Empire through the eyes of the travellers. Parts three and four respectively describe how the British-Indian travellers observed signs of Orientalism and Occidentalism during their travels in the colonies of the British-Empire, and Ireland and Scotland. The last section of this chapter is about the various forms the native population in the British colonies adapted to British rule and as a result formed a hybrid culture between East and West. It is important to note that the travellers, besides colonies, also visited territories that were either occupied, leased or served as protectorate. These territories will be part of this chapter's analysis, though I will mention their status where it matters.<sup>118</sup> The sub-question that will be answered in this chapter is 'How was cultural hierarchy represented in the context of the British-Empire through the eyes of the British-Indian travellers during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century?'

### 4.2-The British-Empire and its colonies

Studying the development of British-Indian cultural representation during the period 1810-1915, it needs to be mentioned that the British-Empire was undergoing significant changes. The British-Empire went in this period through phases of contraction, expansion and equilibrium.<sup>119</sup> Britain lost her Thirteen North American Colonies in the New World a few decades before, while gaining a significant number of islands in the years following the independence of the Thirteen Colonies. During the nineteenth century colonies that would form Canada came under control of the British. While the Dutch overseas empire weakened, the British saw opportunity to expand in the Old World, occupying former Dutch territories such as the Cape and Ceylon. In 1784, with the introduction of a penal colony in 1788, Britain also spread its influence to the area that would become Australia in 1901. While British

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<sup>118</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial\\_evolution\\_of\\_the\\_British\\_Empire#Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial_evolution_of_the_British_Empire#Asia) (11-2-2014)

<sup>119</sup> David .B Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance, European Overseas Empires, 1415–1980* (New Haven 2000) 24, 25.

territory in the eighteenth and nineteenth century fluctuated by the gain and loss of territories, it was India that proved a stable factor of growth for the British-Empire.<sup>120</sup>

Since the sixteenth century the British East India Company had been expanding its holdings in India and this continued in an era (1775-1824) in which most empires were going through a phase of decline. From early-eighteenth century Britain was the only colonial power on the Indian sub-continent. Before the end of the eighteenth century the Portuguese, Dutch and French had relinquished their claim on India.<sup>121</sup> Military campaigns ensured that the British-Empire kept expanding on the Indian subcontinent well into the nineteenth century.<sup>122</sup> By 1857, the start of the Indian Rebellion, the British controlled most of contemporary India. Eventually the Indian Revolt was crushed. The revolt caused a change of power in India: British East India Company relinquished control over British-India to the British Crown. Management of most of India was taken over by British Parliament using the bureaucratic network of the East India Company, while implementing measurements to punish those who had rebelled.<sup>123</sup> The uprising in India was but one of a number of uprisings and skirmishes between the colonized and colonials. Armed conflicts were expensive and the British population hesitated to allow increased (war) taxation, unless a war was properly justified.<sup>124</sup> When the Ottoman Empire allied itself with the Axis forces at the eve of First World War, Britain unilaterally annexed both Cyprus and Egypt in 1914. France and Britain also started to prepare for the post-war territorial division of the Ottoman Empire. Though falling outside the researched period, with the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the British were able to claim Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq through the League of Nations in 1918.<sup>125</sup> After the 1860s the growth of the empire slowed as British policy became focused on defending its colonies. This policy resulted in a relatively stable size of the British-Empire with only a slow growth until the second decade of the twentieth century.<sup>126</sup> From the early-twentieth century (1911-1940) the British-Empire was at its largest, controlling or claiming more than 15 million miles

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<sup>120</sup> Abernethy, *Global dominance*, 65, 67, 69, 70, 122

<sup>121</sup> Peter Rietbergen, *Europa's India, Fascinatie en cultureel imperialisme, circa 1750-circa 2000* (Nijmegen 2007) 12.

<sup>122</sup> Abernethy, *Global dominance*, 24, 70; Trevor Lloyd, *Empire: A History of the British-Empire* (Hambledon and London 2009) 6, 7.

<sup>123</sup> <http://library.thinkquest.org/C006203/cgi-bin/stories.cgi?article=expansion&section=history/british&frame=parent> (10-2-2014)

<sup>124</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 100, 101.

<sup>125</sup> Abernethy, *Global dominance*, 105.

<sup>126</sup> Abernethy, *Global dominance*, 96.

of territory, the largest of those were India, Australia, Canada and significant parts of Southern and Eastern Africa.<sup>127</sup>

Britain's primary rivals, the French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese still played a role in the eighteenth century. Their overseas empires would be severely weakened by Revolutionary wars in the nineteenth century. This left the British as the strongest global-empire in the world. Although West-European nations would still hold onto lands outside Europe, Britain greatly benefited from the power vacuum its weakened competitors left behind. As the British grew stronger in Asia with the take-over of the Cape from the Dutch, they were also able to cut the supply lines between the Dutch colonies in Asia, and their homeland.<sup>128</sup>

The growth of the British-Empire was paralleled by an increasing number of British emigrants who left the British heartland for its colonies. Between 1815 and 1914 several million people left, including hundreds of thousands of British going to territories such as India to work as civil servants, soldiers or businessmen. In the period 1900-1913 British emigration numbers tripled.<sup>129</sup> Those working in the colonies mostly planned to stay temporally, on a contractual basis, leaving after having worked for several years. The majority of the British left for the New World, America and Canada, and Australia, South-Africa and New-Zealand. Many emigrants wound-up staying in the colonies with a temperate climate (North America, Australia, etc.).<sup>130</sup> The spread of the British across the world doubled in the eyes of the British as the advancements and spread of (Western) civilization. With the advent of the First World War in 1914, the British-Empire began its decline and doubt about the British civilization mission in its colonies began to creep in. It was only in the late 1950s that this became widely accepted in British society.<sup>131</sup>

British colonists were seen as welcome customers in Britain, especially in London. The colonists were trusted with loans because colonial customers of British goods were expected to pay on time and be able to negotiate business deals in English after the war with France ended in 1815. As the British-Empire grew it became more religiously diverse. Some

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<sup>127</sup> [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British\\_Empire\\_1921\\_IndianSubcontinent.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British_Empire_1921_IndianSubcontinent.png) (11-2-2014); [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial\\_evolution\\_of\\_the\\_British\\_Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial_evolution_of_the_British_Empire) (11-2-2014)

<sup>128</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 64, 65, 70.

<sup>129</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 72, 73, 130.

<sup>130</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 73.

<sup>131</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 608, 609.

Hagerman, C.A., *Britain's Imperial Muse: The Classics, Imperialism, and the Indian Empire, 1784-1914* (Ney York 2013) 10, 68, 69.

religions were seen as more problematic to the British than others. An example of this would be Catholicism in Quebec, while Protestants within annexed Dutch colonial territories did not particularly chafe the British. Slavery was a practice that the British opposed after the 1830s. Britain would also start to stimulate the empowerments the local assemblies of colonies. Colonial governments could still rely on British garrison where available.<sup>132</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, the increased self-governance of colonies had stirred up feelings of nationalism, though the colonies were not real nations yet and colonies still had strong ties with Britain. The colonies were mostly interested in letting the British government know that they should be better informed of and interest in local (colonial) matters.<sup>133</sup> Britain would also continue to increase its cooperation with colonial governments and the oppression of black people (in South Africa).<sup>134</sup>

#### **4.3-Imperial culture and the British-Empire, 1810-1915**

British imperial culture developed as the bond between Britain and the rest of its empire resulted in the shaping of a mutual history, while also being a complicated subject. It was British culture that throughout history was enabled to interact with the cultures of oversea regions. While the British culture was shared both through violence and diplomacy, the British culture was not insensible enough to not be affected by the benefits colonials subjects provided. Exchanges occurred with the cultures that made up the British-Empire. Although the British administration managed the British-Empire, it were the colonies themselves that held the Empire together as they handled the day-to-day affairs themselves. At the heart of the British-Empire, the English considered the Empire ‘theirs’. On a practical (local) level the British-Empire was not only (predominantly) British, but also an agreement between colonizers and colonized (at least the local elite). This amalgam was also seen as an aspect of the empire other than the governing of colonies. Cultural, social and other practices were hybridized, though ‘the Empire’ was not a dominating factor in Britain or its colonies.<sup>135</sup> Culture and empire were not the sole products of a natural process, as adding significant to British imperial culture was deliberately constructed. The introduction of imperial heroes, for example, continued well into the twentieth century and did not reflect legitimate cultural

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<sup>132</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 75-77, 85, 99, 118.

<sup>133</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 118, 119, 132.

<sup>134</sup> Lloyd, *Empire*, 132.

<sup>135</sup> Price, ‘One Big Thing’, 603, 607, 608, 624.

representations. It was British imperial culture that originated in Britain and spread over the world as the British travelled to new lands.<sup>136</sup>

Imperial culture within British national culture changed at the end of the nineteenth century. A changing economic climate in the world, and the democratic empowerment of ordinary British citizens, increased the part empire played within British culture. From the end of the nineteenth until the middle of the twentieth century a British citizen was also seen as a citizen of the British-Empire in British culture.<sup>137</sup> Although the empire played a role in British culture, the average Brit did not know much about the empire itself nor travelled to India, but still used the Empire to justify his own political opinion.<sup>138</sup>

The expansion of overseas territories, and all the material and social ramifications imperialism had on a society in Britain and other parts of the British-Empire. The popularity of imperialism during the Victorian Age saw also a boost in the expression of imperial culture. With the popular support of imperialism within Britain, it allowed the ideas of imperialism to not only spread within the British population, but also help spread Western ideals to other regions of the British-Empire.<sup>139</sup> One of the major themes that link the journals of the 'Empire Writes Back' collection is the discussion of the treatment of women in British-India. An example of this is how Imperial ideas became part of the feminist movement, which was followed by the spread of 'waves of feminism' to other parts of the Empire with the purpose to address woman suffrages in the colonies.<sup>140</sup> In turn, the spread of ideas and practices across the Empire by groups inspired by imperial culture also affected how the interaction within the Empire worked. An example of this are the journals written by British Indian travellers addressing the rights of Indian women. The writers sometimes even addressed British women in particular, or otherwise engaged in lengthy discussions about women rights in the colonies.<sup>141</sup> The adoption of imperialism in a culture thus changed the make-up of those who spread Western ideals as part of imperial culture. Besides the increased interests amongst feminists other groups of women, such as missionaries, travelled to the corners of the British-Empire. They created an (imagined) bond between parts of the Empire: in the case of Western feminists, a notion of solidarity between the women within the

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<sup>136</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 609, 611, 612.

<sup>137</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 616, 617.

<sup>138</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 617.

<sup>139</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History*, 4, 22.

<sup>140</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History*, 4, 22, 31.

<sup>141</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.5. R5B3. Behramji, *An appeal from the daughters*, 1, 2; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye* III.

Empire.<sup>142</sup> As with all things culture the way Empire was represented remains open for interpretation. Whatever imperial culture entails during the Victorian Age, in British society there was the notion of moral superiority of Westerners that played a part during their interactions with the rest of the British-Empire. In theory you can have an (overlapping) imperial culture with the best intentions for all living in the empire, but it is disputable if it worked in practice. For example, where British feminists trying to improve the situation of women in British-India, the Indian woman was misrepresented. Instead of effectively helping the local women of British India, they fought for their own Western ideals that were superimposed on the group they wanted to help. This was trait of imperial culture not unique to women. As carriers of imperial culture it was the Western man and woman, their rhetoric, ideas and ideals which represented the Empire as a whole. At the same time they represented those in the colonies in a way that placed non-Western members of the British-Empire lower in the imperial hierarchy: being not suitable to represent themselves. As imperial culture was mostly driven from the (Western) heart of the British-Empire, the development of imperial culture showed signs of cultural imperialism. This was through the overrepresentation of ‘superior’ Western ideals, while maintaining inequality between colonies and the colonizer.<sup>143</sup> The colonial natives were talked about by the British as part of the British-Empire rather than actual human beings.<sup>144</sup> The women of India protested both against their inferior status in Indian culture and the way colonists ‘aided’ Indian women. Colonists not only helped them, but also created new problems for the women of India because their support was laced with ulterior motives. Some of these motives were to strengthen the financial and political basis of Westerners.<sup>145</sup>

Britain itself (and by extension, London) wouldn’t have looked like it did if it was not at the centre of an empire. From the sixteenth century onwards, Britain was as much shaped by its Empire as Britain’s imperialism shaped its colonies.<sup>146</sup> In both British culture and its society many elements of its empire could be found. Examples of this are botanical gardens, museum expositions, and technology: people were interested in all things empire.<sup>147</sup> The (cultural) representations of empire that could be found in Britain as an empire, and Britain as

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<sup>142</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History*, 3, 4.

<sup>143</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History*, 30, 31, 38, 39.

<sup>144</sup> Price, ‘One Big Thing’, 612.

<sup>145</sup> Joanna Little, ‘Gender and Imperialism in British India’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 20, No. 43 (1985) 72, 73.

<sup>146</sup> Price, ‘One Big Thing’, 602, 603.

<sup>147</sup> Price, ‘One Big Thing’, 610.

a nation formed close connections. The amount of representations that could be found, however, was limited and certainly not dominating British everyday life, nor the time of the British political elite.<sup>148</sup> Classical works part of the British culture such as literature, art and ideas were not only part of British imperial culture, but were also spread over the world. The British elite were inspired by classic works and these influenced how the elite thought about empire. An idea that were taken over from classics, amongst others, was the spreading of civilization and virtues attributed to imperial heroes. Imperial discourse was also lacking in ‘regret’, for the workings of the Empire and even compared the Roman Empire with that of the British. The Britons did not see themselves as the new Greeks or Romans. Regret was shown when the British-Empire went in decline.<sup>149</sup>

In London, the heart of the British-Empire, Imperial culture was not only represented, but in mid-nineteenth century until mid-twentieth century also mimicked from other, rival empires. The competitive relationship between empires stimulated empires to put their wealth and power as an empire on display in their cities. London itself did not form a single continuous symbol of British imperialism. Cultural representations could be found in different parts of the city, not only in parts dedicated to government or ceremonies.<sup>150</sup> One of the easiest ways of visualizing empire was done through city planning and architecture. Though in the case of London it had (and still has) buildings tied to its imperial heritage (including its subways, docks and monuments). Compared to other imperial cities such as Paris, Vienna and Rome, London was thought of as less impressive between 1850 and 1950. There existed various plans from architects, and the like, to add more imperial aspects to the city. London was also set apart from cities such as Paris and Berlin, in that the state did not sponsor the city’s development as an imperial city. Not in the least because the British government had little influence over city-planning.<sup>151</sup> It can be argued that what London lacked in imperial architecture, it made up for it by the ideas of liberalism, free-trade and anti-absolutism. These ideas set apart British imperialism from its rivals. Another phenomenon shown and preserved as something characteristic of London was its traffic congestion (or ‘bustling activity’) that gave it the image of being the centre of its Empire. This was also commented on by late-

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<sup>148</sup> Price, ‘One Big Thing’, 618, 619.

<sup>149</sup> Hagerman, *Britain's Imperial Muse* 10, 13, 89-92.

<sup>150</sup> Gilbert, David, ‘Capital and Empire: Geographies of Imperial London’, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 51, No. 1/2, European Capital Cities (2000) 23, 24, 26.

<sup>151</sup> Gilbert, ‘Capital and Empire’, 25, 28, 29, 30.



nineteenth century visitors from India and hinted at in other territories of the British-Empire, such as Ireland.<sup>152</sup>

#### **4.4-Orientalism and the Indian traveller in the British-Empire**

While much of the British-Indian traveling literature within ‘The Empire Writes Back’ collection covers their travels to London, the travellers put considerable effort to also visit other places of importance. Besides the major centres of civilization within Europe (such as Paris and Rome), they also made extensive trips to the overseas territories of the British-Empire. There they both observed and conversed with the local population about a range of topics including the state of the Empire and the British colonizers.<sup>153</sup> Both the experience of the British-Indian travellers and the responses of the natives show a nuanced image regarding the relationship between East and West. Distinctions were made between Westerners in Europe and in the colonies. This observation also extended to the British. The Englishman in Britain was not offensive and lacked the air of superiority they had in India. Being blunt and reserved was in an Englishman’s nature, but he was completely different from the British living in India and other colonies within the Empire. The travellers concluded that the British living in British-India and other British colonies differed from the British living in Britain itself. Travellers did not explicitly distinguish between the different classes of British living on the colonies (elite, military etc) in regards to their behaviour.<sup>154</sup>

To look for signs of Orientalism during the travellers’ visit is to look at how the British (or colonists) during that time placed the East (the ‘Orient’) in relation to their experience as Westerners. Although places such as Africa and Australia are not part of the Orient, the contrast between the ‘civilized’ West and the ‘to be civilized’ overseas territories still applied. The basic image that is created shows the difference of the other (in this case the colonized), both in physical and metaphysical aspects (culture, ideas, religion etc.). The East was both described derogatively and in fascination.<sup>155</sup> In case of the British-Empire, the Orient also meant the physical possession of the colonies as part of the Empire. Orientalism can have a number of definitions. The British-Indian travellers’ contribution was to describe

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<sup>152</sup> Gilbert, ‘Capital and Empire’, 25- 27; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 117, 118.

<sup>153</sup> Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari, *East and West [a periodical]*, Vol 1, Nos 1-4, November 1901 – February 1902, 98, 99.

<sup>154</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 381, 382.

<sup>155</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 58, 59.

how the West dominated the Orient, how Britain controlled its colonies, showed and otherwise interacted with the East. Though Orientalism does not need to make up every instance of ‘East meets West’, it was the experience of the West with the East that made up the Orientalist view.<sup>156</sup> Orientalism stems from the human mind like the concepts of ‘East’ and ‘West’ is given meaning through a ‘history, imagination and vocabulary’. Something was not just Oriental, but assigned as such and an image created through Orientalism did not need (or considered) to be true.<sup>157</sup> In descriptions of the Orient, the East almost became the antithesis of the West. Orientalism is not how the East showed itself, but how the Occident did not see itself.<sup>158</sup> This does not mean that the East is not real, but the idea that Europeans saw themselves as superior to those living in the East, and was imagined so in every way, plays a large role in the relationship between East and West.<sup>159</sup> In the colonies the natives were confronted not only by Westerner’s who perceived them as an empirical fact, but whose vision was also affected by the mentalities of the colonizers. These mentalities consisted of things such as hopes, desires and imaginations.<sup>160</sup> As discussed in chapter 1.4C, Orientalist colonial discourse could fall into one of three categories: Romantic, Patronizing and Nationalistic.<sup>161</sup>

During their journeys, the Indian travellers made a number of observations in regards to how the British acted. These observations affected their views on the hierarchy that existed between the British and the colonies. For those traveller’s that visited the Empire’s colonies, interaction between colonizers and colonized was also commented upon. By studying the travelling journals the British-Indian travellers noticed commonalities in how the British in their colonies behaved towards the indigenous population. In general, this treatment can be divided in three sections: British territory within Europe (Ireland, Scotland), major colonies (Australia) and colonies on the frontier (Tasmania). The further away from the British heartland a territory is, the stronger (more dominant) British Orientalist signs became.<sup>162</sup> On the other hand, cultural make-up changed differently. A clear separate identity close by (Scotland), in major colonies the presence of a ‘hybrid-caste’ generally differed from the English only in skin colour, while in more remote colonies, the locals show more of their

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<sup>156</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 2-4.

<sup>157</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 5, 6.

<sup>158</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 57, 58.

<sup>159</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 7.

<sup>160</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 8, 9

<sup>161</sup> Heehs, ‘Shades of Orientalism’, 171-175.

<sup>162</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 122, 123, 139-141, 145-147, 152, 156, 157, 177.

indigenous identity.<sup>163</sup> Interaction can be taken in a broad sense as not all travellers were affluent in English, especially at the start of their journey and that ultimately affected their writing. The travellers sometimes travelled in company, including English interpreters, friends and other hosts or hostesses, which might have led to the censoring of their own works. Besides observations, travellers also made use of English books and they also interviewed native people.<sup>164</sup>

One thing that stood out while researching the journals of the travellers was that they visit many of the same places in the British-Empire and as a result encountered similar signs of Orientalism. Exact routes and order of visit differed, but all travellers on their way to London made stops in British held territories. Many of the journals describing the outer reaches of the British-Empire were written in the second half of the nineteenth century. These journals were written in a similar tone –writings generally favourable in regards to British behaviour. Journals from early-nineteenth century show different aspects, but this was understandable as the British-Empire was consolidating its hold in lands such as the Cape (South-Africa) and Australia. Journals describing recently attained territories also contain a richer account of other Europeans and, in lieu, both Western and especially Eastern prejudices.<sup>165</sup>

Descriptions of far-off and freshly conquered colonies share similarities in that they consistently mention the martial nature of the British. When comparing the older with the newer journals the Orientalist behaviour of the British in their colonies, seem to shift to the edges of the Empire.<sup>166</sup> Scotland and Ireland, both close to England on a geographic scale, were observed as being treated differently in the British-Empire. While all travellers observed that both the Scottish and the Irish inhabitants were an independent-minded people, Scotland enjoyed a closer relationship with England.<sup>167</sup> Descriptions of Scotland did not change much between 1810 and 1915. No clear English presence was noted for the exception of tourists and while Scotland meshed well with England due to their close economic integration. The Scots remained a proud people with many monuments to national heroes, including national heroes

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<sup>163</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 145, 186.

<sup>164</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 159; Charles Stewart (translator), *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe During the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803* (Second Edition, London, 1810) [https://archive.org/details/travelsmirzaabu01khgoog](https://archive.org/details/travelsmirzaabu01khgoog/2-3-2014) (2-3-2014) 134.

<sup>165</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan Volume II*, 91, 187

<sup>166</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan Volume II*, 70, 91, 187; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 150; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 187.

<sup>167</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 128.

that fought the English and commemorated victories over the English.<sup>168</sup> Notable exceptions existed, including Nelson's monument (English maritime hero) and the Windsor hotel. While the British-Indian traveller was generally treated well in both Ireland and Scotland, the same cannot be said for the Irish themselves. Both by Westerners and Eastern travellers, the Irish peasantry were described as a destitute people. Just like the Scottish they were a proud people but looked down upon by other Westerners. Mid-nineteenth century they were compared to the Hottentote people of South-Africa in the English House of Lords (part of the United Kingdom's Parliament, the other half being the House of Commons, and at the time made up by appointees with a hereditary title). Even though the position of the Irish improved in the following decades, some still called them a poor and dirty folk.<sup>169</sup> Observations changed from describing the Irish peasants as being poorer than Indian peasants to noting the Irish people (using veiled terms) took much for granted.<sup>170</sup>

Territories where the British gained a strong foothold such as South-Africa, Australia, Ceylon and Malta, started out as military bases where British ideas and ideals trickled down to the local population. These territories were also places where Orientalist views became more obvious, at least in the years where the British had to consolidate their power. The Orientalist views were not especially originating from the British, but also (or more so) from settlers of other European nations that were already present in the area before the English took over.<sup>171</sup> Early-nineteenth century accounts from both English and British-Indian travellers in the South-African region emphasized the presence of the Boor (or Boer) settlers and communities (kraal) and the various (East/ East Cape) African tribes (Bushmen, Hottentote and Kaffra). The British missionary traveller John Campbell wrote both about the effort of the English to both civilize and spread Christianity to the natives of Africa, while describing the primitive lives of those living there (eating without fork, crude way of hunting).<sup>172</sup> Having arrived in Cape the Good Hope, the missionary encountered almost no crime, which he attributed to the way how white people influenced the local population (in a mild and humane sway). Natives on the other hand are either described as being 'wretched' or simpletons. He

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<sup>168</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 27, 28.

<sup>169</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 74, 75, 92, 125, 126, 146; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 51, 56, 59.

<sup>170</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 146; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 76.

<sup>171</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan Volume II*, 91, 187, 188; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.10. Reel 10, book 3. James Prior, *Voyage along the eastern coast of Africa* (London, 1819) 14, 21.

<sup>172</sup> Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.10. Reel 10, book 2. John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (Third Edition, London, 1815) 142, 145, 147, 276 329.

reasoned that their language was simple because they did not have much to talk about. The Boer (and even one of the British-Indian travellers) held slaves, and the Dutch had a reputation of treating them badly.<sup>173</sup>

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century descriptions in journals show that the frontiers of the British-Empire have moved and lands such as South-Africa and Australia have been pacified. Even once a territory was firmly in control of the colonists Oriental prejudgements rise when the Western population felt threatened. An example of this were the Chinese workers migrating to Australia late-nineteenth century. Even though most Chinese would work a short time before leaving again, the Western colonist feared their competition. Western colonists thought the stereotypical Chinese would come in great numbers, replacing Westerners with their cheap labour. Meanwhile British-Indian travellers noted how capable Chinese workers were when compared to Europeans. The Chinese were being discriminated on basis of them being Chinese.<sup>174</sup> British-Indian travellers have moved from describing British military strength in those areas and instead wrote about how European the Cape colony looked. Treatment of the British-Indians in territories ruled by the British was mostly good, though this might have been limited to the intellectual (and noble) Indians who could convey that they were willing imperial citizens.<sup>175</sup>

Not every Western colony went through the same 'civilization' process. While the British were able to modernize the Cape (South Africa) after taking it from the Dutch. Egypt, for example, was a different matter. When a British-Indian traveller visited Egypt in 1893, it had been a British protectorate for eleven years. He remarked that that the city of Alexandria still bore the grandeur of the France occupation that started back in 1798. Another traveller remarked that Egypt had a clear British military presence and the village he visited a town that seemed more European than African. The village had restaurants and cafes where the Europeans gathered and were almost no locals could be found.<sup>176</sup>

The frontier territories under control of the British, such as New Zealand and Tasmania saw a confirmation in the eyes of the British-Indian travellers in regards to the nature of the British (English). The British did not like to mix with other people unless they

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<sup>173</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B3. Prior, *Voyage along the eastern coast*, 14, 21; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B2. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 279.

<sup>174</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 154, 186, 187, 196.

<sup>175</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B3. Prior, *Voyage along the eastern coast*, 69; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 33-35.

<sup>176</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 208-219; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 25.

were held in good regards in the British-Empire. Even in frontier colonies their proud nature made them separated themselves from the local population: building fences and fortifications to keep others away from them. Those British living in the wilds tried to live comfortable. Even while living alone they wanted large pieces of enclosed land.<sup>177</sup> In bringing Western civilization the British *modus operandi* showed a similar pattern in territories ‘taken back from the wilds’. Forests were cleared en mass to make place for the settlements of colonists, while wild animals were shot, which meant that wherever European settler were found the majority of the trees were gone and no wild animals remained. The native population living from the land were driven away just as sure as the animals as the Colonists claimed the land for themselves. This meant that in places like Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand local communities scattered or completely disappeared. Any surviving members were being forced to trade with the colonists. An exiled Australian Aboriginal stated that the natives who resisted became embittered. The Aboriginals were branded as savages and cannibals by the British, before the colonists and missionaries arrived to either civilize or kill them. The Indigenous population was judged by British standards from the start, even though certain Western concepts, such as ‘possession, ownership’, were an unknown to the native population of Australia.<sup>178</sup>

#### **4.5-Occidentalism and the Indian traveller in the British-Empire**

While Westerners had their prejudices, which were telling in their dealings with the natives of their colonies, the opposite might also be true and can be shown as signs of Occidentalism. Although ideas covering Occidentalism are less substantial than those covering Orientalism, nor has there been written much about it, it still has a place in comparative culture. As a term Occidentalism is used in the Orient and Third-World countries as a counter to Orientalist thinking. Whereas Orientalism describes Western prejudices against the East, the term Occidentalism is used to describe the biased of the East against the West. The basic sentiments of Occidentalism are anti-colonialism and anti-hegemonic.<sup>179</sup> Although the term Occidentalism is used in a post-colonial context, the ideas of colonial resistance it conveys makes it less confusing to use in this way than to describe colonial resistance as a form of

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<sup>177</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 92; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 153, 156, 157, 159.

<sup>178</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B2. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 329; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 156-158, 161, 176.

<sup>179</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 62, 65.

Orientalism, be it as a form of romanticism or nationalism that was felt by educated Indians. Even when this sentiment was ‘copied’ from Westerners.<sup>180</sup> The term ‘nationalism’ is also problematic when used in a pre-colonial era (that is not post-colonial), as ideas of nationalism does not transcend time and place. India is a good example of this as British-India did not cover all of contemporary India and was divided in multiple territories that did not all aspire to become one nation.<sup>181</sup> Occidentalism on the other hand can be used when an Oriental society harbours resentment towards the West. An example of this was how after the 1840’s Opium War negative feelings remained in the collective unconscious of the Chinese.<sup>182</sup>

While the section about Occidentalism covered how the colonizers were seen and acted in the colonies, the Indian traveller noted in their journals how they conversed and observed the locals and the British. These interaction gave their visits to London a new perspective and made them think about the position of both the colonies and Britain in the Empire.

It is clear that the British-Indian travellers found a number of things in common with the inhabitants of other colonies in regards to their dealings with the British. The initial difference between signs of Occidentalism from the travellers and the natives in the colonies are that the travellers showed signs more as a reaction of what they heard or observed, while the natives described what they or their people experienced.<sup>183</sup> Both negative feelings and stereotyping of the British were not limited to Eastern lands: the Irish have had their own way of depicting the British, while trying to create a cultural difference between British and Irish society. The British themselves were described by the Irish as physically weak and requiring much food, while not keeping their promises.<sup>184</sup> In Irish art the British were depicted not only as John Bull (similar icon as Uncle Sam etc.), but also in the shape of an actual bull. The bull representing the foolhardy, overly courageous nature of the British, blunt, uncouth and willing to charge into battle heedless of the danger. Some of the travellers also symbolically called the British John Bull when confronted with the British imperial wealth.<sup>185</sup> Although the Scottish and Irish shared similar grudged in regards to the British, they themselves had also

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<sup>180</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 62.

<sup>181</sup> Heehs, ‘Shades of Orientalism’, 172, 174, 175.

<sup>182</sup> Ning, ‘Orientalism versus Occidentalism?’, 64.

<sup>183</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 218; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 17-20, 156, 157.

<sup>184</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 146, 147, 155.

<sup>185</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 30; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 135, 136, 142.

been stereotyped by the British-Indian traveller. Some of the travellers added sections to their journal describing (and generalizing) the nature of the people they visited. Not every stereotyping was a result of prejudging Easterners. Generalizations were sometimes made after a bad experience. Positive generalization were also made by the travellers: even though they went out of their way to observe and speak to the locals, almost all travellers were constrained by time, money, and the writing space of their books. This limited what they could know and put in their books. The Irish and Scots also had traits attributed to them, partially associated to other Europeans. The Irish, a British-Indian traveller claimed, all had a drinking problem, especially Whiskey. Scots were portrayed as bigots and overall too busy with money.<sup>186</sup>

British-Indian travellers visiting the colonies and outposts that the British conquered from other Western nations showed more Occidentalism directed at the natives and European settlers. Malta being an important outpost for ships travelling from India to England had also been a base for the Knights of St. John (or said to be Knights of St. George), which was remarked by more than one traveller. One of the travellers was prompted to comment on the native Maltese who in his opinion were not only bigots, but also that Roman Catholics liked to fight. The same traveller made a similar analysis of the English and reasoned that the will to conquer is a flaw in their moral point of view. The English men being bloodthirsty and brutal is because it lies close to their racial nature. 'Heat is as inseparable from a fire as is brutality from an aggressive and conquering race'.<sup>187</sup> Those travellers visiting South-Africa (Cape colony) had a negative disposition of the Dutch settlers (the Boer). Many negative traits were attributed to the Dutch. Examples include them being greedy, treacherous, cruel and uninterested in preventing them from getting a bad reputation. Although the traveller used strong language to condemn the Dutch it has to be said that the traveller did not get stuck in giving biased views, nor could both Easterner and Westerner be judged by today's standards. An example of this was how a British-Indian traveller disapproved of the way the Dutch maltreated their slaves. The traveller a slave-owner himself, willing to sell a person to remain living in comfort until he could continue his journey to Britain. Justification for selling the slave was given as said slave having gained a bad attitude during the journey to South-Africa. It has to be said that not every traveller was treated well by the Dutch he or she met, at least

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<sup>186</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 92; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 273, 274; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 139.

<sup>187</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 17; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 18, 273, 274.



less so than the English. This difference in treatment was reflected in the number of favourable traits attributed to the British in comparison to the Dutch.<sup>188</sup>

Occidental criticism in colonies at the edge of the British-Empire was being aimed more at the British, as the people that lived in those colonies lived in a harsh climate with few British settlers and other Europeans were fewer still. In Australia the British were described as jealous and cruel people and having little or no caring for the habits of the natives. Although commended for their appreciation of honest labour, English capitalists considered employing coolly labour from India to work on the transcontinental railway. Some travellers showed aversion for those whose minds were centred on spending money.<sup>189</sup> In parts of the British-Empire people did not trust the British (Westerners) because of a difference in customs. In order to be trusted in Ceylon, for example, an Englishman had to become a vegetarians. Travellers seemed to have divergent opinions about the state of Buddhism in Ceylon, a place transformed by the British. The dissonance was whether or not Buddhism in Ceylon has become a shell of its former self.<sup>190</sup> Major hubs of the British-Empire were not only places of commerce or displays of the Empire's military power. Be it in Ceylon, South-Africa or Egypt (Alexandria) –all were places where many different cultures mixed.<sup>191</sup>

#### **4.6-Baboo: the in-between**

It is important to note that signs of both Orientalism and Occidentalism can be shown from the same person. This was also the case of travellers, including those that were Baboo (or Babu, spelling differs). The Baboo native were Indians, Western educated, that were seen as competition for civil service jobs from the 1860s onward. From an Indian perspective they were bad-mannered.<sup>192</sup> Indian Baboo were not the only form of how East and West mixed in the British-Empire. The travellers described a range of people in the British colonies with a mixed social or racial backgrounds, or a mixture of both. Recognizing those of mixed origins was mostly done by travellers through the recognition of visual cue's or when someone's

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<sup>188</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 66, 67, 68, 70, 74, 75.

<sup>189</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 180, 187, 188, 213, 219, 222; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 120.

<sup>190</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 10, 11; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 16-18.

<sup>191</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 72, 73; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 12, 13; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 15.

<sup>192</sup> Anindyo Roy, *Civility and Empire: Literature and Culture in British India, 1822-1922* (Oxon 2005) 2, 4.

background became object of conversation.<sup>193</sup> Analysing the visits of the travellers to the colonies grants a different perspective on the societies within the British-Empire. It is also a way to compare how the British-Indians and other colonized embraced or were able to identify themselves with both their local culture and the customs of the West.

Was a hybrid culture like the Indian Baboo being mirrored in other colonies, or perhaps different circumstances made other colonized identify themselves in different ways? The way Baboo were treated was depended on both time, location and social circles they interacted with. Baboo were criticised by both Indians and the British colonizers.<sup>194</sup> They were seen as the antithesis of the English gentlemen and feminine, an aspect of an Orientalist view. Seen by the British as half-civilized, but unable to ever become truly civilized, the Baboo were seen as oddities. Discrimination of the Indian Baboo worsened in the twentieth century as the gentlemen society became the dominate middle-class society.<sup>195</sup>

The cultural background of the British-Indian travellers offers an interesting perspective on the make-up of British colonial society. Coming from a segmented society divided into castes, travellers sometimes tried to apply the structure of Indian society in the West. This lead the travellers to describe European (English) classes, making parallels (or confusing them) with their caste system. The personal background of the travellers themselves also plays a role in how prominently the mixture of race and culture is featured in the journals. 'Ordinary' British-Indian travellers tended to write more from the perspective of racial diversity in the colonies. When a traveller was a Baboo himself, he had an increased attention for people of mixed race and social status. The same could be said for travellers that compared Westerners, who had visited colonies where social status and caste played an important role. This could help explain why the British in their colonies were more aware or strict about hierarchies between race and social status. Conversations between Travellers and their (Indian) travelling companions seem to indicate that 'Baboo' was also used as a derogatory term.<sup>196</sup> In the journals the term Baboo was meant to be used as an indicator of someone's function as a colonial official (clerk). Baboo was also used by some Indians who

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<sup>193</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 147, 183; Roy, *Civility and Empire*, 1-5.

<sup>194</sup> Price, 'One Big Thing', 602, 617-619; Roy, *Civility and Empire*, 1-5.

<sup>195</sup> Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, 77.

<sup>196</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 2, 3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 183.

seemed to think it was also someone with a low status, someone who should stay separate from the ‘normal’ people.<sup>197</sup>

Besides natives with a specific function and status in a colonial society, there were people from various colonies who tried to act and dress more like Europeans. This created a distinct group of people who were neither like the locals nor completely Westernized. British-Indian travellers sometimes noted how strange or funny this made the ‘hybrids’ look. With various degrees of adaption people from colonies like Malta, Tasmania, Australia and Ceylon managed to adopt Western customs. Some both lived with, and dressed completely as Europeans, though the traveller suspected that some might be of mixed-race as well. The impression was given that the smaller the local population compared to the number of colonists, the more they dress and behave like Westerners. This included adopting some of their habits (like smoking). An example of this was Australia, where a traveller met two aboriginals that were indistinguishable from the Europeans except for their complexion.<sup>198</sup> Others colonies such as in Seylon, where the Europeans formed a minority, you had locals wear European clothes, but always had clothe pieces worn traditionally by the natives such as combs or towels (Camboy). The idea behind this combination of Eastern and Western clothes was for the ‘hybrid’ natives to distinguish themselves from the Europeans. A British-Indian traveller visiting Malta worded that the men living there dressed themselves like the English, but did so in a clumsy and unpolished manner. The women wore a combination of local and English clothes.<sup>199</sup>

Where the natives had the choice to act and dress like Europeans, some of their children did not. Those of mixed racial descent were mostly the children of native mothers and European fathers. Travellers remarked that they were the unfortunate relics of the vice of the original settlers. On occasion those words could be taken literally, as whole native communities disappeared –They either fled from or died because Western violence responses to their resistance. Tasmania is a good example of an Island where the native population was replaced by European/ English settlers, leaving only a handful of people of mixed racial descent. Those of mixed-race had either adopted to European style fashion and culture, or lived in isolated communities on the northern tip of the island.<sup>200</sup> Both ‘hybrids’ of mixed-race, and those who have decided to accept Eastern and Western culture had at least in

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<sup>197</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 2, 3.

<sup>198</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 17-20, 28, 147, 185, 186.

<sup>199</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 17-20, 28.

<sup>200</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 147.

common that they were faced with prejudgements. Some travellers on their journeys clearly looked down on down them. One traveller visiting Aden, went as far as calling the ‘natives, negroes, Jews and other half-castes extremely lazy’. Observation that would be considered racist in the twenty-first century. Similarly worded observations continued in London, where in the British Zoo African monkeys’ faces ‘approach much of that of the negro’.<sup>201</sup> Baboo were being seen as an inferior caste in India. In Western eyes the low classes (castes) of India were stigmatized as being of impure, mixed decent (‘with an African features and colour’) who tarnished the nobility of the Indian race.<sup>202</sup>

#### **4.7-Conclusion**

Throughout history empires have both gained and lost territories, and the British-Empire was no exception. The period 1810-1915 and especially the Victorian Age, was a time of great expansion. With the annexation and conquest of new lands, local cultures had to conform to the will of the British. While the British preferred to remain mostly isolated from the local population in their colonies, they and British culture were the driving force behind British imperial culture. As the imperial borders expanded and British regimes in older colonies consolidated, a pattern became distinguishable. New colonies were ‘civilized’ early on while established colonies had, depending on its age and location, the British military presence reduced. Meanwhile, the local population slowly adopted a Western British imperial culture and the infrastructure changed along with it. This suited the European population, but also benefited the locals. European countries like Ireland and Scotland with a long history of British control kept their own Western identity, while natives in established colonies further away had a more distinct mix between local and Western culture. The choice of adopting European mannerism was for the local population not always a choice. Those of mixed-race either lived amongst the settlers and adopted their culture on the go, or lived in isolated communities depended on the colonist. Depending on the situation, the local community was either decimated or scattered. This all was either observed by the British-Indian travellers, heard or read from various sources. During their journey to London the British-Indian traveller regularly stopped in colonies that the British conquered from other European nations. Travellers had the opportunity to compare and form nuanced opinions about the British in the

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<sup>201</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 136; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B5. Sathianadhan, *A Holiday trip*, 4.

<sup>202</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B3. Prior, *Voyage along the eastern coast*, 69.

imperial colonies and their European continental counterparts like the Dutch, Spaniards and the French. The close relationship between East and West also manifested in the British-Indian traveller themselves. Travellers exhibited habits that also existed in the West, including being slave-holders. Other travellers set themselves apart by being Baboo, working with the British colonial government.

## **Chapter 5-Indian travellers scrutinizing London culture and society**

### **5.1-Introduction**

The focus of the previous chapters was put on the travellers' background and encounters outside London. This chapter will examine how the previous experience of the travellers affected their views of Britain and the West while in London. This will leave any insights and revelations about their opinions of the British imperial project and non-western aspects within London for chapter six. In order to work out the current chapter I have divided it into the following sub-chapters. First I will examine the travellers' first impressions and expectation of London, and how they adapted to living in a Western society for an extended time. Next I will concentrate on different aspects of London society and gauge the reaction of the traveller, paying special attention to any signs of Occidentalism and other divergent opinions. Signs could range from criticism to unfounded praise for the West, or critique on how the East was depicted in the West. As the main focus of this chapter lies with the culture and society of London, reports of Occidental signs will focus on those. The aspects that I will discuss separately are: London society as a whole, and London population and their habits. Following these observations, I will look at which traits of London makes it the heart of the British-Empire. Highlighting the hallmarks of Western civilization in the eyes of the travellers, while reserving Eastern and colonial influencing for chapter six. Finally I will try to answer this chapter's sub-question in the conclusion: 'What were the travellers' opinions, observations and experiences about daily life in London?'

### **5.2-First impressions and expectations of London**

During their journeys the British-Indians visited many places, but their stay in London took up a central place in their writings. Though it is not extensively described in this thesis, a few travellers first visited other large European cities before they arrived in London. It was entirely possible that those visits affected how the travellers behaved towards Westerners in London. Since the thesis concentrates on London, a wider European comparison will be left for another research study.<sup>203</sup> For those travellers that also added a description of their journey between India and Britain, or the British-Empire at large, had seen how the native cultures of British colonies changed under British rule. The descriptions of the travellers have in most

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<sup>203</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 8-10; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 128, 129.

journals centred on Westerners and how colonial natives adopted Western dressing styles, architecture and customs.<sup>204</sup> This means it was possible for British-Indians to recognize hybrid elements between East and West, both in India and other locations within the British-Empire. Travellers were capable of picking out people of mixed racial descent (a mix of East and West). Travellers deducted that these had a different social position in colonies. Furthermore, travellers were both familiar with examples in India and other colonies with people who wanted to adopt a more western way of life or at least worked for the British. Besides obvious signifiers, such as skin colour, the travellers researched the relationship between colonizers and the colonized and inquired into the social position of people of mixed descent.<sup>205</sup>

What stands out while reading the journals, is that the travellers saw themselves as Indians (and in some cases their inferior status when compared to the British). Travellers displayed melancholia when thinking about their home in India ('we Indians are more peaceful than Englishmen at home') in their writings.<sup>206</sup> They did not refer to themselves as a representative of a specific group of Indians people, except in their biographical information or sometimes when talking about another Indian person. 'Dr. B—and a Punjabi friend arranged with a lady for a room'.<sup>207</sup> Furthermore, they did not seem aware of how much they themselves adapted to British-culture made themselves a product of East and West. One of the travellers was a Baboo, but the only time he mentioned it in his journal was when other Indians confronted him about his status as Baboo. It was not they unconsciously acted like Westerners, but the travellers hinted at either a mind-set of politeness, avoiding confrontation by making compromises or their supposed inferior status as reasons to behave more like a Westerner.

It can be confirmed that travellers tried to avoid conflict with Westerners by compromising on the European continent and in Britain. When the travellers described an argument, which was rare, de-escalation stood central in how they dealt with conflict situations. Not many conflicts were described, but those that were followed a similar pattern. Travellers who had disagreements with publishers, arguments with the Irish on the merits of British rule or when being conned in France. These situations all had in common that the

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<sup>204</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 28, 154, 185, 186; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 222.

<sup>205</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 83.

<sup>206</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 142.

<sup>207</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 187.

travellers consciously chose not to push their arguments.<sup>208</sup> An example of this would be ‘But in a foreign land, I thought, I must purchase peace at any price, and I gave him a Franc and got rid of him.’<sup>209</sup>

The travellers’ first impressions of London did not change chronically as much as it differed from person to person. Besides the weather being cold and dreary it was the fog (and smoke) that the travellers such as Awatsing Mahtabsing thought was peculiar about the city. ‘For the first time I saw the London Fog’.<sup>210</sup> The quote shows that travellers gathered information about London before making the journey. A traveller mentioned two kinds of fog, including ‘black fog’, though he did not mention whether or not the fog was pollution.<sup>211</sup> A travellers’ priority and problems to overcome when first arriving at a new destination did not differ much over time. Contacts in London, possessing financial means and consequently comfort eased their settling in, whether they arrived in the early-nineteenth century or early-twentieth century. Travellers themselves or their friends reserved lodging, which they occupied until they either had to travel to a new destination, could no longer afford the costs or were unhappy about the living conditions. This behaviour was not unique to their stay in London, but also for example in South-Africa.<sup>212</sup>

A problem that arises when comparing the first impression of the travellers is that they were a varied lot with different interests. Those interested in technology were drawn to one of British strengths, while the more morally inclined travellers emphasised how European servants had it better than their Indian counterparts. The amazement of British technological advancements and the sprawling nature of London is also seen throughout the nineteenth century. In general British-Indians were impressed about British hotels, though not every traveller could afford to stay in them for an extended amount of time.<sup>213</sup> Those that took their time to take in the sights of London in the early days of their visits were drawn to London’s numerable parks and monuments.<sup>214</sup> Monetary problems formed one of the negative

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<sup>208</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 2, 3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 23; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, VIII, 26.

<sup>209</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 128, 129.

<sup>210</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 12.

<sup>211</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 12, 94; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 12, 13, 52.

<sup>212</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 159-161.

<sup>213</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 13; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 44-47; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4.

Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 24, 25; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 28.

<sup>214</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B6. Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah*, 1-5; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 6.



impressions that travellers shared in the nineteenth century. London, especially its hotels, was expensive to such an extent that some travellers suspected that they were being taken advantage of. For some travellers the bustling activity they witnessed in London also had a darker side. Crowds and traffic more hectic than seen in India were seen as unsafe and an overwhelming experience for Indians visiting London. Travellers imagined that the dozens of young Indians would face the temptations of woman and alcoholic drinks.<sup>215</sup>

Expectations differed between travellers. Before arriving in London some already had ideas about what to expect of London and its people. Travellers had been reading stories of Britain since they were children, heard about the region from friends or talked about the British colonists at home.<sup>216</sup> The more superficial expectation of the appearance of London was often surpassed. Before travelling to London travellers read about London. By the way they themselves tried to describe the city, previous books about London proved inadequate.<sup>217</sup>

Not only was the city impressive on a technological level, but also the aesthetics went beyond the imagination of some travellers. A traveller went as far as describing London as a “fairylane” with all its gas-light. This description reads very much as a romanticized version of London. Though an impressive sight, not every traveller was convinced of the city’s beauty. After the initial awe wore off travellers were still impressed by the city, but the beauty of other European cities, like Paris was superior. Most travellers had a clear goal in mind or otherwise had the intention to stimulate the good relationship between Britain and its British-India. The British-Indian travellers saw with their journey to London an opportunity to learn and held the hopes of advancing the people of India up and sometimes beyond that of the British. Amongst those travelling to Britain were many Indians unhappy about traditional Indian life and sought in Britain the inspiration to change their homeland.<sup>218</sup> Important to note that the travellers did not so much use the concept of India as nation (though late-nineteenth century there was talk about national life). Travellers wrote about the advancements of Indians as a people or religious communities. Reflecting mostly on the positive side of Britain was seen as more educative, even though Indians studying British society were aware of how

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<sup>215</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 48, 49; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 24, 25; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 28, 29.

<sup>216</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 27.

<sup>217</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 27.

<sup>218</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 28, 29; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Microfilm number: 164.9. Reel 9, book 1. Samuel Sathianadhan, *England and India. Lectures* (Madras, 1886) IV-2, 3.

lopsided that view was.<sup>219</sup> One of the disillusionments the travellers had to endure was that the Empire as a whole had a much lower priority in London than they had expected, at least when considering the British government. What the travellers did receive was attention from a broad variety of British people, of all classes.<sup>220</sup> While the British acted aloof in their colonies, in Britain some travellers observed quite the opposite. The darker the complexion the more attention one received from the British. The darker the complexion the more welcome a foreigner was.<sup>221</sup> This contrasts with what was concluded in chapter three, as a dark skin tone was considered a negative trait in imperial hierarchy.

### 5.3-Travellers scrutinizing the people of London

During their extended stays the British-Indian travellers had ample opportunity to observe the behaviour of the London locals. While the travellers were sometimes seen as oddities, the interest of a broad spectrum of the London population allowed them to interact with the many different groups in and around London. There was a difference between the observations of the travellers and the direct interaction between them and the population of London. Not every traveller bothered to inform the reader when he or she was visiting someone or was merely a distant observer.<sup>222</sup>

A popular subject amongst travellers were the great many people they saw on the streets of London. Displaying a fascination for busy London life they added descriptions of the city's numerous working class. A large part of the population was always busy with some activity or another and were hard workers. Some travellers saw the British as superior craftsmen compared to the Indians, though the Indians tried their best to imitate them. The independent spirit and self-respect of the lower classes were also commended by the travellers.<sup>223</sup> The British-Indian traveller scrutinized the British commoner's en masse: observations also took place on an individual level. Not every British person was given a

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<sup>219</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B2. Ghosha, *Indian views*, 3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 46; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 28; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B2. Nauroji, *Journal of a residence*, 29.

<sup>220</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 20, 21; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 160, 163-165.

<sup>221</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. . 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, IV-1.

<sup>222</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 14; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 15, 17, 18.

<sup>223</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 24, 25; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 27; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, IV-2, 3, 9.

name in a traveller's journal. It seemed at least a part of the travellers did not keep a list of names from the people they met, but still tried to mention them by their initials (such as "Mr. G---d" and "captain R ---n"). One journal originating from Abu Taleb also contained handwritten notes with additional information regarding the persons behind their initials. The above mentioned writings might have been the doings of the translator of Abu Taleb's work. Another form used by the travellers was the description of Londoners of a certain occupation or class. Examples of these were the members of the working class and their lack of education, and traders. Another aspect that caught the interest of the British-Indian travellers was how the various classes of British society interacted with each other. The merchant class was found especially strange by a travellers. The merchant class could describe both the successful and wealthy, and the poor plying the same trade, while some merchants were seen as superior to town gentry. In turn, the travellers noticed how the gentry complained about the borderless ambition of the merchants.<sup>224</sup> Though not stated directly, the way some travellers emphasized the amount of influence the poor of Britain had was seen as a major achievement of the West (Europe and the United States). Travellers wrote about how the lower classes were both interested in politics and how it were the people who ran the country, emphasizing the dwindling power of the nobility and (in lieu) the House of Lords. Arguments were instead between the different political parties and their voters. Travellers wrote positively about the British political system and how the common people had an active interest in elections.<sup>225</sup> 'The amount of excitement in London on the day of election was simply incredible.'<sup>226</sup>

Social cohesion in Britain worked differently than in India. The travellers observed that the Indian rulers were more interested in preserving their power, while in Britain the rights of the British were less dependent on their status in society. Travellers were surprised to find it was possible in Britain for the rich to dine with commoners in restaurants and boarding rooms.<sup>227</sup> British women had more influence than their Indian counterparts and the travellers saw this as a positive thing. Not only did British female servants perform better than males, travellers wrote that women also had a large influence within families. This was unlike Indian women who might as well been objects by the way they were treated. Indian acted for the benefit of their 'master', while their British counterparts did so for the good of British society.

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<sup>224</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 38-41; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.8. R8B1. Pillai, *London and Paris*, 40-45; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.10. R10B4. Stewart, *The travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, 19, 21.

<sup>225</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 139-141.

<sup>226</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*,

<sup>227</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 15-18.

Not all British-Indian travellers supported the idea of women being increasingly independent (and scepticism about their claim of freedom of mind), which was noticeable from reading how they reacted when observing the British women. Still, even the more critical travellers admitted their criticism on the Englishwomen would not last during their stay and even brought the rights of women in general under their attention.<sup>228</sup>

Besides the empowerment of the lower classes and women, the travellers also wrote about how exemplar the care for the poor was performed by British society. This treatment of the poor mostly translated into how the British had a large number of available boarding rooms, in which the poor were allowed to live in, and charity. The less wealthy travellers regularly stayed at these boarding houses, which were from what the travellers wrote better than similar facilities back in the East. Those with a bit more money were able to afford staying in apartments.<sup>229</sup> Many Asians visiting and working in London gravitated to the many “lodging-houses” that could be found in Bayswater, creating neighbourhoods where large numbers of Asians lived together. Travellers did not particularly state that they wanted to live in such neighbourhoods, though Bayswater was not the poorest part of London.<sup>230</sup> Like most people in the world, the British had an affection for money. A difference between the British and Indians was that the British liked to invest and set-up enterprises. Travellers commented on the willingness of the British to risk their money on adventurous business (be it hunting seals or crocodiles). Unlike the Indians, the British did not hoard their money, instead they used it to advance their family and themselves.<sup>231</sup>

The richer segment of London and other gentlemen were a recurring topic. Besides the travellers having a keen interest in class hierarchy of Western societies, the lords and ladies of Britain themselves were willing to both correspond, invite, accompany and sometimes visit British-Indian travellers. Travellers appreciated their attention and were surprised when esteemed members of British society came to visit travellers in the more seedy parts of London they normally avoided.<sup>232</sup> The London aristocracy was observed as living separately from the rest of the population. In turn the aristocracy was divided into separate groups

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<sup>228</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 28, 31-33, 43, 44; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, IV-4.

<sup>229</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 14, 17, 18; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 32, 33; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 60, 61.

<sup>230</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 29, 30.

<sup>231</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, IV-2, 3.

<sup>232</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 54-57, 80-82.

according to rank that did not mix with aristocrats of other ranks. Many descriptions of the well-off had them provide entertainment for their guest in the form of food, drink, music and conversation. Especially the women were described as educated and interested in the welfare of Indians. Ladies of rank held so-called soirees (parties) and invited Indians as guests. That Indians were not treated differently because of their skin colour or caste was something that very much surprised travellers and let their readers know that the travellers appreciated this.<sup>233</sup>

The most common hosts (friends) of the researched travellers were well-off British citizens (such as a solicitor) with an interest in the Orient. They acted as correspondents and contacts. They also introduced the Indians to other members of British society and showed travellers around London, though it were male hosts who accompanied the travellers during their tours. With the help of their contacts, the hosts also gave more specialized tours, such as in the Bank of England. Not all British-Indian were accompanied by hosts and travellers were capable of moving throughout the British-Empire on their own initiative. Contacts in Britain were addressed as friends and travellers wrote about them as such.<sup>234</sup>

Special occasions, such as holidays were received with mixed feelings. The travellers were moved by all the happy people, but found the way the British dressed themselves during some of these holidays (such as 'Guy Fox') strange. Indians celebrated their holidays in the open air, while the British liked to celebrate at home with their family. Travellers warned their reader (the Orientals) that they might find bouts of affection in a family strange, but that this affection was what made British society 'wholesome'.<sup>235</sup> Where the British liked to celebrate their holidays, their religion was a different matter. Travellers noted that amongst the British faith was in decline, especially amongst the higher educated British. They believed not because they were convicted of the existence of a higher power, but because it was taught. Although the commoners and those living outside the cities were still pertaining in religious activities, resistance to these practices was spreading to the less educated. One traveller (who called himself 'a Hindu') suggests that the reason behind the shrinking numbers of the strongly faithful lies in the British nature to rarely doubt. The spread of knowledge in Britain dissuaded the belief in higher powers, while the British were too busy to doubt their religious

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<sup>233</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 55-57.

<sup>234</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 7, 16, 17; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B4. Majumdar, *Sketches of a tour*, 24, 31, 32.

<sup>235</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 15-18.

traditions as Christians. This left the British with only a weak faith: neither 'religious ignorance' nor the persistence to completely do away with religion.<sup>236</sup>

Not everything the travellers saw was seen in a positive light. Though the travellers were hesitant to make a comparison between India and Britain end favourably for India, some hoped that a number of British practices and character traits would not become common in India. The industrious nature of the British was seen as a great boon for British society, but the British-Indian travellers also observed that an obsession for work and activity also brought along plenty of practices that were condemned by the travellers. The quality of food was a recurring topic that was discussed throughout travellers' journals. All-in-all the British were worse cooks than Indians, who liked to eat a lot and in many places. Food favoured by the British was plain and monotonous. Unlike Indian food they did not know how to apply spices and borrowed their dishes from other European nations.<sup>237</sup> One of these aspects was that British cared too much for earning money, even at the cost of their own dignity. Travellers were purposely provided with false information about current events, conning them into buying newspapers.<sup>238</sup>

While scrutinizing the people of London, the traveller from India did notice some inconsistencies in the behaviour of the British in both Britain and its Indian colony. Travellers did not believe that the British came to educate the Indian barbarians, but rather to drain Indians wealth. They also noted that the British thugs were much worse than those found in India and would prove to be a more fitting target for missionaries than Indian people.<sup>239</sup> While the British commoners had some influence in British society, there was still a great divide between the rich and the poor. Even though the English preached freedom and equality, the British people liked their class division as much as the Hindus did their caste system.<sup>240</sup> Especially wasteful were the reasons for the division between classes: not reason or convenience, but because of prejudices handed down from previous generations. Travellers described it as painful to watch the poor in London struggle to survive. The lower classes might have had a form of independence and self-respect, but their independent spirit bordered

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<sup>236</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 26, 27.

<sup>237</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 47-49.

<sup>238</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 14, 15; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 210, 211; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, IV-2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11.

<sup>239</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 32; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 33, 34; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, 10, 11.

<sup>240</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 61.

on insolence. Other vices of the poor was that they were prone to drunkenness, which led to the abuse of women and overly large families forced to live in squalor. Women of ill repute made touring the city not enjoyable in the evening. It has to be said that travellers could have described the worst excesses of poverty and deprivation on purpose. At least one traveller admitted that he explicitly picked bad cases for his descriptions. Also, a traveller listed to the farewell readings of Charles Dickens, a writer criticizing poverty in his works (the travellers in question, Ramesachandra Datta, visited Britain between 1868 and 1871), and took a liking to his speech. Other travellers read the works of Dickens and other famous writers, like Samuel Johnson, to learn more about London.<sup>241</sup>

The aristocracy and other men of means in London were not spared from criticism. The changing that reduced their influence in favour of the common people made them conservative. Unlike their peers in the countryside, they resist any new developments and disliked to travel.<sup>242</sup> Travellers seemed to enjoy themselves in London, but the city was dominated by progress, which also had its cost. Corruption amongst the city's officials led more pollution of public places, including unremoved trash in the London subways. Other pollution originated from the British obsession with iron and coal, creating an unhealthy environment in cities. Even when suspecting the pollution resulted in a lower life expectancy, some travellers preferred living in Britain above living a longer life in the East (or Cathay as the travellers still called China).<sup>243</sup>

#### **5.4-The British-Indian traveller scrutinizing the city of London**

As much as the British-Indian travellers liked to write about the people they met, many of the observations made about Londoners were chance encounters. The travellers took in the sights of London as a city in a more organized matter. They either planned to explore the city of London at an early opportunity or had themselves toured around the city by their friends and contacts.<sup>244</sup> Unless they had an appointment, a common activity of the traveller would be to make a walk in the area near their lodging in the early days of their stay. Parks, monuments and the like, would be easily noticeably during these walks and as such part of many a

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<sup>241</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 15, 51, 56, 57; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 37; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 21; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_Dickens#Farewell\\_readings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Dickens#Farewell_readings) (10-4-2014)

<sup>242</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 80-82.

<sup>243</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 42, 43, 45-47.

<sup>244</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R1B3. Bhore, *Some impressions of England*, 2, 3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 6, 7.

traveller's first impression of London. The monuments were monotonous in design, many having a military theme. Parks all looked beautiful and offered a very different view when compared to London streets: tranquil and spacious. Parks visited in London were a rarity in India. Besides the parks found within London, the city's surrounding area's made a good impression on nature loving travellers. The river Thames, of great importance to the city's commercial activity, did not impress the travellers with its polluted waters. Travellers might have imagined differently as they heard about the Thames being a 'flowery stream'. London was also known amongst travellers and readers for its tell-tale fog. Rarely did a travellers describe this due to its nature apparently being common knowledge.<sup>245</sup>

Another thing that was noticed by the travellers were the designs of London's public buildings, which were very utilitarian in their opinion. The native Londoner was not willing to indulge in frivolous designs. Those travellers who visited other European cities and courts in India made regular comparisons when visiting public buildings. A good example of how the traveller judged public buildings was when they visited British churches: they lacked the wealth of Indian palaces and the design was inferior to Italian and French churches. Just like their first impression of London, the traveller had more eye for the sprawling nature of the city and the maze of houses near the churches.<sup>246</sup>

Other public places such as the city's infrastructure had been compared in much the same way as the travellers compared building: cleanness, beauty and function. Roads, squares and subways, all with heavy traffic, added in the eyes of the traveller to London's atmosphere of a city that is in constant movement, vibrating with life. As with their descriptions of the London population, its infrastructure was not always as good as a traveller's first impression of the city. On a closer inspection stations were dirty and squares were filled with the homeless that used newspapers as blankets. The streets were clean but very crowded, with wide sidewalks and nice looking shops flanking them. Maintenance was provided by paid sweepers, both private and publicly hired by the city. Sweepers in India did not get paid enough to make a living. Although the side-walk was reasonably safe for the traveller, traffic was so numerous that traveling on the road was dangerous.<sup>247</sup> Compared to Regent Street, a major shopping street even in the nineteenth century, almost no street in India was its equal.

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<sup>245</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 35-38; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 21.

<sup>246</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 23, 24; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B6. Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah*, 1-5; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 6, 7.

<sup>247</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 21, 22.



Other shopping streets distinguished themselves from their Indian counterpart not by the amount of people, but by the amount of trade that took place. Even though much trade took place in London, the costs of living in London was high when compared with living in India.<sup>248</sup> Besides the commercial aspect of London, art drew the attention of interested in British culture.

Many a traveller reserved time to visited museums and other exhibitions. Besides the imperial history of Britain (which will be the main subject of chapter six), the traveller also familiarized themselves with the history and art (ancient and modern) of Britain in Europe. The travellers found British art much less sentimental when compared to the art found in places such as Paris. British museum collections were found well-stocked and varied.<sup>249</sup>

While taking in the sights of London the traveller did not only go on foot. Other means of locomotion also played an important part during their visit and as such made its way into travellers' journals as a regular topic. Travellers described how it was to travel with a variety of vehicles, such as omnibuses, hansom, taxi's (cabs) and carriages. Much like the crowds of people, these vehicles were a common sight in the streets of London. Travellers did not expect to find so many vehicles: travellers wrote that thousands of them could be found on London's roads. Such transport was (to the travellers' surprise) both cheap and easily accessible for them. Many of London's vehicles were of good quality and better than similar forms of locomotion found in India. Most impressed were the British-Indian travellers with trains and river steamers. Besides being impressive technical achievements, the trains and steamers had a great commercial value attributed to them. Travellers valued the cheap and safe transportation that was widely available for the residents of London and its districts.<sup>250</sup>

Public transportation in London was found to have a number of negative aspects. Recurring complaints such as overcrowded, badly cleaned cabins and fraudulent drivers were part of the general complaints of the travellers: London was too hectic and many of London's lower society lacked morals. Other complaints depended on the mode of transport. Omnibuses were a comfortable mode of transport but a passenger would have had difficulties viewing his or her surroundings. Those travellers who had a limited amount of time to stay in London

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<sup>248</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 26-28, 30; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 45-47; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 24.

<sup>249</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 24-26; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 136; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 33, 34.

<sup>250</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 34-36.

were especially vexed by this. Carriages, cheap and mostly comfortable, lacked the space of omnibuses. Some Indians also had trouble with traveling in the company of women in such a tight and enclosed space, but those situations did not cause insurmountable problems for the travellers.<sup>251</sup>

### **5.5-Conclusion**

The sight of London and its inhabitants evoked mixed feelings amongst the travellers. Their first impressions did not show much variation, though it differed slightly depending on how a traveller entered London (using a ship or train) and personal interests. London's size and sprawling population in combination with technical achievements of the Western world managed to impress the British-Indian travellers. Beyond the first impressions, opinions about the city started to vary more. Not every traveller was able to afford staying at luxurious hotels though it was tried. Those who wound up in boarding houses still had the opportunity to see much of London's society as many British were interested in British-Indian travellers. Even the well-off citizens of London continued to make contact with travellers who were forced to reside in the poorer areas of London. A modest living was not seen as a problem by the majority of the travellers. Between hotels and boarding houses, travellers tried out apartments.

Through the help of contacts and friends the traveller not only toured the streets of London with a variety of vehicles, but also public buildings such as churches and banks. Many facilities enjoyed by the poor in London were unheard of in India. The travellers found the population of London less segregated than back in India, though these observations did not hinder an Indian's ability to criticise London's society. London's streets were overcrowded and pollution was a problem near stations and the river Thames. Some travellers preferred living in London instead of in the East despite the pollution. While the travellers commended the energy and enterprising spirit of the British, commercial interest often turned to greed or, in the eyes of the Indians, shameful business practises. This British behaviour was also connected to colonial policy, which was seen by some travellers as revolving around economic exploitation. Crime was another annoyance, which the travellers had to deal with during their visits. Salesmen and drivers tried to exploit newcomers, while women of ill-repute or the homeless wandered public places at night. Travellers criticized British

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<sup>251</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 34; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 35-37.

missionaries for not converting the “godless” criminal element in Britain. Missionaries were converting lawful Indians instead. Many complaints were not dependent (or at least the reports were too inconsistent) to notice a change between 1810 and 1915. Travellers who were troubled by the different habits and morals of the Londoners compared to those found in India learned to accept the differences during their stay.

## **Chapter 6-Indian travellers describing the imperial project during their stay in London**

### **6.1-Introduction**

The Previous chapter discussed the travellers' opinions about London and its inhabitants. Not only did they discuss a variety of topics, but also their stance on the positive and negative aspects differed. In this chapter I review the perspectives of British-Indian travellers on the signs of empire in London. I will emphasize how they perceived the effects the British colonial Empire (and Orientalism) had on the city of London, concentrating on different parts of the city. Though Travellers visited many places, they did not always had the time to make detailed observations. This was reflected in their journals and that is why I choose to focus on a few aspects of London.<sup>252</sup> This chapter will be divided into four parts. Firstly, I describe the casual encounters of Indian travellers with imperial aspects, public buildings, and in the travellers' residences in the streets of London. The second part of this chapter will emphasize imperial signs in institutions of learning such as museums and universities. The third part consists of a description of imperial signs in courts and other (governmental) institutions of law. Lastly, I will described how the traveller ruminated on their stay during their return trip to British-India.

### **6.2-Signs of the colonial Empire in the streets of London**

One of the common things you will find while reading the journals of the British-Indian travels, is that the Indians saw and imagined the connectivity between London and rest of the world, even before setting foot on land.<sup>253</sup>

Even without having seen much of London, travellers received information about events in the British-Empire through newspapers. These newspapers were both widely available and informative in the eyes of the British-Indian traveller. Besides being sold on the streets, those travellers who stayed in hotels also had access to newspapers on a daily basis, such as the *London Times*. Travellers sometimes showed an active interest in following the events in the British-Empire and other important (world) events. News about the many places consisting of the British colonial Empire could be read in such newspapers and reminded the

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<sup>252</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B6. Chatrapati, *Diary of the late Rajah*, 46, 47.

<sup>253</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 21.

traveller that London was the hub of the Empire.<sup>254</sup> The importance of journalism or the “Fourth Estate” for the British-Empire was recognized as by the traveller. The British Press was described as an instrument to control British imperial interest and acting as both “instructor and censor”.<sup>255</sup>

Ultimately, the traveller had no need to read the newspapers to see the effects of British imperialism in London. Besides his or her fellow travellers, many people from all over the Empire both visited and lived in London. In ‘The Empire Writes Back’ collection an ample number of writers, ranging from British missionaries to the British-Indian travellers, visited and described the foreign communities living in London. Bayswater was a district of London one of the travellers described as “Asia Minor” and had a large population of Indians, including some of the traveller’s friends. In conversations with native Englishmen, it showed that the British were both connected and interested in India. This interest went as far as British approaching travellers and trying to open a conversation with them in stammering Hindustani. Others were interested in keeping up their knowledge of Indian events. Many of these had an Anglo-Indian background and were at one time or another employed in the British-Indian colony.<sup>256</sup>

Other public places that let British-Indian travellers come into contact with other cultures of the British-Empire were restaurants. When described, the food that the British ate also included exotic fruits such as bananas, though it was not mentioned whether or not the exotic foodstuff originated from British plantations. Some travellers took the opportunity to eat at speciality restaurants, including one that focused on serving Indian food. London had many restaurants that served food from other areas of the world, though according to one traveller not many with strong Indian presence. Famous Indian dishes such as curry were available in restaurants, but quality lacked. “If curry is prepared badly, the rice is worse cooked.”<sup>257</sup> Taste and authenticity of the dishes did make out large sections of traveller’s journals, but a few travellers included lists of (Indian) dishes to their work. Hindu travellers only occasionally mentioned their food requirements as vegetarians. As a problem it only came up during their ship travels. British food was not very good (specifically, the way it was prepared), though vegetables and fruit were available. Indian restaurants were also mostly

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<sup>254</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 14, 15; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B3. Raghavayya, *Pictures of England*, 48.

<sup>255</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 52-56.

<sup>256</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 29, 38, 39; Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. 164.8. Salter, *The East in the West*, V, VI.

<sup>257</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.8. R8B1. Pillai, *London and Paris*, 12.

staffed by personal originating from India. Many restaurants employed foreign waiters, but the travellers took note of those restaurants that had Indian personnel employed to keep up with the theme. French or Italian employees were common in many other restaurants.<sup>258</sup>

Besides food, other products from across the Empire were found in shops. Curiosity shops were easily recognizable by the type of wares they sold. Not every curiosity shop was dedicated to only sell products from British colonies. Whiteley's department stores is one example of a store that brought together and sold many products from Britain and its colonies. They also sold Indian and Chinese curiosity for example. Travellers were impressed by the scale of the undertaking and that business was done smoothly.<sup>259</sup> Next to regular stores, the traveller also wandered the markets of London. Markets, more than ordinary stores, gave the traveller the impression of how interconnected London and the rest of the British-Empire was. Travellers visiting London markets saw the large variety of products from all over the world, including the various corners of the British-Empire.<sup>260</sup> Travellers who also travelled to British colonies recognized the connection between Britain and its colonies. Products travellers watched being produced in colonies were being sold in the London markets they visited. Fruits sold in London (and in the rest of Britain) markets provided a sizable part of the income for British colonists in Australia and Tasmania. Dependencies worked both ways, as Britain imported much of its meat from the British colonies. In turn, the colonies that provided the meat receive a large share of their income from Britain, as they bought much of their meat.<sup>261</sup>

While the British-Indian travellers walked the London streets they also recognized imperial influenced in and around the city's many public buildings. The inside of churches did not hint at their connection with the Empire at large, but most churches had a Missionary Society and sometimes an associated Ladies Working Society. The Ladies Working Societies provide clothes to missionaries. Travellers recognized these clothes as they saw them back in India.<sup>262</sup> Furthermore, churches were found surrounded by monuments and statues of many famous British people. Besides English heroes, such as Admiral Nelson, sculptures of famous Indian personas and British colonial officials were also encountered amongst the works.

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<sup>258</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 20-22; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.8. R8B1. Pillai, *London and Paris*, 11, 12.

<sup>259</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 34, 35; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 8; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Whiteley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Whiteley) (19-4-2014)

<sup>260</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 56, 57; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 64.

<sup>261</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 64-66.

<sup>262</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 75, 76.

Although called Indians, the recognized men all had British backgrounds.<sup>263</sup> Travellers reminisced on their sightings in Britain and its colonies, while they wrote their journals. It showed an interconnectivity between Britain and colonies they wouldn't have added to their journals without having them visiting the colonies. One such example was money. A traveller visiting a London bank noting the quantity of gold required to create a pile of sovereigns (gold coins) as he witnessed gold being delved in Australia, one of Britain's colonies.<sup>264</sup>

### **6.3-Signs of the Empire in places of learning**

While the British-Indian travellers actively thought about the relationship of Britain and its colonies, the reverse was true as well. On all levels of British society people wanted to know more about parts of the Empire. Travellers were encouraged by friends and acquaintances to visit the strata of educational institutions, from public museums to universities. The travellers paid special attention to information and objects of their homeland Indian while describing their visits to places of learning, though not to the exclusion of other imperial regions.<sup>265</sup> Important to note was that the British-Indian traveller in interpreting what they saw was not solely done by themselves. Where in the streets they could discuss their views with friends and passers-by, in places that received many visitors, such as Madame Tussauds, also had catalogues explaining for the Indians what they saw. Travellers were perfectly capable of independent thought. They also made use of information compiled by the British beforehand, just like they read books about Britain and its colonies before and during their travels. That Indian travellers visited many of the same places could be explained by the existence of London guidebooks that the travellers recommended to their readers.<sup>266</sup>

London harboured a plethora of museums and other institutions for the preservation of knowledge and artefacts. Travellers noted with interest and surprise the great and expensive collections the British maintained with many of those objects originating from other parts of their empire. Visitors were attracted to various famous places in London. Signs of the wider British-Empire were clearly visible, varying from wax statues of Indian celebrities in Madame

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<sup>263</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 50, 51.

<sup>264</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 55; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 34.

<sup>265</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 23, 24; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 56; R4B3 64; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 318, 319.

<sup>266</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 136; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 34.

Tussauds to Indian armour found in the racks of the Tower of London.<sup>267</sup> Other museums were specialized in preserving other artefacts, such as exotic animals and other curiosities. The British Museum was one of the more famous and popular attractions for foreigners in London, and was also visited by the travellers. This museum offered a wide variety of objects from all over the British-Empire and included information about their origins, making such objects easy to place by the British-Indian traveller. Even though the British museum had many ‘contemporary’ objects on display from all around the world, not every traveller was interested in them. Some were more fascinated by the history of foreign territories, such as Egypt rather than looking at less antiquated objects, though these were also found interest. The collecting of imperial objects in London also extended to the realm of books as it was expected for every book written in the British-Empire to be collected in the library of the British Museum.<sup>268</sup> In 1887 the Imperial Institute was established in London that, besides researching technologies useful for British colonies, also displayed books, art and manufactures from India and other British colonies.<sup>269</sup>

Other places where the Empire was on display and popular places visited by travellers were exhibitions. Two of the biggest and popular exhibitions visited by British-Indian travellers were the Crystal Palace and the London Exhibition of 1886. Besides drawing in large numbers of visitors, the exhibitions also attracted the nobility of Britain and other nations. The latter, focused on the showing the people of Britain other scenes ‘transplanted’ from around the world, including India. Travellers describe how the displays focused on the bloodthirsty nature of faraway lands. A traveller described citizens of the British-Empire as the British queen’s ‘chosen children’. How European and Indian habits diverged were noticeable in how the travellers described the exhibits. Sarcasm was not unfamiliar to the British-Indians in how they accentuated the European hobby of hunting foxes and deer. ‘Civilized men in Europe, restrained from cutting the throats of their neighbours, enjoy *innocent* pleasure by hunting to death the poor little fox’.<sup>270</sup> The description of the violent inhabitants of the wilder parts of the world did not pertain sarcasm, rather, the Indian pitied rather than mocked the primitive nature of tribes that the British portrayed during exhibitions.

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<sup>267</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 23-26; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 56, 57, 69.

<sup>268</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 56, 57, 69; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 10, 11.

<sup>269</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 55, 56.

<sup>270</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 73.



Travellers looked differently to the European displays and habits in the light of the usual fair to be found in the exhibitions and provided a sense of irony when comparing the behaviour of ‘savages’ next to the hobbies and religions of the Europeans.<sup>271</sup> In the Crystal Palace travellers also saw examples of British endeavours in their colonies, including India. Objects such as papers, produce, art, plants and technical developments from various nations and eras could be seen. The exhibition in the Crystal Palace also included pictures that showed the traveller how the British ‘heroically’ conquered parts of the East, mostly India. One aspect of the pictures that was surprising in the eyes of the traveller was that the Indians who fought alongside the British were shown wearing turbans and having a dark complexion. This was not something the British-Indian visitor recognized (while a dark complexion conveyed a low status in the eyes of Europeans).<sup>272</sup> Travellers expressed disappointment when they found themselves depicted alongside the primitive people of the world in European museums. It were the Europeans that were ignorant of the things contemporary India had to offer. This lack of understanding evoked feelings of resistance and patriotism for at least one traveller (Mukharji).<sup>273</sup>

The spread of knowledge and understanding of the East was also the territory of universities and colleges. British-Indian traveller went there for various reasons, such as visiting Indian students or being invited to listen to a lecture with a connection to India. Scholars on the universities researched a number of aspects of Indian society, including translating Sanskrit in English and the exchange of British and Indian knowledge about literature and industries. Travellers were drawn to well-known universities outside London, such as those found in Oxford and Cambridge. When comparing the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, preferences differed. Although travellers hinted at having visited London-based universities or colleges, they described mostly universities outside London, especially Oxford and Cambridge, both as guest and as former students.<sup>274</sup> A number of London colleges were described, such as University College. There another connection between India and

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<sup>271</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 65-74.

<sup>272</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 41-43; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 60, 61.

<sup>273</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 324, 325.

<sup>274</sup> R1B2 143-164; R2B2 77 Universities; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 57-59; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B1. Sathianadhan, *Lectures*, 1-3; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.9. R9B3. Sathianadhan, *Four years in an English university*, 1, 2, 18.

Britain could be found: a scholar specialized in Sanskrit and called a ‘true friend of India’. Another London based institution that was mentioned, was the Royal Academy.<sup>275</sup>

Besides universities and museums there also existed societies where people with a fascination for India gathered. Travellers were invited to meetings where they could converse about India, but also a range of other topics, including literature. The willingness of the various societies in London to invite British-Indian travellers did not need to lay exclusively in the Indian origin of the travellers. The travellers themselves shared common interests, which meant that their experience with writing, traveling and scholarly endeavours could also have been part of the reason they were invited. Central to such meetings was the exchange of information, and the existence of the British-Empire played a prominent role. As already mentioned in the section about the *London Times* above, newspapers included news from all over the British-Empire.<sup>276</sup> Multiple British-Indian travellers made contact with societies such as the East India Society and National Indian Association. The different societies were well connected to other societies and travellers. Two travellers made mention of ‘Ms Manning’ (Elizabeth Adelaide Manning), who helped founding the London branch of the National Indian Society together with her step-mother Charlotte Manning in February 1871. Manning apparently knew more about India than the travellers themselves, or at least gave the travellers that idea. The objectives of an organization such as the National Indian Society (NIA) strove to both educate the British about India and to encourage ‘social progress’ in India, shows an interest in both Indian society and an agenda to change it. The head of the NIA was until 1877 Mary Carpenter, the author of a biography that is part one of the British Indian travellers I researched, Rajah Rammohun Roy. The world of British-Indian travellers and their British support network was interconnected and this aided the travellers as through societies they were introduced to new (learned) acquaintances.<sup>277</sup> Another place where Britain and the Empire met was the government, whose policies were compared to those of the colonial administration by the travellers.

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<sup>275</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 110-113; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B3. Pandiyan, *England to an Indian*, 62.

<sup>276</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 44, 45; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 132; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.7. R7B1. Mukharji, *A visit to Europe*, 321.

<sup>277</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 44, 45; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 39, 132, 136, 137, 138; <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/national-indian-association> (1-2-2014); <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/elizabeth-adelaide-manning> (2-5-2014)

#### **6.4-Signs of the colonial Empire in institutions of law**

When examining the institutions British government in London the travellers, besides explaining to their readers how British politics worked, also looked to Anglo-Indian representation. ‘Anglo-Indian’ representation in the House of Commons was small and had almost no prominence in Parliament, though they were allowed to manage their own (Indian) policy without interference. One of the travellers, Lala Baijnath, wondered if there was some dissonance between the political processes in India and Britain that made British politicians think political life in Britain was preferable to that of India. ‘Our old friend the Anglo-Indians form an uninfluential minority in the House and seldom speak except when India is concerned, and then they are generally allowed to have their own way.’<sup>278</sup>

The British traveller distinguished the Government of Britain, the Government of India and the Native States of India. They not only distinguished between the British and the Native Indian rulers in India, but also saw the colonial administration as a separate entity that was different from its British counterpart. While the British Government was seen as democratic, the Colonial administration was seen ruling with benevolent despotism. This despotism was compared favourably to other Eastern (Asian) forms of despotism.<sup>279</sup> Travellers were more opinionated about political problems caused by native Indian princes, than criticizing British politicians. The existence of self-serving Indian princes were stated as facts, while self-serving members of the British House of Commons as rumours. The work of the Colonial administration in India was actively pictured as a force of progress for India, both by the travellers and British proponents. Even though the governments of India and of Britain were seen as separate entities, the Indian government was recognized by the travellers as a British creation with a direct investment of British manpower. In certain aspects the Indian government was seen as a more appropriate form of rule compared to the British government. In comparison, the Indian government was direct and consistent, while a democratic system could be unstable and British parties changed their stances with every election. When compared to some of the other democratic countries in Europe, such as Italy and France, the British democratic system compares favourably. The former two democratic systems were seen as more unstable, though an exact explanation was not mentioned. Not every traveller provided a nuanced view of Europe’s democratic system in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Those more enthusiastic about democracy did not distinguish between

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<sup>278</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 57, 58, 74-86.

<sup>279</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 58, 64, 66.

democracies, but focused more on the advent of democracy in Europe. Overall the House of Commons appeared more individualistic and less orderly than its colonial equivalent in British-India.<sup>280</sup>

The travellers also visited multiple courts of law and their associations, as London was home to eighteen courts in 1896. Each court had its own specialization, such as Common Law and Appeal Courts. Much like the British Parliament the courthouses were more chaotic than those found in India. One of the most obvious connections the Courts of Law had with the rest of the British-Empire, was that some of the British-Indian travellers themselves were members of a London-based ‘Inn of Court’. Inns of Court were (and still are) professional barrister associations based in England and Wales. Another connection with the Empire is that some Barristers were also a member of the British Parliament and some would lobby for the benefit of Indians.<sup>281</sup> An Indian could become a member of one on the Inns of Court in London by paying (costly) fees and by succeeding at an entrance examination. The court systems of Britain and India were separate entities and when compared the travellers found mostly differences, such as how they were organized and the different pay levels. Some rules common in British (and European) law made its way to British-India, such as allowing money-lenders the legal space to profit by offering their services to necessitous people. Earning a profit through lending was viewed as a bad practice compared to the more restrictive policies by native Indian courts.<sup>282</sup>

### **6.5-The journey home and a traveller’s reflection on the relationship between Britain and India**

One thing that connected all British-Indian travellers was that they almost all returned to British-India. A notable exception would be Rammohun Roy, who died during his stay in Britain. Whether they immediately travelled home or continued, their travel across Europe or in other parts of the British-Empire lead many travellers to add in their journals a section that

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<sup>280</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 48-50; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 58, 64, 66; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 54, 55.

<sup>281</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 127; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 113-115; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 8, 9; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inns\\_of\\_Court](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inns_of_Court) (3-5-2014)

<sup>282</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 58-61, 70, 71; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 128, 129, 135, 136.

consisted of their final thoughts about Britain. If they travelled with an objective in mind they also wrote a conclusion and recommendation for their readers and their country.<sup>283</sup>

In their conclusions the travellers would write about the relationship between Britain and India. A common observation was that Britain and India (and other British colonies) shared a mutually beneficial relationship. This idea could be read in the journals of travellers that visited Britain, but also in those that observed the British regime in its colonies.<sup>284</sup> ‘The destinies of both are now most closely united and neither can spare the other.’<sup>285</sup> Britain provided technology and direction while colonies provided food and resources for Britain. The notion that Britain might be indebted to India in a similar way that Rome and Greece paved the road for modern European civilization also found its way to the conclusions of Indian travellers. This was also placed in a historical context in that the Eastern (ancient India included) civilizations gave rise to civilization in the West. The British-Indian travellers noticed during their stay in Europe that knowledge became ever more spread and that the interest in many aspects of Indian society, from the Indian language to their theology would further benefit Europe. Britain was also seen as being beneficial for British-India. Depending on the travellers’ personal opinion, caution was warranted. It was a fine line between doing away with obsolete Indian traditions and having too much faith in ‘modern’ methods on how to develop India as they were introduced by the British. A preference for middle road between Indian traditions and Western modernity can be made out in the journals. European modernity could be used to modify Indian traditions where possible, without removing typical Indian institutions. Traveller who sought to improve Indian society did not want to make it a carbon-copy of British society. There was also a realisation that no matter how good the relationship was between Indians and British, so long as the British ruled over the Indians, there could never be true equality and with English power should come responsibility.<sup>286</sup>

Interconnectivity was not a concept that the British-Indian travellers had much trouble applying to both Britain India and this also adds a critical note at times. British economic successes overshadowed social problems in India. While India was portrayed as an export giant by both British and even travellers, while other travellers pointed at the ongoing poverty

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<sup>283</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 228, 229; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B4. Carpenter, *Last days*, 145-148.

<sup>284</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 228-230.

<sup>285</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 229.

<sup>286</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 229, 230, 233, 234; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 414; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Behramji, *The Indian eye*, 245.

of the Indian population.<sup>287</sup> Another category of travellers was more focused on promoting their ideals and keep their conclusions limited to hopeful remarks for the future of India. One of the most common of such subjects were women's right. Those travellers interested in women's rights portrayed Britain as exemplary. Some travellers did not spend any space writing a separate conclusion for their stay in England at all, whether continuing to describing the rest of their journey or travelling home.<sup>288</sup>

Sometimes the journal would be concluded with a summary of figures, consisted of the duration of the journey, expenses and the distance travelled. These conclusion besides entertaining the reader and summarizing their achievements could also contain the traveller's self-reflection. While the books were meant to be informative for their readers the journey itself was a practical learning experience for the travellers themselves.<sup>289</sup>

The travellers gathered and received information about Britain and as a result formed expectations about British society. Most had an open mind-set because they went to Europe to learn about the West. Sometimes a traveller made discoveries that went beyond their expected learning experiences and changed the way he saw the British. A significant positive discovery done by the travellers was that the British in Britain were friendlier than those found in the Empire's colonies. Another was the wide availability of public transport within London. Major disillusion mostly centred around four subjects: crime, hygiene, the representation of Indian in museums and political interest. In museums Indians were sometimes placed next to less civilized colonials or poorly compared to British. The travellers did not expect the amount of criminality and debauchery they saw on the streets of London. Indians were welcomed by many residents of London and it came as a surprise when British Parliament was content to delegate Indian matters to Anglo-Indians.<sup>290</sup> 'With the exception of this part, the Indian Debate has been a sore disappointment to me, intensified by the look of blank despair in mr. Dababhai's face.'<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B3. Datta, *England and India: a record*, 120, 121, 126, 127; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.4. R4B1. Nadkarni, *Journal of a visit*, 414, 415.

<sup>288</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 108; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R1B3. Bhore, *Some impressions of England*, 38, 39; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B1. Datta, *Three years*, 102, 103.

<sup>289</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B1. Mahtabsing, *Something about my trip*, 119; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.2. R2B2. Dasa, *Reminiscences*, 242; EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.3. R3B2. Datta, *Three years*, 48, 49, 160, 161.

<sup>290</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.1. R1B2. Baijnath, *England and India*, 57, 58, 74-86.

<sup>291</sup> EUL. Empire Writes Back. 164.6. R6B1. Malabari, *The Indian eye on English life*, 222.

## **6.6-Conclusion**

The information in this chapter answers the sub-question: ‘How did the Indian authors reflect on aspects of the British imperial project during their stay in London?’ Britain’s relationship with its colonies was for the British-Indian traveller clearly visible in London. Both in the streets and in the London museums the traveller learned that Britain and its colonies existed in a symbiotic relationship that, at least in theory, was beneficial for all. Travellers were sometimes unpleasantly surprised by how India was depicted in museums and the London criminal element, but this was off-set by how positively different the Londoners were compared to the British in the colonies.

Travellers were not ignorant of the fact that the relationship between Britain and India was formed on an unequal basis. The travellers knew the British controlled British-India and did not expect this to change fast. In London they were again confronted with this in how Indians were portrayed in museums and through their interaction with the British, both in their willingness to avoid arguments and learn from the British. India acted like other parts of the British-Empire: to produce and export products the British wanted. While both Londoners and travellers saw the interdependence as a positive relationship, the balance in the relationship posed a problem. India could not benefit from everything Britain had to offer. Travellers saw the transplantation of Western democracy as unfeasible. Local princes that controlled territories in India outside British lands managed their lands worse than the British. In the eyes of the travellers traditional India had to be changed. Instead of fully relying on the British to change India, the basis of Indian society was to be kept intact and improved upon

Travellers hoped to apply the knowledge they gained during their stay in London and apply it in India. Even though the British Parliament did not pay a great deal of attention to British-India, there were many people from various layers of British society who did and also wanted to learn about India. Societies and educational institutions collected, researched and spread information about India in Britain and helped travellers form a network of associates during their stay in London. Not only did the travellers hope for a greater understanding of Indian society in Britain, but also a greater understanding for the needs of Indian people. Throughout the period of 1810-1915 a travellers’ willingness to travel to Britain in order to learn from them remained. In the context of this sub-question the temporal aspects did not play a significant role.

## **Chapter 7-Final conclusion**

The first thing that can be concluded from researching the British-Indian travellers is that they did not form a single cohesive group. Travellers had a variety of social, religious and ethnic backgrounds. Both men and women made the journey to London. As such, the stories of the travellers did not form a cohesive narrative about how British-Indians were represented. The journals did give a better understanding about how they viewed the hierarchies within the British-Empire. Likewise, they were not representative of the average British-Indian citizen during the period between 1810 and 1915. Not every traveller was wealthy, but all either had the financial means or connections to find a sponsor to pay for their transportation and lodgings in London. Considering that in India the poor were numerous leads to the conclusion that the travellers part of a privileged group. Even though they travelled to Britain and through the British-Empire for various reasons, many of the travellers also sought ways to improve the situation of Indians and themselves. Be it through the advocacy of more right for women and children or knowledge of Western education and technology. It can also be said that many had an interest in the Empire as a whole and used their experiences in the British colonies as part of their drive to learn more about Britain.

This interest in the British-Empire was present across the whole period of 1810-1915. The general attitude of the travellers towards the relationship between Britain and its Empire did not change significantly over time. The variety of the travellers writing subjects and the spread of the journals across a hundred year period did little to make a research of change produce consistent results. For example, a travellers' observations of slavery in the British-Empire would most clearly come up in the few journal written during the period when slavery was still legal in the British-Empire (before 1830). Slavery as a subject was missing the in journals written in later years.

The travellers were aware that the relationship between Britain and its colonies was a complicated and intertwined one. Travellers also realized that in the hierarchy of the British-Empire, British-India was used as a source for production like other British colonies. Travellers themselves were also directly confronted with their position in the Imperial hierarchy, through the demands from their British publishers.

The travellers also saw the possibilities when East and West (in their case India and Britain) could learn from each other. India did not have to sacrifice its identity to learn from the British. The travellers also had a unique position between East and West as they were not



only observers, but also facilitated the passing of knowledge and understanding between East and West.

During their journey to London travellers had their own resolve tested. Some travellers were more willing to adapt to British way of life, while other made a choice to retain a core of their Indian identity. In the colonies the travellers were mostly observers, seeing different ways how the natives had to live with their British rulers. Natives either tried to adapt their life-style and dressing, thereby trying to mimic the British, lived in hardship, or the natives survived genetically as they had children with British colonizers. Most travellers did not identify with these 'hybrids', though an Indian traveller was himself identified as a Baboo. A Baboo being someone (a native British-Indian clerk or bureaucrat) working for the British colonial administration, the given description gave it a negative connotation, like it was a different caste or race (a racial slur almost). On a ship that travelled to Britain the travellers had to adapt themselves as there were mostly British people on board. A big transition moment came when they had to leave the ship to enter London: it was advised that they dress themselves as Westerners in order to not be gawked at. Most travellers did not create a stir, but others refused to distance themselves from their Indian identity, no matter the consequences.

The travellers were not unanimously positive in their writings about the British. The travellers were disappointed in finding a prominent criminal element in London. Other negative points were the pollution in the city and the lack of interest for the Indian cause in British Parliament. They were perfectly capable of delivering nuanced views, which could change over time. A British-Indian traveller could have a critical stance towards the British, only to discover how different (in a positive way) the British behaved at the heart of their empire. Many recognized the benefits of British technology even before setting foot in London. The British-Indian government followed a harsh regime and the British in India did not treat the commoners of India good, or as equals. However, the colonial government in British India had its benefits when compared to native Indian regimes and other Asian forms of government.

While observing the behaviour of the British and the fate of the colonized in the East, the opinion of the traveller was influenced in several ways that altered their perception of how culture was represented in the colonies. Not only did the travellers gained foreknowledge by reading (British) books about the British-Empire, but they also tried to interview the indigenous population of the colonies at times, though that proved difficult in colonies where

the local population was almost wiped-out, such as in Tasmania. A further complication was that travellers were sometimes accompanied by Western 'hosts' who guided the travellers, though their exact role in the colonies was left ambiguous by the travellers.

Those travellers that visited the British colonies learned that the behaviour of British expansion and suppression in their colonies depended on a number of factors. Distance and stability played a role. The suppression of indigenous cultures was strongest and the representation of British colonial power most visible, in the outer edges of their empire and in colonies conquered from rival colonial powers. Large established colonies such as Australia and what would become South-Africa became increasingly transformed as British 'civilized' their colonies, introducing advanced technology from Europe such as trams. Territories that were both close to Britain and firmly under their control did not have a strong British military presence and had could express their native culture more freely. Examples of these were Scotland and Britain, which were both part of Great Britain at the time. Both territories already Westernized, they did not had their local population wiped out such as in Tasmania, though the Irish were treated as lesser beings up until the nineteenth century. Travellers had a hard time understanding the Irish animosity towards the British. Many British-Indian travellers saw Britain as a nation that could uplift the people of India (and they made comparisons between the poor Indian commoners and the even poorer Irish peasants). The Irish criticized the British, but it was in the far-away colonies of the British-Empire that the British-Indian travellers received a better view of the imperial hierarchy as it was enforced in the colonies better than in Scotland and Ireland. Where in Scotland and Ireland the hostilities between them and Britain lay mostly in the past (though less so in Ireland), the travellers saw how the cultural hierarchy was both active and visible.

Once the travellers arrived in London they started exploring the many facets of London society. Many were impressed by the city, but not in a way that clouded their judgement. An important observation that they made was that the British living in the colonies behaved in a very different way compared to the British living in London. Where the British in the colonies were intolerant isolationist whose descriptions would convey an Orientalist orientation to the reader. While the politicians in London seemed to pay little attention to India, amongst the rest of the London population interest in the travellers and the fate of the colonies seemed to be much greater. In contrast to the colonial British, the Londoners were generally thought of as friendly and helpful. Signs of Indian and British relations were easily visible on London streets and public building, ranging from museum exhibition, monuments,

societies dedicated to the study of India to neighbourhoods where Indian lived together. The travellers certainly possibilities to build and improve on the existing relationship between Britain and its colonies (India). This opens a new perspective. Where the Subaltern theorists focus on a binary social relationship, it looked more like a trinary relationship. Instead of only portraying mainly contrasting views (Us versus Them, East and West or Orientalism versus Occidentalism) a distinctive, more respectful relationship existed as well: the beginnings of East and West. No-one (Indian) expected a fully egalitarian relationship but both travellers and British supporters strived for a better understanding between British and Indians that domination should be replaced with cooperation that would allow the East and West to learn from each other.

The British-Indian travellers were in a special position between East and West to have both the ambition and resources. These ambition were somewhat limited in scope if held up to contemporary standards. Before slavery was abolished in the British-Empire the owning slaves was not uncommon amongst British-Indian travellers, neither was the view that black people had a lesser status in the British-Empire. Like their own place in the Empire, travellers did not protest their lesser status, but their bad treatment. Some travellers were puzzled by the way Indians were sometimes portrayed. Two of those surprises were the lack of interest in Indian politics by the British Parliament and that Indians were displayed next to barbaric tribes in British museums. Cultural hierarchy in the British-Empire was in the eyes of the travellers mainly about groups of people, not about nations or individuals.

Positioning the travellers between East and West should be done in a differently than the 'hybrids' they identified. Those of mixed racial descent that lived in the colonies did not have a choice: they were born between East and West and had to hope they were accepted somewhere. The way the British thinned out the numbers of native populations in parts of their Empire made any choice a hollow one. Other hybrids had more choice, full-blooded natives chose to work, dress and act like Westerners because doing so had benefits. Travellers saw that not all such emulations were successful or appreciated. The most successful in emulating the British that was described in the journals seemed to be mixed-races who lived with the colonists. Forming a separate category were the British-Indian travellers themselves. They moved between East and West out of their own free will and many of them were motivated by idealistic, rather than having pragmatic reasons they observed in many other colonies.

To come back to the main question: *‘How did British-Indian travellers view the cultural hierarchy of the British-Empire during their journey to and stay in London during the period 1810-1915?’* The British-Indian travellers noticed that in the cultural hierarchy of the British-Empire the British stood on the top of the pyramid. A traveller’s journey to British colonies and London allowed him to develop a nuanced views of the cultural hierarchy in the British-Empire. The British living in London were more agreeable compared to the British living in the colonies. British people from all layers of society showed interest in British-India. When comparing the experiences of the travellers after their visits to London and the colonies of the British-Empire the cultural hierarchy within the British-Empire could be described as follows. On top the white British, though the British living in Britain were better approachable. The second tier were the Scottish. The Irish had a special position. The British treated them worse than the Scots, but opinions differed between travellers about their overall position. Some thought the Irish had it pretty good, while others found the state of Irish peasants deplorable even for Indian standards. The third tier were the natives of the British colonies, including the British-Indians. The lighter the skin the higher in the hierarchy. This tier also includes the hybrids and those of mixed descent that had adapted to and were accepted by the British. The fourth tier consisted of the natives of the British colonies that have a more primitive society in the eyes of the British. This tier is again divided by skin-color and race. Tier five was the lowest tier, which consisted of Africans (I.E. those with the darkest skin). Religion and status as slave did play a role though the travellers themselves did not mention their status or had a biased opinion. Example of this was Rajah Rammohun Roy, who as a Christian criticized Hinduism.

Their exposure to both Eastern and Western ideals put the travellers in a position between East and West. Travellers held the hope that British-Indian relationships would improve, become more mutually beneficial, and allow for India to retain its core identity.

## **7.1-Recommendations**

The Empire Writes Back (part one) collection has been a large asset in my attempt to research British-Indian travellers. The amount and variety of information contained within the collection still leaves much for students and scholars to analyse. I can recommend looking into the collection wherever it is available (including Erasmus University library).

‘Reading against the grain’ as method has proven moderately useful during the analysis of the primary sources. Some travellers already hinted in their introductions about the influences of publishers. Travellers occasionally made use of euphemisms and sarcasm in their writings. Combined with editors that changing parts of a writer’s text and the traveller’s choice to publish their journals for various reasons it was a must to read their texts critically. There was no need to systematically apply the method as many of the writings were written down observations ‘as is’. Limitations the writers (and as an extension the reader) had to contend with, was the limited duration of their travels and the limited writing space of a traveller’s journal. Reading against the grain did not prove an effective solution to determine what information was left out because of a traveller’s time or writing space.

The use of Comparative History was useful when comparing the events described by multiple travellers. It was surprising that many travellers visited the same places in London (and in Scotland), such as the Crystal Palace. The common subjects the travellers discussed, helped set up the way I compared their observations of the London population and locales within London.

## Appendix

### A typical page of a traveller's journal

158      RAMBLES OF A PILGRIM REFORMER

if tired or out of time. Fares and postage stamps are amongst the heaviest items of my expenditure in England, as they are in India.

House-rent in the City is something inconceivable for us. A large warehouse fetches as much as £20,000 a year, that is Rs.280,000. I doubt if it would fetch Rs.1,000 a year at Bombay, or Rs.100 a year at Surat. A small tea-shop in King William Street, with kitchen below, pays £800 a year for rent, that is Rs.12,200. At Delhi or Agra you can buy a palace outright for less than that. Verily, as "Crocodile" once remarked, rushing out of a shop in Piccadilly, "everything is *hot* in London."

*My Appeal from the Daughters of India* has cost a great deal more in trouble and money than its size and substance may seem to justify. I write it out at one sitting. It is quite an effort. I give a whole day to revising the draft before sending it to a printer for estimate. The rough estimate, nine shillings a page, takes my breath away. I have to go to three printers with "Crocodile" before I could have the job accepted at three shillings a page. A good deal of time is spent in receiving and revising proofs. Meanwhile, the friends who are to be consulted are about to leave town. In feverish anxiety I manage to send off proofs to these friends. But many of them are already off, like the unscrupulous holiday-makers that they are, promising to return proofs from the country. Days are lost in this way, and when the proofs come back there is a fresh difficulty to cope with. I find myself a victim of the proverbial multitude of counsels. Several of the friends have to be interviewed; two of them take five inter-

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