



Indian Voy(ag)eurs to the Motherland 1870-1920: Gender viewed and reviewed

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*“...The Woman’s cause is man’s; they rise or sink
Together, dwarf’d or godlike, bond or free:
For she that out of Lethe scales with man
The shining steps of Nature, shares with man
His nights, his days, moves with him to one goal,
Stays all the fair young planet in her hands-
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?”¹*

¹ Tennyson, Alfred Lord, excerpt from “The Princess,” (originally published in 1847), as quoted in the Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Mary Bhoire, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) pg.38-39

Preface:

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Chapter 1: Main Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Mary Bhore, an Indian voy(ag)eur to Britain and student at Somerset College, Oxford University, resided in Britain between 1898 and 1900. Her writings are found within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, and reveal her vision of England and her objectives for India. In 1900, upon returning to India, Bhore gave a lecture on her impressions of England stating, “...as my time is limited I would prefer to speak of what struck me and interested me most as a woman, namely –The social life of the English, the Education of Women, and their influence on the nation.”² Mary Bhore and I are separated by more than a century; however, our focus on gender and gender roles is still contemporary. Women are central to my research to combat the notion that history vaunts power, and power is often linked to masculinity and virility.³

This research follows mainly Indian travellers who visited the hearth of Empire between 1870-1920. Most of them were overwhelmed with experiences and observations about British Society. In their writings they reflect on these experiences as well as Indian society back home. Therefore, these travellers may present us with great insights in British as well Indian cultures. In my research I focus on images and perspectives on gender, gender roles and the role of women.

Furthermore, in this research gender studies demand a double approach, an understanding of the position of women in India based on caste, religion, ideas of equality or domination and subordination; but, also, a keen sense of the different gender roles that existed in Victorian and late Victorian Britain. Most of the sources and secondary literature studied focus on wealthy British ladies, but some of the sources reveal the less fortunate women who became prostitutes. This juxtaposition of different socio-economic groups allows for a Feminist critique of the sources. My research is focused on analysing the lives of British women, both rich and poor, through the Indian eyes of male and female travellers.

² Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg. 39

³ Hartsock, Nancy. "Foucault on power: a theory for women?." *Feminism/postmodernism* 162 (1990). Pg.157

London, the hearth of the British Empire, has a special place in the literature, and in the minds of those visiting; thus my research focuses solely on the capital. The reflections of these travellers to London are central to my thesis. The chosen periodization is the Victorian era for the United Kingdom (1870-1920), as it was a time when an increasing number of Indians travelled to the metropole, as part of “le grand tour” of Indians travelling through Europe.⁴ Some of these travellers are well known, as is the case for Mohandas Gandhi, others only persist in historical memory via their written accounts.

In this research I studied a collection of travelogues entitled: *The Empire Writes Back*. This is a collection of 17 memoirs, of varying lengths, written predominantly in English for an Indian audience. Most of the Indian authors are male, but there are a few female perspectives included in what is mostly travel literature. These collected works act as a guide to visiting and understanding London for colonial subjects, who are simultaneously members of the Empire and yet ‘others’ to the British. Each document’s vision paints a vivid picture of turn-of-the-century London in its squalor and splendour.

1.2 Research Questions

Studying primary sources allows the historian the gift of seeing the past through different eyes. I employed a bottom-up approach to research, in keeping with Feminist Critical Theory, with the aim of attributing agency to quieter, or less heard voices. Through studying these primary sources and delving into how Indian travellers perceived, contemplated and then wrote about the centre of the Empire, I gained a better picture of the difficulties of hybridity within the British Empire. This research then required a mastery of Orientalism and Occidentalism, and also a clear historical understanding of direct rule under the British Raj. Gender studies is an academic field that I find particularly interesting and thus guided my choice towards women, and perceptions of women. Consequently, the central question of my research became: *Why, where and when do male and female Indian Voy(ag)eurs agree or disagree in their vision of women in London between 1870 and 1920?*

The notion of ‘vision of women’ refers to how gender is not only perceived visually but it is understood culturally due in part to the fact that “our brains

⁴ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.174

interpret new stimuli based on past experiences.”⁵ These past experiences that create perception, and vision can stem from culture, which is learnt from past generations and from dominating forces in the present. Culture is an individual construct and a social construct, which is both conscious and subconscious, as “individual differences in culture can be observed among people in the degree to which they adopt and engage in the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours that, by consensus, constitute their culture.”⁶ In regards to this thesis question, the Indian authors perception/perceptions stem from both British and Indian cultures. However, there is also a third option that of Indo-British culture as three hundred years of imperialism created this latter option. Furthermore, I have chosen to compare and contrast the vision of male and female travellers in order to assess if their own gender affects how individuals perceive gender and gender roles in London.

The chosen time frame is 1870 through 1920 as the sources available focus mostly on this demi-century that straddles two centuries and reveals an era of intense social change, highlighted by industrialisation, demographic growth and the beginnings of a rural exodus. The grand tour was at its height during the period 1870-1920, as many Indian travellers visited Europe and, of course, London. This period is characterised by a radical tear in the fabric of society, due in part to World War One or the ‘War to end of all wars,’ as men and women were recruited on the home front and from the colonies to defend their nation, or metropole. Gender roles were irreversibly modified by this reliance on women workers, who took over factory jobs, whilst men fought in the trenches. The suffrage movement that officially began in 1872 with the creation of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage gained increasing support during this half-century, finally attaining limited female suffrage in 1918.⁷ Indians visiting the metropole during this tumultuous period were faced with an ever-changing and dynamic core.⁸

Most research in the West has focused on how the West viewed the East, thanks in part to Edward Said’s seminal work entitled *Orientalism*.⁹ My thesis topic,

⁵ Dombrowski, Eileen. "Theory of knowledge: course companion." (2007). Pg.89

⁶http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/globalpad/openhouse/interculturalskills/global_pad_-_what_is_culture.pdf (viewed/accessed 18-2-2015)

⁷ Burton, Antoinette M. "The white woman's burden: British feminists and the Indian woman, 1865–1915." *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 13. No. 4. Pergamon, 1990. Pg.8

⁸ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.9

⁹ Said, Edward. "Orientalism. 1978." *New York: Vintage* 1994 (1979). Pg.8

however, opens up new vistas regarding an oriental perspective of the occident, namely Occidentalism, and an analysis of how and why these Indian travellers viewed women.¹⁰ The situation is further complicated by Imperialism, as the metropole or core not only changes the periphery but is also altered by the periphery.

Studying women in London society is a vast subject and impossible to treat effectively within the context of a Masters' thesis. Therefore, the Indian authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection have decided the direction of my research as the following three themes are recurrent in numerous works: women and marriage, female education, and women and poverty.

In order to successfully answer the main question, certain sub-questions are necessary to create historical context and a clear focus on these gendered themes:

1. Who are these Indian authors and voy(ag)eurs?
2. Why do the male and female voy(ag)eurs agree or disagree in their views of marriage?
3. Why do the male and female voy(ag)eurs agree or disagree in their views of women and education?
4. Why do the male and female voy(ag)eurs agree or disagree in their views of women workers and impoverished women?

This thesis wishes to contribute to our understanding of how gender and gender roles in London were perceived at the turn of the century through an Occidentalist lens. This is important because these Indian travellers were simultaneously insiders and outsiders; insiders as members of the Empire, and yet outsiders within the hierarchical and often racist capital of the metropole. Therefore, their vision sheds light not only on gender in London, but also on gender and gender roles in India.

¹⁰ Hanafi, Hassan. "From orientalism to occidentalism." *Building Peace by Intercultural Dialogue* (2004): Pg.258

1.3 Sources

The primary sources studied for this thesis subject are the 17 memoirs, which make up the collection entitled *The Empire Strikes Back* (Part I), which contains 36 works on ten microfilm reels. There are approximately 6000-7000 pages in this collection, which consists of mostly texts but there are occasional hand-written notes, poems and images. The majority of sources are in English, with a rare review in Hindi, and were published either in Great Britain or in colonial India between 1810 and 1915. The Erasmus library has this full collection on microfilm but it can also be accessed through the British and Cambridge libraries. Most of these sources are written from an Occidentalist perspective, written to prepare Indians travellers for their journey to Britain or to Europe. Indians who came to Britain for educational or commercial ends are the authors of the sources; those who came to London as 'exhibits' for the Anglo-Indian Exhibition wrote others. The role of women in the west is quite frequently evoked in these sources, as it either provoked amazement, as women held positions of importance in companies, or scandalous derision, as prostitutes sold their bodies on the streets, or even in 'civilised' *on-dit* parties.

The sheer volume of material to cover, which is not available online, but only on microfilm, made the task at hand quite difficult in the short duration available for this research. However, the information available is well written, highly descriptive and full of insight. Travel literature has certain advantages, one being that it does not have to focus only on politics or power, but rather it tells the traveller's tale, and his/her vision of everyday life in the capital.¹¹ It also reveals certain differences between India and Britain pointed out by the authors. Moreover, it has a strong focus on social issues, and in the case of my thesis, the role of women. Hence, the *Empire Writes Back* Collection contains more than enough information to allow me to tackle my thesis question.

¹¹ Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, London and New York 2008) Pg.38

1.4 Research Methods

Feminist theories take into account the difference between feminist academics/ thinkers and political activists. Different theories abound, for example, Liberal Feminists strive to attain equality in the public and private spheres, whereas Postmodernist Feminists generally assert that all points of view are intrinsically biased and therefore must be deconstructed.¹² Feminist Critical Theory “examines prevailing assumptions about men and women,” namely notions of masculinity and femininity and the creation of gender roles.¹³ It also has a socio-economic facet in order to critically assess women’s position/s in society.

With respect to my thesis subject Feminist Critical Theory is most in keeping with the sub-topical categories chosen, and with the methodology I apply for this type of research. Critical Feminists focus not only on written and spoken discourse, which obviously reveals bias, but also on the creation of gender due to “the real, material, lived condition of women in particular times and places....including race, class, sexuality, ethnicity and religion.”¹⁴ Moreover, self-reflexivity encourages me to acknowledge my own Feminist leanings that implicitly colour my research. Explicitly employing Feminist Critical Theory forces me to better analyse the themes of women and marriage, women and education and women and poverty. Applying a theory from a meta-perspective has advantages and disadvantages; firstly, this particular theory works well with the kind of methodology necessary in analysing cultural difference, it can, however, fail to allot individual agency to women by placing all women in one gender group, which I strive to avoid.

In studying these primary sources I read against the grain, to analyse not only what is explicitly said, but also to explain sudden shifts in argumentation, holes in logic and the all-important unspeakable or unspoken words. “In addition, it facilitates an escape from an over-simplified dichotomization of power/powerless, oppressors/oppressed; a way of thinking that has been particularly criticized by feminist scholars.”¹⁵

¹² Reus-Smit, Christian, and Duncan Snidal. *The Oxford handbook of international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2010. Pg.395

¹³ Reus-Smit, Christian, and Duncan Snidal. *The Oxford handbook of international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2010. Pg.395

¹⁴ Reus-Smit, Christian, and Duncan Snidal. *The Oxford handbook of international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2010. Pg.395

¹⁵ Willemsse, Karin. *One foot in Heaven: narratives on gender and Islam in Darfur, West-Sudan*. Vol. 5. Brill, 2007. Pgs. 20-33

1.5 Main Theoretical Concepts

The following main theoretical concepts are at the heart of my research, and therefore require clear definitions in order to better comprehend the meaning and orientation of said research. Each definition is closely linked and interlinked with the proceeding concepts and is placed within the larger framework of travel writing.

Travel writing is divided into three sub-categories: travelogues (mostly journals), travel stories (realistic narration) and travel guides (publications with travel tips).¹⁶ Travel writing within the *Empire Strikes Back* Collection contains all three examples written from the perspectives of male and female students, businessmen and even from Indians who were 'exhibits' (e.g. Trailokyanatha Mukharji) as part of the Anglo-Indian Exhibition.¹⁷

Travel writing is a form of written discourse. Discourse, according to Foucault, is "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak."¹⁸ Therefore, discourse creates a perceived reality, and thus must be studied within its cultural context. Foucault further contends that discourse intertwines power, knowledge and truth.¹⁹ I employ Foucault's definition of discourse in tandem with Feminist Critical Theory because it theorizes power, "and has tried to formulate ways of analysing power as it manifests itself and as it is resisted in relations of every day life."²⁰ Also, and importantly for my research, Foucault's work permits numerous variables to be addressed simultaneously and on equal footing, like race and class, within different cultural contexts.²¹ Lastly, Foucault's definition allows individuals the possibility of engaging "with discourses in order to forge particular positions of identity for themselves."²² The three female authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection often have discourses in conflict, which require multiple identities in order to remain 'respectable' and be heard by a mainly male audience. However, unlike Foucault, I do not believe the subject in history is dead, and through reading against the grain, I place each discourse within its social context, giving voices to the silenced.²³

¹⁶ <http://www.thetraveltester.com/a-short-history-of-travel-writing/> (viewed/accessed 17-03-15)

¹⁷ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Publisher's Note Pg.8

¹⁸ Storey, J. "Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction." *New York: Pearson Prentice Hall* (2006). Pg.101

¹⁹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.15

²⁰ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.70

²¹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.70

²² Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.81

²³ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.92

Most travel writing up to the 20th century was from an orientalist perspective, however, the *Empire Writes Back* Collection has the added value of revealing the perspectives and perceptions of those travelling in the opposite direction but still within the same empire.²⁴ It also reveals that images of ‘othering’ are not always stereotypical in nature.²⁵

Orientalism is an entrenched structured pattern of thinking by the West regarding the East as it reveals a patronising attitude, one of supposed superiority faced with a static and under-developed East. Edward Said coined the term in his seminal and eponymous work in 1978. His objective was to alleviate bias, or at least to increase awareness of this culturally acquired perspective, and its negative repercussions.²⁶

My thesis topic, however, opens up new vistas regarding an oriental perspective of the occident, namely Occidentalism.²⁷ Occidentalism is another example of ‘othering’ as it reveals how the East views the West. The term was coined by James G. Carrier in his book *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (1995), and was a response to Said’s Orientalism.²⁸ Indian views of the metropole often derived from stereotypes regarding wealth and prosperity; however, upon arrival in London, such generalisations often fell to the wayside, as squalor prospered alongside wealth. Indian Occidental views on women and gender roles, which originated within each individual’s own culture, coloured how women were viewed and reviewed in these 17 memoirs. Sexual equality was not a reality in the Britain but even less so in India.

In defining gender, my research focuses on the work of Rachel Alsop et alia who focus on the social construction of gender. There are two main branches within social construction theory: materialist and discursive theories.²⁹ The former stresses the structures in place that encourage men and women in certain roles. My thesis focuses more so on the latter theory, as “it places emphasis on the meanings which are attached to being male or female within society, emphasizing the role of language and culture.”³⁰ Gender “is a structure of subjectivity, which can vary greatly in

²⁴ Idem Pg.7

²⁵ <http://www.theadvancedapes.com/theratchet/2012/10/15/the-othering-process> (viewed/accessed 05-05-15)

²⁶ <http://www.egs.edu/library/edward-said/biography/> (viewed/accessed 17-03-15)

²⁷ <http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2004/09/introduction-to-edward-said.html> (viewed/accessed 3-03-15)

²⁸ Carrier, James G., ed. *Occidentalism: Images of the West: Images of the West*. Oxford University Press, 1995. Pg.2

²⁹ Alsop, R. Fitzsimmons. "A. & Lennon K.(2002). Theorizing Gender." Pg.65

³⁰ Alsop, R. Fitzsimmons. "A. & Lennon K.(2002). Theorizing Gender." Pg.65

different social locations, meaning that gendering can be seen as a process rather than as a role.”³¹ Gender is performed and therefore language and thus discourse is central.³²

Transculturation occurs between a ‘native culture’ and a ‘conquering culture,’ leaving each irreversibly changed; thus creating cultural hybridity.³³ Cultural hybridity is, therefore, more than simply a summation of two cultures but an intrinsically different unit. Peter Burke stresses the point even further by stating that there are even some Indian authors who, “have gone so far in the direction of the West as to write in English. All the same, their English interacts with their own mother tongues, producing what has been called a literary ‘palimpsest’, yet another metaphor for hybridity.”³⁴ Cultural hybridity goes hand in hand with the notion that individuals do not have one single identity but many identities that cohabit within a corporal entity or mortal coil.³⁵

Therefore, to what extent have these Indian authors become cultural hybrids? And conversely, to what extent are the British in the metropole also cultural hybrids as their Imperial culture is created from the Empire and not just directed to it?

³¹ Alsop, R. Fitzsimmons. "A. & Lennon K.(2002). Theorizing Gender." Pg.79

³² Butler, Judith. "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory." *Theatre journal* (1988): Pg. 519.

³³ <http://gira.info/en/about-us/research-questions-and-key-notions/transculturation-and-culturalhybridity> (viewed/accessed 18-02-2015)

³⁴ Burke, Peter. *Cultural hybridity*. Polity, 2009. Pg.19

³⁵ Tracy, Sarah J., and Angela Trethewey. "Fracturing the Real-Self↔ Fake-Self Dichotomy: Moving Toward "Crystallized" Organizational Discourses and Identities." *Communication Theory* 15.2 (2005) Pgs.168-195.

1.6 Source Criticism

The *Empire Writes Back* is a font of unique material, written in mainly English for an Indian public. Not many individuals travelled from the east to the west; even less wrote about their experiences and perceptions. Furthermore, only a few of these voy(ag)eurs were women. The bulk of travel writing in the 19th century concerns West Europeans within Europe. Whereas within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, the authors are not only travelling half way around the world, they are also ‘writing back.’ They inform their countrymen/women on a substantial array of subjects from “the vast scale of London and its crowds” to “contemporary marvels, such as gas lighting.”³⁶ The poorer side of East London was often evoked, provoking reactions of horror, as did the scantily clad actresses on theatre stages. Above all, the volumes are valuable because they emphasise, “the cosmopolitan nature of Victorian London and let us see it through Indian eyes.”³⁷

There are also disadvantages as written sources by definition are limited in the sense that they are not ‘spontaneous.’ Authors had time to process their thoughts, and to frame arguments for a targeted audience. However, the technique of reading against the grain allows me the possibility of unravelling, at least partially, this framing of ideas.³⁸ Moreover, the authors were all wealthy and educated, and therefore do not represent other socio-economic groups in India. Most tended to be relatively young, and never mention having children, which could affect how they viewed marriage and child raising. A further limitation of this *Empire Writes Back* Collection, as Spivak states, is the voices of the subaltern are not present and simply too impoverished to be part of the grand tour.³⁹

The multiple purposes of the works define its value and limitations. For example, the few female authors are often caught between discourses in conflict, navigating between remaining respectable, while advocating for female education and increased liberty within a colonial context.⁴⁰ Moreover, two of the female authors, Mary Bhowe and Pothum Raghavayya, only discuss gendered themes that show British women in a positive light, and other than in the framework of charitable

³⁶ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Publisher’s Note Pg.8

³⁷ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Publisher’s Note Pg.10

³⁸ Willemsse, Karin. *One foot in Heaven: narratives on gender and Islam in Darfur, West-Sudan*. Vol. 5. Brill, 2007. Pgs. 20-33

³⁹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.107

⁴⁰ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

works, never discuss poverty. The male authors analysed, although constrained by a colonial context, have more latitude to disagree with each other and with other dominant discourses, revealing their relative positions of power with Indian society.

My main secondary literature consists of works by Shompa Lahiri, Rozina Visram, and Sara Mills. The first two authors works are authoritative guides to Indian experiences in Britain but only contain one chapter each on Indian reactions to England. Also, Lahiri only allots seven pages to the subject of Indian perceptions of gender. Rozina Visram's writing is more narrative in nature, and does not contain much reflection or analysis. Whereas, Shompa Lahiri's work is more analytical but has little focus on gender or women. However, both works allow for a better global understanding of Anglo-Indian relations during this time framework and have been very useful in orientating my research. Sara Mills' work entitled *Discourse*, although very helpful in regards to Feminist Theory and Discourse and Colonial Discourse Theory, focuses heavily on Orientalism rather than Occidentalism.

1.7 Thesis Structure:

I argue that Indian travellers were in a unique position to shed light onto gender and gender roles in London between 1870 and 1920. Their position as members of the Empire and yet outsiders abroad allowed for an Occidental gaze on turn-of-the-century London. The comparison of male and female travellers' views and perceptions allows for an in depth analysis linked also to the gender of the writers.

My first four chapters set the scene for my research. Firstly, I place my work within a larger historiographical framework, justifying the innovative aspects of my research. Thereafter, I focus on the economic and political ties that linked India to Great Britain, creating the cultural background of these writers, and engendering performative identities. Consequently, I compile a personal biography of each author, to better understand their particular motivations in visiting London and in 'writing back' regarding their findings, and perceptions.

Chapter 1: I contextualize my research questions and explain the main concepts that are employed during the analytical Chapters 4-7. This chapter explains the rationale for employing Feminist Critical Theory and Occidentalism while analysing such unique sources as the *Empire Writes Back* Collection.

Chapter 2: From the historiographical overview it is clear that there is limited literature on gender perspectives from outsiders (in my case Indians in Britain). In this thesis I hope to fill this historiographical gap.

Chapter 3: The Victorian era heralded an increase in the number of Indian immigrants or tourists to the British Empire, creating an interconnected cultural terrain, but not one of economic or political equality. I contend that colonial mimicry through performing identities developed in order to allow Indians access to advantages within the dominant British culture.

Chapter 4: My research has focused on the three female travellers and eight male travellers within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, as these authors shed light on gender and gender roles in London. Within this chapter, I compile a brief biography of each author to place his or her words within their historical and personal context.

The final four chapters are the heart of my personal research. Chapters 5-7 focus on the main gendered themes that the writers within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection evoked frequently; namely marriage, female education and impoverished women. The choice of these topics reveals as much about the Indian travellers, as about gender roles in London between 1870 and 1920.

Chapter 5: I argue that the colonial discourse in regards to marriage is somewhat gendered, as female travellers support the relative freedom allotted to British women in comparison to their sisters in India. Whereas, male authors take a more nuanced approach, as they challenge the alleged benefits of London marriages.

Chapter 6: This chapter argues that female education in Britain caused discourses in conflict for the three female authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. These female travellers had to negotiate between different identities in order to convince a mainly male public of the benefits of female education in India. Furthermore, I compare and contrast male and female travellers' views on education.

Chapter 7: In this chapter, I argue that the imperial civilising mission was challenged in the colonial discourse involving working women, impoverished women, female alcohol abuse and prostitution. Indian travellers, both male and female, could within their guest discourse criticize the Empire under Raj radar.⁴¹ Female travellers, however, did not discuss prostitution or alcohol abuse.

Chapter 8: This chapter demonstrates the gendered findings of my research. I assert that male and female travellers were more similar in their views of gender than I had predicted, except in regards to impoverished women, prostitution and female alcohol abuse. However, female travellers had the more difficult task of negotiating discourses in conflict.

⁴¹ Codell, Julie F., 'Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.296

Chapter 2: Historiographical Review

2.1-Introduction:

In this section of my thesis I focus on the previous research that has occurred regarding travel writing and the colonial discourse, Orientalism and Occidentalism and Gender and Women within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. And in so doing, place my research within the historiographical framework, justifying its relevance.

Historians are finally addressing travel writing, which had previously been analysed by anthropologists and sociologists. Historians, through their training, focus on changes over time, and better contextualize events. Recently, Mary Louise Pratt has placed travel writing into a broader historical context, deriving its origins from the Scientific Enlightenment.⁴² Most research on this period has focused almost to exclusion on the post-World War II Indian migration to Britain. However, Julie Codell, Michael Fisher and Antoinette Burton have concentrated their research on Indian migration in the previously lesser-studied period of Victorian Britain, and earlier. My research is even more specific as it is strictly directed towards how Indian voy(ag)eurs, within this literature, viewed gender and more particularly the role of women in London during the Victorian age and shortly after.

Within travel writing the notion of the ‘other’ is of utmost importance. For historians the most fundamental theories of ‘othering’ between the East and the West may be found in the concepts of ‘Orientalism and Occidentalism.’ Orientalism reveals how the West views the East whereas; Occidentalism focuses on how the East views the West. However, this simplistic definition has increasingly been challenged by scholars, who either view Occidentalism as an incomplete fledgling idea or who, conversely, see its potential to overcome the vestiges of colonization within the domains of language, literature, culture and history. I contend that Occidentalism and Orientalism are two sides of different coins, as Occidentalism only exists from those who have already been “othered” by Orientalism.

Within the framework of Orientalism and Occidentalism gender plays a marginal role. At the same time gender and ‘othering’ within these concepts refer to similar constructs of relations of power and inequality.⁴³ Gender is a notion that is

⁴² Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, London and New York 2008) Pg.33

⁴³ See sub-section 2.3 for a more detailed discussion of Orientalism and Occidentalism.

often evoked “without exploring relations of power and inequality.”⁴⁴ Feminism and more particularly Feminist Critical Theory link gender to oppression, allowing for a more meaningful historical analysis, giving voices to the previously silenced.⁴⁵ Orientalism and Occidentalism are also linked to oppression, and via “othering” sexualise and diminish the person being viewed. Employing a feminist critique of history is not innovative, as the following historians reveal; however, the combination I employ of Occidentalism and feminism is rare, especially in regards to how Indians viewed women in London in the late Victorian period.

Historiography in the last twenty years has sought to gauge how the experience of establishing an empire overseas impacted upon the ways that British people thought about themselves and the world around them, but not on how Indian authors perceived gender and gender roles in Britain, which is the objective of this thesis.

2.2-Travel Writing and the Colonial Discourse:

“Every man carries within himself a world made up of all that he has seen and loved; and it is to this world that he returns, incessantly, though he may pass through and seem to inhabit a world quite foreign to it.”

-Chateaubriand, VOYAGE EN ITALIE,⁴⁶

Travel writing has existed for centuries, as travellers bursting with images and experiences share their findings and perceptions upon returning home. Indian travellers within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection are no exception and fit into a larger framework of travel writing and colonial discourse. Mary Louise Pratt’s seminal work succeeds in placing travel literature within its historical time frame. This genre gained impetus during the early modern period as Europeans strove, by reason of the scientific Enlightenment, to travel in order to better comprehend and on some level dominate the natural world.⁴⁷ Nature in this sense can be defined as

⁴⁴ Reus-Smit, Christian, and Duncan Snidal, eds. *The Oxford handbook of international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2010. Pg.404

⁴⁵ Lugones, Maria C., and Elizabeth V. Spelman. "Have we got a theory for you! Feminist theory, cultural imperialism and the demand for 'the woman's voice'." *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 6. No. 6. Pergamon, 1983. Pg.573

⁴⁶ https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/40496.Fran_ois_Ren_de_Chateaubriand (viewed/accessed 03-03-15)

⁴⁷ Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, London and New York 2008) Pg.15

“all regions and ecosystems, which were not dominated by the ‘Europeans.’”⁴⁸ The colonial implications in the above quote are evident, as areas, regions, and then people were to be tamed, controlled by supposedly superior ‘enlightened’ Western bourgeois or upper class, male Europeans.⁴⁹ Pratt argues that countries that were colonised became “seen as objectives of knowledge,” allowing for sweeping generalisations to be made about all the inhabitants, thus removing their individual identities.⁵⁰ My research, in keeping with Feminist Critical Theory, strives to view the individual and to give voices to the silenced by reading against the grain.

Even though travel between England and India has been a constant since the 1600’s, most travel accounts from a British Orientalist perspective were oral in nature, and therefore had little to no impact on Indian society as a whole.⁵¹ Indian written accounts began slowly and then in earnest from the mid-18th century onwards, as Fisher so clearly states in his authoritative article.⁵² As Fisher’s research reveals this travel literature was written in many languages including Arabic, Persian, Hindi and English.⁵³ This particular literature removes the reader from the world of Orientalism and opens up an Occidental approach; namely, how the East viewed the West, allowing the reader the possibility to assess the colonial discourse from a dialectic perspective. The majority of these early writers were male and at least relatively wealthy as “the patriarchal norms of Hindu society even more strictly constrained high-class women from the long-distance travel and interaction with the *mlecchha* (the impure foreigner).”⁵⁴ The first written works appeared in the 18th century and numbered six in all, “significantly, all were males of minority communities: five Muslims and one Armenian Christian. Each of these travel narratives stood distinct in its voice and purpose.”⁵⁵ The role of women in society and the notion of gender were evoked even in these earlier writings, and Tavakoli-Targi refers to this as Euro-eroticism.⁵⁶ The sexualisation of western women both poor and

⁴⁸ Idem Pg.37

⁴⁹ Levine, Philippa, What’s British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East*, Volume 27, Number 2, 2007, Pg.21

⁵⁰ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.97

⁵¹ Idem Pg. 159

⁵² Fisher, Michael H., ‘India to England and Back: Early Indian Travel Narratives for Indian Readers’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.153

⁵³ Fisher, Michael Herbert (2006). *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Traveller and Settler in Britain 1600-1857*. Orient Blackswan. Pg.55

⁵⁴ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 Pg.157

⁵⁵ Idem Pg.159

⁵⁶ Tavakoli-Targhi, “Imagining Western Women: Occidentalism and Euro-Eroticism,” *Radical America* 24 Pg.73

of high society is often discussed by numerous authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection and is a key theme in my thesis, which I analyse in detail in Chapter 7. Fisher's work, therefore, benefits my research even if his period of study predates my periodization, and his research does not focus on gender precisely.

Many writers, such as Margaret Hunt, have focused on the roots of colonial racism within these early writings, which were labelled ethnographies and published as travel literature.⁵⁷ Orientalism is ever clear, as 'othering' is present, delimiting us from them within a hierarchical framework. The sexualisation of the non-European women and feminization of Asian men are recurrent themes and the corner stones of Said's Orientalism. The Western gaze on the East is one of superiority, sexualisation and dominance. However, Margaret Hunt's work does not take into account the Occidental perspective, nor does she attempt to ascertain whether these authors have assimilated to British or Imperial culture and therefore become cultural hybrids, unlike my research within this thesis.

Julie F. Codell asserts many Indians between the years 1870 and 1920 visited Great Britain and Europe as part of "reversing the Grand Tour."⁵⁸ These individuals often wrote in English, for an educated Indian community who were intrigued with gaining a first-hand account of the centre of the Empire and especially London. Many of these travellers were financially solvent, from varied professions: "jurist, Missionary Society member, curator; maharajas, social reformers, students,"⁵⁹ and had business, tourist or educational goals. Unlike the works of earlier authors, this late 19th century and early 20th century travel literature was destined for a larger audience. The degree of cultural hybridity already present in this higher socio-economic strata of Indian society is evident as English was the default language employed. The *Empire Writes Back* Collection is mostly within this periodization and certain authors were in Britain as part of "reversing the Grand Tour."⁶⁰ Codell's research helps set the backdrop for my thesis by analysing the socio-economic background of these Indian migrants. However, Codell's objective is to explain the rationale behind this migration, rather than to analyse this mine of information within the travel literature from Occidental and feminist perspectives.

⁵⁷ Hunt, Margaret, "Racism, Imperialism and the Traveller's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1993) Pg.335

⁵⁸ Codell, Julie F., 'Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, Pg.173

⁵⁹ Idem Pg.174

⁶⁰ Codell, Julie F., 'Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, pg.173

As Antoinette Burton asserts, the United Kingdom was as much a contact zone as Imperial India, and recent historiography corroborates this claim, arguing “traces of empire were everywhere to be found before World War One – in spaces as diverse as the Boy Scouts, Bovril advertisements, and biscuit tins...”⁶¹ Therefore, this explains that the notion of home and away, core and periphery cannot be applicable to travel literature from these Indian authors, especially during this later time frame. Cornelia Sorabjii, who returned to the United Kingdom on numerous occasions, nicely sums this notion of Imperial proximity in her autobiography, stating she “warmed her hands at two fires.”⁶² This notion of two fires, of belonging and ‘othering’, are central themes within my research. Delving into the world of travel literature demands a comprehension of the notion of Imperialism and its role in people’s lives.

According to Rozina Visram the heyday for Indian travel literature occurred between 1886 (the Colonial and Indian Exposition) and 1911 (the coronation of George V). This literature took the form of magazine articles, letters, lectures and even books and was often focused on London.⁶³ The periodization for my thesis is in keeping with these dates, as is my choice of London, as most of the writing studied dedicates at least a chapter to the capital of the metropole.

Travel literature requires in depth reading that takes into account the cultural hybridity both inherent in the writers themselves and London itself, which was already fundamentally transformed into a melting pot of Imperialism. It also demands reading against the grain, which explains my use of feminist theory.

2.3 Orientalism and Occidentalism:

Edward Said’s Orientalism is an ever-evolving entity that revolutionised cultural studies, studies of the Middle East and post-colonial studies. Its importance and renown are undeniable and as such have attracted the interest of Western and Eastern scholars alike.⁶⁴ Orientalism strives to understand why the West has a preconceived notion of the East, which minimizes and sexualizes the latter. Said states, “indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is—and does not represent—a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less

⁶¹ Burton, Antoinette, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* Pg.2

⁶² Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.15

⁶³ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.105

⁶⁴ Wang, Ning. "Orientalism versus occidentalism?." *New Literary History* 28.1 (1997) Pg.57

to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world."⁶⁵ Said further argues that the only real answer to this omnipresent, colonial, Euro-centrism is the creation of Occidentalism, without ever completely defining this term.⁶⁶ Revolutions in thought can and often do cause controversy and Said's work is no exception. Said's notion of 'othering' is one of my main concepts within this research thesis, as both Orientalism and Occidentalism 'other' to create meaning and cohesion within one's own group.

Wang Ning in his article *Orientalism versus Occidentalism?* challenges this polarised and oppositional view of the East and West and searches instead to replace discordance with discourse.⁶⁷ Moreover, Ning argues that Said's geographical definition of the East, as the region encompassing the Middle East is too restrictive, highlighting that India, China and Japan are rarely evoked in Said's work.⁶⁸ For my research, this point is of clear importance. Secondly, Ning criticizes Orientalism's ideological and cultural limitations, stating that Said is viewing power relations from a western perspective derived from bourgeois cultural values, rather than from a Confucian or Islamic approach.⁶⁹ Ning's criticism places Said in the position of the 'Westerner' who has minimized the geographical and cultural power and presence of the East; Said becomes the purveyor of Orientalism. Ning further sheds doubt on the definition or lack thereof concerning Occidentalism stating, "I have not yet read a specialized work on it, although the concept has already permeated some people's consciousness and even subconscious."⁷⁰ He does, however, posit that Occidentalism takes root differently based on a country's past or present-day experience with hegemonic powers. In post-colonial nations like India, Occidentalism has a decolonizing role as newly decolonised nations remove colonial shackles. In the case of India, the English language was appropriated and modified into a dialectal form, present in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection.⁷¹ Finally and most saliently, Ning argues that Occidentalism is a fledgling concept that often rears its head as anti-Westernism rather than as a fully defined ideology.⁷² I do not concur fully with Ning's assertions as there are numerous definitions of Occidentalism that are not anti-western in nature, as is shown in the following paragraph.

⁶⁵ http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Hassan_Hanafi.aspx (17-03-15)

⁶⁶ Wang, Ning. "Orientalism versus occidentalism?" *New Literary History* 28.1 (1997) Pg.60

⁶⁷ Idem Pg.67

⁶⁸ Idem Pg. 59

⁶⁹ Idem Pg.60

⁷⁰ Idem Pg.60

⁷¹ Idem Pg.62

⁷² Idem Pg. 66

Hassan Hanafi is a phenomenologist and Professor of Philosophy in Cairo. He espouses a need for dialogue and discourse in order to attain peace through intercultural dialogue.⁷³ According to his article *From Orientalism to Occidentalism*, both Orientalism and Occidentalism objectify the other, while creating a subject of the viewer.⁷⁴ However, Orientalism is the epitome of Euro-centrism and was created based on an ethno-racism stemming from supposed notions of European supremacy.⁷⁵ Conversely, “Occidentalism is a discipline constituted in Third World countries in order to complete the process of decolonization. Military, economic and political decolonization would be incomplete without scientific and cultural decolonization.”⁷⁶ Therefore, according to Hanafi, Occidentalism is the answer to the harms created by Orientalism, which seems more in keeping with Edward Said’s analysis, than Ning’s. Hanafi’s line of argumentation posits that modernisation and westernisation have become synonymous terms, with the West creating and the East consuming. He asserts that “Occidentalism as a cultural movement aims at transforming developing societies from transfer of knowledge to cultural creativity.”⁷⁷ This form of empowerment exists within The *Empire Writes Back* Collection as it is in its essence a creation for the East, about the West and an approach I employ while studying these primary sources.

Rachel Hutchinson in her article *Orientalism or Occidentalism? dynamics of appropriation in Akira Kurosawa*, opts for a wider definition of Occidentalism in order to negate many modern-day critics of this perspective. She employs Chen’s definition of Occidentalism as “a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others.”⁷⁸ This notion of creativity via Occidentalism concurs with Hanafi’s position. Hutchinson further notes that viewing Akira Kurosawa’s films through the lens of Occidentalism brings a fresh perspective to the text and context of his work.⁷⁹

⁷³ http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Hassan_Hanafi.aspx (17-03-15)

⁷⁴ Hanafi, Hassan. "From orientalism to occidentalism." *Building Peace by Intercultural Dialogue* (2004) Pg.258

⁷⁵ Hanafi, Hassan. "From orientalism to occidentalism." *Building Peace by Intercultural Dialogue* (2004) Pg.259

⁷⁶ Idem Pg.257

⁷⁷ Idem Pg.260

⁷⁸ Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentalism: a theory of counter-discourse in post-Mao China*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. Pg.2

⁷⁹ Hutchinson, Rachel. "Orientalism or occidentalism? Dynamics of appropriation in Akira Kurosawa." *Remapping World Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics in Film*, London: Wallflower (2006): Pg.182

The debate on Orientalism and Occidentalism is one that divides many writers and historians. My research is more in keeping with Chen's definition, namely that Occidentalism exists after individuals have been viewed and constructed via Orientalism. This notion explains and justifies my use of cultural hybridity and transculturation as concepts. The authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection have been "othered" through three hundred years of Imperial rule, and through writing back "other" their colonial masters, which can be viewed as a form of colonial resistance.

2.4- Gender and Women within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection:

Many authors and academics focus on feminism and history, some even on feminism within the colonial period. Each of the authors cited in the following paragraphs have helped centre my research within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. The academics, whose works are the closest to mine, are Antoinette Burton and Philippa Levine, as both these authors elucidate gendered themes within the colonial context. My research adds a focus on women from lower socio-economic groups through an Occidentalist lens.

Catherine Hall's book entitled *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* looks back on the past through a gender-sensitive prism, focusing on the role of women in Victorian Britain. All historians construct progressive narratives but Hall argues that the present affects how historians view the past, and in so doing validates that her feminist views help direct her vision to a lesser lit history/herstory.⁸⁰ Her work is focused on the lives of British women during the mid-19th century, which I can use to corroborate sources for the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. However, she does not consider how Indian women and men perceived British women, as her focus is solely on the place of British women within British and not imperial history.

The ground-breaking work of Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar in their 1984 article '*Challenging Imperial Feminism*,' asserts that the roots of the British suffragette movement are found in their racist exploitation of gender within the Empire. More specifically, the suffragette movement legitimised its platform based

⁸⁰ Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle Class: explorations in feminism and history*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013. Pg.3

on the superiority of civilised nations, namely Britain, in the treatment of women.⁸¹ Of course, the converse argument became that non-White members of the Empire, who were lower on the evolutionary ladder, would mistreat women. This notion is the key to better comprehending the social climate in which both male and female Indians found themselves during this period of turbulent social change.

Philippa Levine, a professor at the University of South Carolina, discusses the socially constructed notions of femininity and masculinity in relation to Imperialism in her 2007 article entitled: *What's British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism*. She posits, "British rule was justified by the proper masculinity displayed by colonizing men. It was through their attitudes to and treatment of women that other cultures could be measured and judged."⁸² This phenomenon of defining cultural evolution based on the treatment of women became the moral basis for Imperialism, which gained its legitimacy in alleged British exceptionalism.⁸³ Britain had a duty to educate India on the harms of child marriage, prostitution and the sexualisation of Indian women; Britain's self-attributed mission was to re-create India in its own image. Edward Said's Orientalism is evident here as Indian women were sexualized, whereas British women were de-sexualized as they were considered more advanced on the evolutionary path. Levine culminates this theme by asserting that "this gendered critique of 'savagery' was accompanied.....by a distinct rigidity of gender roles in the west."⁸⁴ Levine's work and analysis of gender and Empire sets the backdrop for my thesis question; however, she does not employ an Occidentalist perspective, but rather explains the rationale behind Britain's claim to colonial legitimacy, which was thinly veiled beneath Orientalism.

Antoinette Burton is the historian whose academic research is closest to my thesis question. She is a specialist in 19th and 20th century Britain and its empire, with a speciality in colonial India. She is a prolific author whose work covers the suffragette movement, to the lives of Indian women in Britain during this period.⁸⁵ She links imperialism, feminist theory and the lives of women whether Indian or

⁸¹ Burton, Antoinette. "Some trajectories of 'feminism' and 'imperialism'." *Gender & History* 10.3 (1998) Pg.558

⁸² Levine, Philippa, *What's British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East*, Volume 27, Number 2, 2007, Pg.273

⁸³ Idem Pg.276

⁸⁴ Idem Pg.274

⁸⁵ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.2

British. In her work she does not, however, employ an Occidental perspective, which is the innovative aspect within my thesis.

In the article entitled *History is Now: feminist theory and the production of historical feminisms*, Burton asserts that feminist historians through the study of the past and especially the epistemology of the birth of feminism can better understand today's Feminist Critical Theory. She further declares that viewing feminism only from an Anglo-Saxon perspective is limiting, as "the on-going, path-breaking work on the cooperation of gender, race and class systems has made the notion of history as *cultural* production virtually unassailable among feminist critics."⁸⁶ Burton's assertions here mainly concern the origins of feminism; however, her multi-cultural approach is in keeping with my themes of Occidentalism and 'othering.' Her work is centred on the suffragette movement, whereas my research is more comprehensive as it focuses on different socio-economic levels of women in society. The suffragette movement mainly consisted of relatively wealthy ladies, who had the luxury of time to dedicate to the advancement of women. My research aims to shed light on the Occidental perspective regarding workingwomen in London and prostitution, themes that are recurrent within *the Empire Writes Back* Collection.

2.5-Conclusion

Historiography regarding the central themes of Orientalism and Occidentalism, Travel writing and the colonial discourse and Gender/Women within the *Empire Strikes Back* Collection has revealed that although research in the last twenty years has accelerated, there are still many historiographical gaps to be filled. *The Empire Writes Back* Collection plus other sources of travel literature remain largely untapped and can shed light on Imperial Britain from an Occidental perspective. Indian migration to Britain between 1870-1920 has largely been overshadowed by later post- World War II migration and thus requires further research. The Victorian era, until recent study, has been viewed as a separate entity untouched by its role as the centre of its Empire. This view will be challenged within my thesis as travel writing during this era clearly reveals Britain as a contact zone. Employing feminist critical theory to the study of history is an approach, which over

⁸⁶ Burton, Antoinette. "'history' is now: feminist theory and the production of historical feminisms1." *Women's History Review* 1.1 (1992) Pg.26

the last decade has gained momentum, but is still in its infancy.⁸⁷ My particular focus on the Indian Voy(ag)eurs to the Motherland applies an Occidental perspective in regards to gender and gender roles attributed to women in London and is an area of research, which remains a pristine and relatively untouched avenue of study.

⁸⁷ Idem Pg.25

Chapter 3: The British Empire and Indian Travellers

3.1 Introduction:

In order to better understand the complex relationship between the British Empire and Indian travellers, I will firstly focus on Britain's economic and then political relationship with India in order to set the scene for the second section: an analysis of Anglo-Indian encounters between 1870-1920. The third subsection will deconstruct the myth of the separate core and periphery, rather arguing that the Indian subcontinent and Britain were interconnected cultural terrains. And finally, I will delve into the complex theme of cultural hybridity, of constructing a multitude of Indian identities through performative acts, often initiated to garner certain advantages gained from playing the gentleman.

The first known recording of an Indian baptism in Britain occurred on 22 December 1616 in London, perhaps already revealing the evangelical leanings of the Anglican Church. This was an occasion daubed in pomp and circumstance with the Lord Mayor being present, and after the Archbishop of Canterbury's approval.⁸⁸ The relationship between the British Empire and Indian travellers had thus begun in the early 17th century, but gained momentum in the 19th and 20th centuries, creating four hundred years of contact.⁸⁹

Anglo-Indian encounters have been a subject of much study; however, the majority of historical research has been focused on trade, exploration and settlement and more specifically, European travel to the outer corners of the Empire.⁹⁰ Indian post-World War II migration has itself been heavily studied and has cast a shadow on previous Indian migration. As Antoinette Burton states, it is important "to combat the notion, in other words, that the phenomenon of colonial 'natives' in the metropole is a twentieth century phenomenon from which the Victorian period can be hermetically sealed off."⁹¹ On the contrary, as I show with this thesis, the Victorian era heralded an increase in the number of Indian immigrants or tourists to the British Empire. London remained a destination of choice, and hence central to my

⁸⁸ Visram, Rozina. *Asians in Britain: 400 years of history*. Vol. 504. London: Pluto Press, 2002. Pg.1

⁸⁹ Visram, Rozina. *Asians in Britain: 400 years of history*. Vol. 504. London: Pluto Press, 2002. Pg.1

⁹⁰ Omissi, D. (2007). Europe through Indian eyes: Indian soldiers encounter England and France, 1914–1918. *The English Historical Review*, 122(496), Pgs. 371-396.

⁹¹ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.26

research, as the capital was a necessary pit stop for those in search of governmental or military positions in India.⁹²

3.2 Britain's Economic and Political Relationship with India

In order to place my research into its historical context, a brief foray into the economic and political ties between England and India is necessary. British involvement with India began through trade, followed relatively quickly by military conquest. Of telling significance, the Hindustani word 'loot' was the first Indian word to enter into the English language.⁹³ As Abernethy so clearly states, "hope for economic gain was the principal motivator behind exploration and the formation of overseas enclaves and settlements."⁹⁴ Thus, from the 1600's onwards, the East India Company or "the original corporate raiders," began trading with India under the auspices of a Royal Charter.⁹⁵ This mercantilist approach went hand in hand with an increasing institutional attack of India by the British government. The third fork in this Triple Assault would be the onslaught of Christianity, which was not accepted by all, as the following paragraph reveals.⁹⁶

The Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 forever changed the East India's control of India, leading to direct rule. This rebellion, also referred to as a mutiny, occurred traditionally due to the new Enfield rifle cartridges, rumoured to be greased with "tallow derived from beef, which would be offensive to Hindus, and pork, which would be offensive to Muslims."⁹⁷ However, the rifle cartridges simply ignited a fire due to other deeper points of contention, especially the evangelical leanings of the Christian Church that had been sending an increasing number of missionaries as part of their '*mission civilisatrice*.'⁹⁸ Political domination and economic exploitation also fuelled the flames of discontent. The era I discuss within my thesis, 1870-1920, is during this period of direct rule, existing on a backdrop of religious and political

⁹² Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg. 21

⁹³ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders> (accessed 17/6.15)

⁹⁴ Abernethy, David B. *The dynamics of global dominance: European overseas empires, 1415-1980*. Yale University Press, 2000. Pg. 57

⁹⁵ <http://www.theeastindiacompany.com/index.php/24/timeline/> (accessed 17/6.15)

⁹⁶ Abernethy, David B. *The dynamics of global dominance: European overseas empires, 1415-1980*. Yale University Press, 2000. Pg.225

⁹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Rebellion_of_1857 (accessed 17/6.15)

⁹⁸ Abernethy, David B. *The dynamics of global dominance: European overseas empires, 1415-1980*. Yale University Press, 2000. Pg.272

tension, which is keenly felt within the written primary sources studied, notably by Raghavvaya.

In 1858, as a direct consequence of the Sepoy rebellion, “the East India Company was transferred to the Crown in the person of Queen Victoria (who in 1876 was proclaimed Empress of India).”⁹⁹ The Victorian era of Imperial and direct control of India, referred to as the Raj, engendered even closer ties between the Motherland and her favourite colony- the Jewel in the Crown. However, as the authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection reveal, resistance to this domination existed also through discourse.

3.3 Anglo-Indian Encounters between 1870-1920:

My research focuses on Indians who left India for a multitude of reasons, only to return and share their vision. A better understanding of Anglo-Indian relations in India and in England contextualizes these encounters and allows for a more complete understanding.

In India, racism was rife, regardless of one’s class or caste, with frequent occurrences of physical abuse or assault being meted out by members of the British community on the locals.¹⁰⁰ Due to this insidious and omnipresent prejudice, it was difficult for Indians to advance within government service, and take an active role in decision-making. However, “despite racism, alliances between English officials and well-placed Indians were fostered in the form of patron/ client relations.”¹⁰¹ This unequal relationship was used to facilitate travel for Indians to Britain, often for education purposes, as is the case for Mary Bhore within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection.

Furthermore, during this period, British economic and political domination of India was also under attack especially by Dadabhai Naoroji, also known as the ‘*Grand Old Man of India*.’ Naoroji was a Parsi¹⁰² intellectual, and founder of the Indian National Congress.¹⁰³ His book entitled *Poverty and Un-British rule* developed the

⁹⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_British_Raj (accessed 17/6/15)

¹⁰⁰ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.19

¹⁰¹ Idem Pg.20

¹⁰² Parsis were Zoroastrians and descended from Persian refugees. They settled predominantly in the Mumbai region (Bombay during this time frame). Zoroastrianism is a monotheistic religion, which allowed for a closer relationship with Christian Britons. Also, Parsis do not have the caste system, which was another point in common with Britons.

¹⁰³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji (accessed 14-06-15)

'drain of wealth' theory in 1867. This theory declared that, "England exacted an annual 'tribute' of enormous proportion. Before the Mutiny, the sums annually drawn from India by Great Britain amounted to two or three millions only. After that, the annual drafts from India to Great Britain amounted to a total of thirty million."¹⁰⁴ In addition to this tribute, Britain also stripped India of its primary resources, which were transformed into manufacturing goods back in England. To add insult to injury, 20% of all British exports were then sold in India, making India, most definitely, its most profitable colony, or Jewel in the Crown.¹⁰⁵ This economic domination was known to educated Indians and is addressed by numerous authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection in the form of travelogues. In other words 'the Indians were talking back' to the hearth of Empire. This form of resistance could pass under the radar of the British Raj.

Even though racism and economic exploitation were commonplace back in India, neither managed to incite Indians 'en masse' to embrace the newly born nationalist cause. They did, however, forge the Indian identity and create a resurgence of national pride revealed within 'New Hinduism', and 'overly patriotic literature.'¹⁰⁶ The Indians, who chose to leave this heating crucible of Indian national identity, entered England in relatively large numbers and for a multitude of reasons, which I will assess in the following paragraphs. However, their perceptions and views were initially formed in this colonial context, allowing for an Occidental perspective of the British Empire, but coloured "by overarching imperial ideologies."¹⁰⁷

Firstly, and of key importance, this increase in the number of Indians travelling to England can be explained, "in part, to the gradual lifting of the Hindu taboo on sea voyages" within the Bengali region.¹⁰⁸ The fear of crossing the sea stems from the concept of being too far away from the regenerating source of the Ganges, and also the notion of cutting family ties. Once this 'kala pani' or taboo had been lifted, foreign travel especially to England increased considerably.¹⁰⁹ In areas outside

¹⁰⁴ <http://courses.arch.vt.edu/courses/wdunaway/gia5524/naoroji.pdf> (accessed 14-06-15)

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/empire/g2/cs4/background.htm> (accessed 14-06-15)

¹⁰⁶ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.21

¹⁰⁶ Visram, Rozina. *Asians in Britain: 400 years of history*. Vol. 504. London: Pluto Press

¹⁰⁷ Codell, Julie F., 'Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.74

¹⁰⁸ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.22

¹⁰⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kala_pani_%28taboo%29 (accessed 14-06-15)

the Bengal, there was a “*laissez-faire* approach to foreign travel,” with little to no problems of social restoration upon return to India.¹¹⁰ Raghavvaya, in particular, discusses this taboo as she rationalises her choice to travel.

There were also practical motives for travelling to Europe and more precisely England. Most notably, Indian students came to England in order to better their chances for advancement back home, especially in regards to government positions. Unfortunately, even though British qualifications had greater market value, success was hard to establish upon return.¹¹¹ Moreover, educated bilingual Indians had been raised on a staple of English literature, which heralded England’s green pastures and incited a natural curiosity to behold those distant shores. There were also those individuals who came for adventure, to witness and, on occasion, to write about the centre of the British Empire, as part of the Grand Tour.¹¹² Finally, London was “the largest metropole on the earth for much of the period in question. The metropolis acted as an irresistible magnet to those who lived in the periphery.”¹¹³

Obviously, there were more male Indian travellers than female, due in part to “an endless cycle of duties as a mother, wife, and daughter, which obliterate her identity as well as restrain her agency within the society.”¹¹⁴ Although, many Indian females of higher socio-economic ranking and caste did have the ability to affect change both at home and away, the majority of common women did not have access to education or the possibility to travel to England.¹¹⁵ Certain individuals of mixed ‘race,’ referred to as “Anglo-Indians, country-born, Eurasians, and Indo-Britons” also made the trip to England and had to negotiate their double identity within this colonial context. Some cases exist where these Anglo-Indians managed to garner better positions within civil or military employment by proving their double heritage.¹¹⁶ All the authors I have studied in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection are not of mixed race, but are cultural hybrids forged between two cultures. This insider / outsider stance allowed certain of these travellers the possibility to enter into

¹¹⁰ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.26

¹¹¹ Idem pgs.30-31

¹¹² Visram, Rozina. *Asians in Britain: 400 years of history*. Vol. 504. London: Pluto Press, 2002. Pg.2

¹¹³ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.35

¹¹⁴http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1096&context=srhonors_theses (accessed 15-06-15)

¹¹⁵ Idem

¹¹⁶ Fisher, Michael H. (2007). "Excluding and Including "Natives of India": Early-Nineteenth-Century British-Indian Race Relations in Britain". *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27 (2) Pg.313

different upper-class homes and frequent the British in their private sphere. Many authors related these instances in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection in mostly glowing terms, “othering” these British in the process.

3.4 Interconnected Cultural Terrains

Great Britain, as the centre of the Empire, was not just the pristine core vaunting its exceptionalism, but more importantly a contact zone, an interconnected cultural terrain.¹¹⁷ Exceptionalism, was “an ‘imperial formulation’ premised on exclusion and elision. A celebration of Britain’s allegedly unique skills in colonizing vast tracts of the globe, swaddled in the discourse of civilization and progress, justified imperial conquest.”¹¹⁸ Central and fundamental to British exceptionalism in the age of Empire was the construction of gendered ideas about manliness and femininity – it created a rationale for colonial rule. “It was through their attitudes to and treatment of women that other cultures could be measured and judged.”¹¹⁹ Thus, an Indian society that still had practices of ‘*sati*’, ‘*purdah*’ and child marriage needed the guidance of the British Empire in order to progress. Culture was based on the Enlightenment notion that each society passed through different models of evolution and that Europe was “setting universal human standards because it stood at the apex of civilization.”¹²⁰

European travellers to India visited unexplored areas and “tried to dominate through heroic claims and notions of the ‘other’ as exotic, inferior, quaint, erotic and picturesque.”¹²¹ This Orientalism, seen through European eyes, and depicted in poems and texts, had its Eastern doppelgänger: Occidentalism. Indian travellers, who were ‘reversing the grand tour,’ toyed with these orientalist notions, “by applying them to the over-explored, over-discovered Western metropole, reversing the hierarchy of periphery and centre, and recalling the aristocratic eighteenth-century

¹¹⁷ Burton, Antoinette M. *Burdens of history: British feminists, Indian women, and imperial culture, 1865-1915*. University of North Carolina Press, 1994. Pg.2

¹¹⁸ Levine, Philippa, What’s British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East*, Volume 27, Number 2, 2007 Pg.213

¹¹⁹ Idem Pg.213

¹²⁰ Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle Class: explorations in feminism and history*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013. Hall, Catherine, and Sonya O. Rose, eds. *At home with the empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pg.11

¹²¹ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.174

Grand Tour of Europe.”¹²² This Occidentalism was born from those that had witnessed and been the objects of orientalism – they were two sides of the same coin. Indians, who lived under the British Raj, were themselves cultural hybrids, well aware of British culture before their visits. Thus London became a city that was colonized by differing Indian perceptions, and written about in travelogues and texts. “Through ethnographic study, Indians transformed their subjugation into empowerment.”¹²³ The core and periphery were one and the same, as the Empire was an interconnected cultural terrain.

3.5 Performing Identity

Identities are continually constructed through performative acts. As Simone de Beauvoir so famously declared, “one is not born, but, rather, becomes a woman.”¹²⁴ The above quote reveals the phenomenological tradition of continually constituting gender and thus identity through quasi-theatrical acts, including mimicry.¹²⁵ Performing identity or identities is not, however, solely an act of gender construction. Colonial mimicry was a “creative liberational migrant strategy as well as response to powerful constraints operating against colonial newcomers in the West.”¹²⁶ It was visually apparent when members of the colonized society copied language, intonation, dress, politics and even attitude in order to ascertain the advantages bequeathed or controlled by the colonizing society. Colonial mimicry was also employed to attain a certain degree of assimilation. Mohandas Gandhi referred to his own instances of mimicry in the 15th chapter of his autobiography, entitled: ‘Playing the Gentleman’, which, “involved taking dancing, piano, violin and elocution lessons. Gandhi also passed himself off as a bachelor, although, he was a married man.”¹²⁷ Fitting in was more important than the truth, and also allowed for flirting with the opposite sex. Unlike Indian higher-class society, British women were omnipresent at universities and at social occasions, allowing for increased contact between the men and women. I argue that women being in the public, as well as private spheres was a

¹²² Idem Pg.174

¹²³ Idem Pg.178

¹²⁴https://philosophynow.org/issues/69/Becoming_A_Woman_Simone_de_Beauvoir_on_Female_Embodiment (accessed 15/06/15)

¹²⁵ Butler, Judith. "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory." *Theatre journal* (1988): Pg. 519.

¹²⁶ <http://cgj.sagepub.com/content/10/4/408.short> (accessed 15/06/15)

¹²⁷ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000 Pgs.159-160

shock to both the male and female Indian travellers, prompting an array of comments that 'othered' these women. Gandhi's experience was far from unique, "as two other key figures in twentieth-century politics, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru, both tried to ape 'the man about town' during their student days in London."¹²⁸ Performing another identity was often required as those outside the norm were harassed. Employing "the cuff and collar cult", as it was known, was a kind of survival technique."¹²⁹

Consequently, colonial mimicry was such a standard in Anglo-Indian encounters that, "while copying the master, one has to intentionally suppress one's own cultural identity, though in some cases immigrants and colonial subjects are left so confused by their cultural encounter with a dominant foreign culture that there may not be a clear pre-existing identity to suppress."¹³⁰ Such colonial mimicry, often attributed to Indian travellers (who had 'been to' England), was often derided.¹³¹ Those Indian travellers upon returning to India were referred to as 'been-tos,' and were accused of no longer belonging as Indians. Therefore, colonial mimicry, attained through a performance, created a cultural hybrid - an Anglo-Indian gentleman.¹³² It is important to note, that colonial mimicry had its limitations especially in regards to religion, as conversion to Christianity was often a step few were willing to take.¹³³

On the other hand, there were empowering and often subversive reasons for employing colonial mimicry. Homi Bhabha, who coined this term in his essay "Of Mimicry and Man," written in May 1817, argued that mimicry allowed the colonized the possibility of revealing the emptiness in the gestures he imitates. Also, in a practical sense "copying of "western" concepts of justice, freedom, and the rule of law", opened the door to legal rebellion.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Idem Pg.160

¹²⁹ Idem Pg.160

¹³⁰ <http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2009/05/mimicry-and-hybridity-in-plain-english.html> (accessed 15/06/15)

¹³¹ <http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2009/05/mimicry-and-hybridity-in-plain-english.html> (accessed 15/06/15)

¹³² <http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2009/05/mimicry-and-hybridity-in-plain-english.html> (accessed 15/06/15)

¹³³ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000 Pg.161

¹³⁴ <http://www.lehigh.edu/~amsp/2009/05/mimicry-and-hybridity-in-plain-english.html> (accessed 15/06/15)

3.6 Conclusion:

The British Empire with its Indian travellers was a complex geographical and cultural space. British economic and political involvement in India began with the East India company in the 1600's, which as time progressed, became a corporate raider of Indian treasures through a hired military force. The Sepoy rebellion in 1857, ended the Company's monopoly as power was transferred to the Crown with Queen Victoria being proclaimed Empress in 1876. Anglo-Indian encounters occurred both on the Indian subcontinent and also in England, often in the capital. These encounters between 1870-1920 arose on the backdrop of economic and political domination on the Indian subcontinent. Those individuals who chose to visit London did so for a multitude of reasons- adventure, education, and curiosity are but a few. Most importantly, during this period, Hindus could finally take to the sea, without fear of a loss of position upon returning home. Secondly, military and political advancement in India required a British education, which, still did not guarantee for successful admission into the closed ranks. Some individuals of higher socio-economic strata also visited London as part of the 'grand tour'.

Due to colonial ties within the British Empire, the notions of core and periphery were constantly negotiated within an interconnected cultural domain, where power plays a role. British exceptionalism touted a progressive narrative that justified their colonial domination. In order to justify this stance, the Indian practices of '*sati*', '*pardah*' and child marriage were evoked. A hierarchical yet intertwined colonial system emerged and notions of home and away became no longer applicable.

Finally, these Anglo-Indian encounters encouraged performing identities, including colonial mimicry. Indians in England learnt that assimilation through dress, elocution, political views and general behaviour facilitated their interaction with the dominant, colonizing society. This performance challenged cultural identities creating a group of 'been-tos'; individuals who have travelled to England, assimilated, and then returned to India, only to find themselves cultural hybrids. Colonial mimicry did also serve the purpose of challenging the British Empire through the mastery and utilisation of its own laws and concept of freedom.

Chapter 4: The Indian voy(ag)eurs

4.1 Introduction:

The *Empire Writes Back* Collection is a fascinating view into colonial discourse, mostly written in English. There are a total of seventeen memoirs within this travel literature relating the experiences of different individuals visiting Britain.¹³⁵ There were many reasons to visit or study in London during this colonial period and I will elaborate on the authors' main objectives in this chapter. Obviously, all the authors are of a high or relatively high socio-economic class, as the trip itself plus lodging in London was a costly affair. Most of these works were published in India, more precisely in Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Poona and Sukkur.¹³⁶ Usually, the Indian authors would choose a publisher in the area where they resided, hence the collection of different Indian cities. However, some of the works were also published in the United Kingdom, specifically in London. Of the nineteen authors in part 1 of the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, only three are female and wrote a total of 445 pages of the 7000 pages available for study.¹³⁷ I have focused my analysis on eight male authors and these three female authors, as each of these individuals refers to gender issues within their accounts.

4.2 The female authors:

Mary Bhore, sometimes spelt Bhor, was the first assistant at a High School for native girls in Poona. Under the auspices of the Friends' Liberal Association of Poona she gave a lecture, which was later transcribed into a total of 39 pages and published in 1900 by the Duyan Chaksu Press, Poona. She entitled her lecture "Some Impressions of England," which was based on the seventeen months she spent living in England, while studying. Her focus was primarily on female education and its benefits to English women in order to defend and extend education for girls in India. She was aware of other travellers to England and their writing, but only visited England once. This is her only contribution to the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. Bhore, in order to accomplish her stated goal of equality between the sexes, juggles

¹³⁵ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Publisher's Note Pg. 6

¹³⁶ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Publisher's Note Pg.7

¹³⁷ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 22-4-15)

different discourses in conflict, due to her multiple identities: a woman, an Indian and a colonial member of the British Empire. In this relatively short speech, she manages with brio to accomplish her task. I was fascinated by her capacity to negotiate space for comments that still resonate in today's society.

Mary Carpenter is the only British author within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, and this honour stems from her biographical work on Rajah Rammohan Roy, whom she viewed and extolled as a visionary in these pages. Carpenter was an educational and social reformer and an active member of the British suffrage movement.¹³⁸ She began her career as a governess and within two years opened her own school for girls in Bristol.¹³⁹ However, the plight of poor children soon became the true focus of her charitable efforts beginning with the opening of a Working and Visiting Society, whose mission was “to visit the poor and raise funds from the emerging middle classes to alleviate poverty and improve education.”¹⁴⁰ This endeavour was followed in 1846 by the opening of a ‘ragged school’ for children from the slums in Bristol.¹⁴¹ She was a fervent believer that criminality was learnt at an early age, and education had the power to not only reform but also to create different options and avenues for success. She was also an active member in the anti-slavery movement, which was in full swing, in the United States and even frequented well-known abolitionist Frederick Douglass.¹⁴²

Her interest in India began in 1833, when she met Rajah Rammohan Roy, who developed a movement entitled Brahma Samaj, which reformed social Hinduism.¹⁴³ This movement fascinated Carpenter, as did Rammohan Roy, who was most famous for his desire to end the practice of Sati, the Hindu practice of a widow throwing herself on the funeral pyre of her recently deceased husband.¹⁴⁴ Carpenter visited India four times, the first one in 1866 when she travelled to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and found that most girls were not educated past the age of twelve.¹⁴⁵ Her fascination with Rammohan Roy became concrete with the writing of *Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy* published in London & Calcutta in 1866, with a

¹³⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_Carpenter (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹³⁹ <http://infed.org/mobi/mary-carpenter-reformatory-schools-and-education/> (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_Carpenter (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴¹ Idem (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴² Idem (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram_Mohan_Roy (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁴ Idem (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_Carpenter (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

Third Edition that was only published in Calcutta in 1915 (258 pages total). This biographical work “documents the teachings and final days of Rajah Rammohun Roy, who is described as a man “born very much before his time” and as the ‘Maker of Modern India.’”¹⁴⁶ The third edition focuses on progress that had occurred in India since 1875, “many great changes have taken place in the political, social and religious thoughts of India. It is a matter of great satisfaction for us to be able to say that the Rajah’s countrymen have now begun to slowly appreciate his worth. His works have been collected and published and the people have been showing a keen desire to understand his true character.”

Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya, a self-proclaimed ‘Hindu lady of Madras’, is the last female author in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection.¹⁴⁷ Her work entitled “*Pictures of England*” was published in Madras in 1876 and totals 148 pages. It is written in a lyrical style and creates a charming account of her time in London, which frequently mentions gender roles, and the need for female education in India. Even though, in the detailed listings of the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, her work is claimed to be merely literary, I disagree.¹⁴⁸ I find her comments to be political in nature, hidden under the veneer of being a proper lady, as she negotiates sufficient space to even criticize gender relations in India. Furthermore, she even criticizes the British Empire’s economic exploitation of India, by raping the land of its raw materials.¹⁴⁹ Her discourse within this work is of utmost importance to my research as she negotiates with the dominant discourses in India, and in the British Empire. I was personally fascinated by this ability to navigate through the choppy waters of conflicting discourses with such ease.

4.3 The main male authors:

One of the most prolific authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection is Behramji Mehrbanji Malabari, who was a prominent Indian poet, author, journalist and social reformer.¹⁵⁰ “Malabari’s worldview had been fundamentally changed by

¹⁴⁶ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁷ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁸ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁴⁹ Idem (23-4-15)

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/malabari-behramji-merwanji> (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

the secular British education he had received,” which permitted him to view India and Britain from an insider / outsider perspective.¹⁵¹ Malabari wrote three works, totalling 360 pages. The works are entitled: “*Infant marriage and enforced widowhood in India*,” which was published in Bombay in 1887; “*An appeal from the daughters of India [on infant marriage]*” published in London in 1890; and finally after three stays in Britain, “*The Indian eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer*,” published in London in 1893. The latter work is of inherent interest to my thesis as he strove “as a colonial subject to examine and better understand the colonizer, while demanding ‘the same equal treatment in the case of the nation as in the case of individuals.’”¹⁵² Antoinette Burton and Rozina Visram herald Malabari as a forward thinking ‘pilgrim reformer.’¹⁵³¹⁵⁴ I concur insomuch as his observations on women’s rights were ahead of his time for India. However, when writing about the United Kingdom, Malabari only afforded these rights to educated females from the higher classes. Moreover, his comments on impoverished women and their plight reveal a classist mentality that was customary for his era.

Dayarama Gidumal (1856 -1927) wrote a 120-page biographical account of *The life and work of Malabari*, which was published in Bombay in 1888. This account reveals a selection of Malabari’s own writings and speeches, notably on “infant marriage, enforced widowhood, wife murders, Theosophy, taxation, reform, ‘the East and the West’, the caste system, silk bandages, religion, the Ahmedabad Tichborne case, the evils of fashion, carnality, education, misguided patriotism, ‘the Hindu and the Red Indian’, and other topics.”¹⁵⁵ Gidumal was, in his own right, an important Sindi prose-writer and poet whose work was “inspired by a vast variety of moods and emotions ranging from the lyrical to patriotic and philosophic. *Sata Sahelyoon* (Seven Girl friends), a moral and social dialogue, was his last writing published in 1927, his earlier stories in the same ethical vein being *Man ain Dheea* (Mother and Daughter) and *Lobh jo Mahafam* (Incarnation of Greed).”¹⁵⁶ The ethical leanings of

¹⁵¹ <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/malabari-behramji-merwanji> (viewed/accessed 24-4-15)

¹⁵² http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 23-4-15)

¹⁵³ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002

¹⁵⁴ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.152

¹⁵⁵ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 12-05-15)

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.sindhipoets.com/sindhi-poets-index/dayaram-gidumal> (viewed/accessed 12-05-15)

his later work are explained through his earlier interest in Malabari and the latter's breakthrough work to educate on the harms of sati, and infant marriage.

Lala Baijnath's account entitled "*England and India: Being impressions of persons and things English and Indian and brief notes of visits to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Ceylon*" was published in Bombay in 1893 and totals 236 pages.¹⁵⁷ Baijnath was an officer in the Indian Civil service who principally worked in the Judicial Department of India. Lala Baijnath met with two disparate responses to his presence in imperial Britain during his time in London. "The first came from 'Londoners who had no interest in India' and were 'naturally shy and formal towards a stranger' and 'some of them, particularly the female[s] ..., now and then stared at Indian dresses' (Baijnath, 1893: 39). The other was expressed by those 'who had been in India [and] seemed to take a pleasure in speaking' to Indians in their 'broken or half forgotten Hindustani' to emphasise their powerful colonial connections."¹⁵⁸ As the aforementioned quote reveals, Lala does discuss gender and his particular affect on women. Moreover, he definitely has a focus on politics but also discusses economic and agricultural concerns.¹⁵⁹

Govindan Paramaswaran Pillai's (1864–1903) work is entitled "London and Paris through Indian spectacles," and was published in Madras in 1887. Although compiled into book format, his work was originally composed of twelve letters and drawings, published in the Madras Standard. Of note, Pillai was the founder of and editor of the Madras Standard, which was the English language newspaper in South India. Moreover, he was a British trained and qualified lawyer, who became the first member of the Indian National Congress from Kerala. He was known as a compelling writer and orator, who "had wide contacts in India and Great Britain and became General Secretary of the Indian National Congress twice. Gandhi who was then emerging as a leader, had acknowledged the help and guidance given to him by G.P. Pillai in the South African Indian issue and also in the Temperance Movement (Prohibition)."¹⁶⁰ Letter VIII in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection focuses on Pillai's

¹⁵⁷ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 24-04-15)

¹⁵⁸ https://www.academia.edu/2937339/_Colonial_Subjects_and_Aesthetic_Understanding_Indian_Travel_Literature_about_England_1870-1900_ (viewed/accessed 24-04-15)

¹⁵⁹ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 24-04-15)

¹⁶⁰ <http://pib.nic.in/feature/feyr98/fe0798/PIBF0707981.html> (viewed/accessed 12-05-15)

vision / perspective regarding women in London and therefore is of central importance to my research. My research has shown that Pillai sexualizes, objectifies and denigrates poorer women in society. He does, however, appreciate the female company of the upper classes if the conversations remain modest and appropriate.

Nandalala Dasa wrote a 242 page account plus a preface entitled: *Reminiscences - English and Australasian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, etc.* His work was published in Calcutta in 1893. The London section of Dasa's travelogue is of main interest to my thesis. Of note, Dasa was an active member of the London Missionary Society, which perhaps explains his focus on the lives of ordinary individuals, giving agency to quieter or muted voices.¹⁶¹ His opus manages to capture the energy of capital through detailed descriptions of its inhabitants including "policemen, the shoe-black brigade, the crossing sweeper, hawkers and coster-mongers, butchers, tailors, women as Post Office clerks, placards, posters, newsboys and much more."¹⁶² I found Dasa's vision particularly relevant in chapter 7 of my thesis, as he focuses on the squalor in London, with female alcohol consumption and prostitution.

Even though Ramesachandra Datta was a well-known and illustrious writer, he was also at various times "the Commissioner of Orissa, Superintendent of Orissa Tributary States in India and a member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He wrote an Economic History of Bengal and an account of Civilization in Ancient India. His writing on England and India shows the extent to which he was both proud of his own roots and committed to the imperial project."¹⁶³ He travelled to Britain, where he spent three years (April 1868 – August 1871), as part of the Grand Tour. Datta is one of the main contributors to the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. He wrote *Three years in Europe*, which was initially published in Calcutta in 1873, and then published a second time in 1890; this account totals 385 pages plus a preface. His last work is entitled *England and India: a record of progress during a hundred years, 1785-1885 and was published in London in 1897* and totals 166 pages. Of all the male authors studied in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, Datta's

¹⁶¹ Macdonald, Sharon. *Memorylands: heritage and identity in Europe today*. Routledge, 2013. Pg.64

¹⁶² http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 14-05-15)

¹⁶³ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (viewed/accessed 14-05-15)

work is the most astounding as he claims for full, if gradual gender equality and female suffrage. He also compares and contrasts the roles of women in London and India, inciting Indian men to permit female education.¹⁶⁴

Awatsing Mahtabsing's account entitled "*Something about my trip to Europe*," was published in Sukkur in 1905 and totals 119 pages. It is a captivating account that serves as both travelogue, and guide for future Indian voy(ag)eurs to the motherland. This work, written in the form of a diary, relates Mahtabsing's first experiences in Europe and focuses heavily on his time in the United Kingdom. He actively compares "the English as overlords on the subcontinent to them as hosts in their own land, including their attitudes towards race and morality, including some poignant observations on their behaviour and customs."¹⁶⁵ He frequents the higher classes and comments on their social mores, and the role of money in establishing rank in society. However, he also depicts the poorer side of London, discussing the problems linked to illegitimate children, abortion and hospital care. Moreover, Mahtabsing dedicates one chapter to the theme of education spanning the gamut from primary through the university level for both boys and girls. An increase in literacy rates is addressed, and assessed using statistics; he argues that men and women have progressed in this field due to the General Education Act of 1870. Mahtabsing's perspective on different socio-economic groups and particularly on gender issues makes his writing of high importance to my research.

Ghanasyama Nikantha Nadkarni also known as, Rao Bahadur Nikantha Nadkarni was "a Fellow of the University of Bombay and a Pleader of the High Court there."¹⁶⁶ His account is entitled, *Journal to a visit to Europe in 1896* and was published the same year in Bombay. The journal includes a nine-paged preface and contains 420 pages, with over 50 pages dedicated to his time spent in London. Due to his political affiliation and professional qualifications, he frequented the Inns of Court and also the National Indian Association. His journal, written in a fluent and relaxed style, relates his perceptions on a variety of subjects from education in Britain, through transportation on the Island to Anglo-Indian relations. Most

¹⁶⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.88

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.betweencovers.com/btc/item/394490/>(viewed/accessed 19-05-15)

¹⁶⁶ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (accessed 19/6/15)

importantly for my thesis topic, he focuses on women in different socio-economic situations. And in his concluding remarks he touches upon, “many of the themes and incidents of his travels – with thoughts on Liberty, Drunkenness, Materialism, Travelling, Emigration, Poverty, Sports, Love, Truth and Englishwomen.”¹⁶⁷ It is clear from this list, that his vision is of utmost importance to paint a clear picture of an Occidental view of London, and more particularly that of Englishwomen.

4.4 Conclusion:

The authors cited above have chosen to direct their gaze to gender, to the different roles women held within society. The three female authors frequently negotiate between different discourses derived from unequal power relations.¹⁶⁸ It is important to not view women as an oppressed gender, led and driven by a sexist male model of power. On numerous occasions, the three female authors resist the dominant discourse, challenge accepted mores, but always with finesse. They gently manipulate the reader with clear examples, and in the case of Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya, while remaining a proper lady.

The eight male authors, although often dealing with the same subjects, tend to be more direct in their assertions. Their power dynamic is firmly anchored in their masculinity; however, there is a certain degree of mimicry that occurs linked with the developing cultural hybridity of these Indians.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, these male authors often disagree regarding the roles women should hold within British society, and therefore Indian society. Some authors focus more on the harms within British society, linked to alcoholism, abortion, drunkenness, while others focus on female sexuality as women were firmly within the public sphere in London, and in England.

¹⁶⁷ http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/empire_writes_back_part_1/Detailed-Listing.aspx (accessed 18/6/15)

¹⁶⁸ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.70

¹⁶⁹ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.XV

Chapter 5: Male and Female Views of English and Indian marriages

5.1-Introduction:

Marriage is a contentious subject within this *Empire Writes Back* Collection, as authors negotiate between arranged marriages in India and the notion of “love matches” in England. It is important to note that within the British aristocracy arranged marriages also occurred, but were not discussed by any of the Indian authors studied. I argue that the colonial discourse in regards to marriage is gendered, as female authors support the relative freedom allotted to British women in comparison to their sisters in India. These Indian women herald the upper-class English, as having a more civilised and progressive approach to gender relations, without ever discussing the lower classes. However, male authors, within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, even if they condemn certain marital practices in India, do not universally find the perfect solution within Britain, as they ‘other’ these foreign women. Malabari, in particular, criticizes British wives as being spendthrift, as they are constantly in the public sphere.¹⁷⁰ Is this a form of colonial resistance, or simply an Occidentalist gaze clearly alighting on the inherent inequalities in English marriages?

In this chapter, I will firstly analyse sources regarding a few of the marital rites in India; secondly, the different rationales employed by these authors to support or disapprove of English marriage; and finally, an analysis of the direct comparisons made between India and England as authors agree or disagree with the dominant discourse.

5.2-Marital situation and rites in India

The sources within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection do not describe the complete situation in India, as the writers focus solely on certain negative practices that they wish to eradicate. Authors, such as Mary Carpenter and Malabari, find the practices of sati, child marriage and restraints on female inheritance particularly archaic. Mary Carpenter, in her biographical work regarding Rammohun Roy, relates

¹⁷⁰ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pgs.67-68

his efforts to abolish, “the horrid and too frequent practice of burning the living widow of a Brahmin with the corpse of her husband. This he laboured in various ways to accomplish; and in this he had a great knowledge and influence, which should make him regarded as the friend of his country, of the female sex, and of the human race.”¹⁷¹ Carpenter in her support of Roy’s work extrapolates that his efforts are larger than the geographical borders of India, placing him in the venerated role of an international humanist. Carpenter, as a Christian woman, also condemns limits on inheritance for Indian women, which “encourage, in a great degree, polygamy, a frequent source of the greatest misery in native families.” Polygamy, she argues from an orientalist and Christian perspective, is a heinous act, which causes misery to all members of the family.

Malabari, as a Parsi, distanced himself from Hinduism. Parsis acted as the middlemen between Hindu and British communities, while also navigating the waters of gendered politics.¹⁷² As Antoinette Burton states, “Critiques of Hindu women’s status or condition were generally held up as evidence of both a civilizing potential and a modernizing capacity on the part of those who articulated them.”¹⁷³ The former excerpt places into context Malabari’s role as an advocate for women’s rights in India. He phrased it thus: “It was the widow who first set me thinking about the whole question. And though I find that her cause is very difficult to win, and that cause of the girl-bride, on which her own fate largely depends, is comparatively easy of success, still I really can’t give up my widow. And I am sure every Irishman, at least, will sympathize with me.”¹⁷⁴ Malabari, within the aforementioned excerpt distances himself from Hinduism, and aligns himself with standard English behaviour regarding gender. However, his reference to an Irishman in this quote is very telling, as the Irish fight for home rule was the precursor to home rule in India. Therefore, Malabari is also aligning himself with the Irish, with whom he sympathizes and therefore expects sympathy in return.

¹⁷¹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Carpenter, Mary, *Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy* (London and Calcutta, 1866) Pg. 86

¹⁷² Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.157

¹⁷³ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.158

¹⁷⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Gidumal, Dayarama, *The life and work of Malabari* (Bombay, 1888) Pg. 100

5.3- Rationale for English marriage and counter-claims

The female authors in this *Empire Writes Back* Collection rationalise why English marriage is a better approach for women and men alike. Different arguments are formulated whether based on pleasure or pecuniary matters. Raghavayya advocates equality in relations, beginning with a chosen marriage of affection, with educated wives who are capable of intelligent discourse on varied issues. She states it thus: “The mutual affection of husband and wives is very great. Married life in England is like a mixture of milk and water. The men do not look down upon women, but regard them as their equals in all things, sharing with them all suitable pleasures.”¹⁷⁵ Raghavayya does not claim that men and women are the same, but that they are equals, which creates a ‘pleasurable’ dynamic. The statement that “men do not look down on women,” reveals a differing situation in India, where women are regarded as being inferior. Raghavayya is challenging the dominant discourse in India with this example of nuptial bliss. She continues in this vein, adding “All the members of the family sit in company in the drawing-room, freely talking to one another... All this was quite novel to me.”¹⁷⁶ The novelty of open discussions between members of the same family, regardless of gender, reveals more about Indian families than British ones. Assessing Raghavayya’s assertion within this social context, unveils her comments to be a form of resistance to the dominant Indian discourse of male superiority.¹⁷⁷

Mary Bhore concurs with Raghavayya’s comments, adding, “When I say ‘family’ I mean the gentlemen of a family as well as the ladies, the boys and girls all together, so that it makes even an isolated country house, a merry party.” The quotation marks around the word ‘family’ reveal different definitions based on culture. Bhore, is arguing against the dominant Indian discourse, namely that family in India does not consist of male and females communicating on equal terms, and frequenting the same space.

Raghavayya heralds English marriages as being progressive, even stating that the British are “pioneers of civilization,” and should be emulated in India.¹⁷⁸ She

¹⁷⁵ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.5-6

¹⁷⁶ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877)Pg.56

¹⁷⁷ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.81

¹⁷⁸ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877)Pg.114

further asserts that in marital relations in wealthy families in London women are in charge of finances in regards to the home. Raghavayya justifies this pecuniary arrangement by explaining the benefits to husbands, stating, “The women use the money earned by the men for the use of the family, and so contrive that the husbands many not feel the want of anything, and so arrange as to afford no cause for family dispute. Consequently, the men are free from numerous domestic troubles.”¹⁷⁹ By employing the technique of reading against the grain, it is clear that finances are often subjects for ‘dispute’ or ‘trouble’ and Raghavayya strives with the above quote to negate this preponderant notion, and thus rationalising the English marital model.

Malabari disagrees with this assertion of female frugality and marital bliss, arguing that British women, “In many of the small employments referred to they undersell men. This widens the alienation of feeling. Even in cases of real attachment young people often hesitate to marry. If the girl marries and merges herself into her husband’s existence, she ceases to be an earning machine, while as a spending machine she goes on quicker than before.”¹⁸⁰ There are two main axes of derision in the above quote. Firstly, Malabari asserts that women workers already threaten gender relations by creating ‘alienation,’ as women become a threat to livelihood of men, due to lower salaries for women. Secondly, men often hesitate to marry because women are generally spendthrifts. Malabari is, through this discourse, condemning women in the public sphere, first as workers and then as squandering wives. As Shompa Lahiri summates, “By denigrating aspects of British life, Indians were able to defend their own culture from attack and occupy the moral high ground.”¹⁸¹

However, Malabari, does not criticise marital relations of the wealthy, rather espousing the benefits averring, “The life in a decent English home is a life of equality among all members. This means openness and mutual confidence.”¹⁸² The key word is decent, as for Malabari the upper classes are unassailable targets within this colonial discourse.

Datta, in the same vein as Malabari, negotiates enough space to criticize the poor, who marry without enough money. Within a colonial context, it was far easier

¹⁷⁹Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.5-6

¹⁸⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pgs.67-68

¹⁸¹ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.170

¹⁸² Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.58

to condemn the lower socio-economic groups, as they were unaware of such comments and, furthermore, not in a position of power to rebuttal. Datta states it thus: “Among the many evils to which such classes are subjected by their want of education and prudence not the least consists of imprudent marriages..... The London labourer who has a large family, with his dissipated habits, and often his unfeeling cruelty is one of the most harrowing sights that civilization can hold up to your view.”¹⁸³ Datta, in this quote, is challenging the civilizing mission of the British and can be considered a form of colonial resistance. He does, however, make it clear that his aspersions only concern the uneducated poor, and not the upper classes.

Finally, Datta in a very progressive stance criticizes the need for higher-class women to marry, as society does not afford richer women the possibility of earning a living. This is constant trope within his writing, and he phrases it thus: “The entire exclusion of ladies from all services and professions has been productive of a practical social evil which a careful observer of the English society cannot help noting. Debarred by public opinion from adopting any means to support themselves the young ladies of England must either get married, or depend on their parents all their lives – leading an idle and cheerless life.”¹⁸⁴ He does, however, offer a startling solution or panacea to this social ill, namely opening up all careers to women, in order to make marriage a choice rather than an obligation.

5.4- Comparison with Indian arranged marriages

The two Indian female writers, Mary Bhowe and Pothum Raghavayya, compare and contrast the marital situation in England and in India, finding the latter lacking in equality and happiness. Both authors entreat their Indian public to embrace a more equalitarian approach to gender relations. Raghavayya avers, “Ladies in England hold a very different position to what they do in India, there they are equals of the men and are their best advisors, while in this country, I am sorry to say, they are held inferior in every respect; and instead of being advisers, are treated by many as slaves to the will and bidding of the male sex. When will my Indian sisters enjoy such a noble position in their household, as do our fair and beautiful sisters of the

¹⁸³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.56

¹⁸⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.89

West?”¹⁸⁵ Within this quote, Raghavayya holds numerous identities, firstly as a colonial subject as she refers to ‘ladies in England,’ and their more ‘civilized’ gender relations. Secondly, she assumes her identity as an Indian by using the possessive adjective my, as in ‘my sisters.’ Thirdly, she claims her universal female identity by referring to all British women as sisters, as well. And finally, employing the word ‘slave’ reveals her political stance as she condemns the treatment of women in India.¹⁸⁶

Mary Bhore concurs with Raghavayya stating her hopes for future in India as the following, “That the wife and mother may take up their rightful duties and be the good companion and friend and counsellor of her husband and a wise and experienced guide to her children who turn to her through life for sympathy and advice.”¹⁸⁷ Bhore in this excerpt is demonstrating the roles of the proper wife and mother. However, she also adds the notion of education, as the wife is wise, and liberty of movement as the mother is experienced in regards to life.

The two male authors, Datta and Malabari, compare and contrast the marital situation in India and England. Although they both support reforms in India, they do not herald the English as exemplary. Datta begins his colonial discourse by defending the marital system in India, while admitting its flaws. Subsequently, he turns his Occidental view to British marriages, arguing, “But he who holds that the liberty which young persons in England enjoy to choose for themselves partners for life is a guarantee against disagreement among married couples and secures connubial happiness, - is either blinded by English prejudices, or is himself over head and ears in Love! The fact is, society is so artificial in England that a young man after his period of courtship often knows as much of the real character of his lady love as the Indian boy does of the girl he is about to marry”¹⁸⁸ Datta contends that freedom does not guarantee wedding bliss, since marriage is a necessity for women. In India, marriage was more about connecting families and property. Also, purity and virtue were more important concepts than wedding bliss. He further states that the marriage market in London, within the ton, is as contrived as arranged Indian marriages. As Levine argues the British civilising mission was justified through the

¹⁸⁵Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.114

¹⁸⁶ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg. 89

¹⁸⁷ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.38

¹⁸⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.90

notion that “among the rude people, women are generally degraded,” and within the above excerpt Datta deftly challenges this rationale for imperial exceptionalism and rule.¹⁸⁹

Malabari, negotiating his position as the middleman between India and England, contends that, “I should think there are more unhappy wives, both in England and in India, than unhappy husbands. But wedded misery, though more keenly felt by wives in England, is certainly less widespread than in our country. In England wives know how to protest – if need be, to revolt. In India, wives are taught to be patient and enduring, nay, even to aid and to abet the offending husband in his lawlessness.”¹⁹⁰ Since Malabari was in England to drum up support for his bill to increase the age of marital consent, his latter comment commends English women as being able to rebel, to revolt against an offending system. However, he is careful not to openly criticize Indian women, as his stance was “one of self-professed identification with Indian women.”¹⁹¹

Finally, Malabari draws the comparison between the roles of the larger family in both India and England, stating, “the mother-in-law of England is despised by her daughter-in-law. In India, the mother-in-law is dreaded as no earthly power is ever dreaded.”¹⁹² Indian mothers-in-law lived with their sons and their wives and had the power to exert a significant amount of influence. Malabari contends that living with one’s in-laws creates, “a parasitic growth, more or less, and perpetuates what we call the joint family system. In England, husband and wife set up house for themselves immediately after marriage.”¹⁹³ He favours the latter system allowing for a higher degree of liberty for women and men, outside the confines of the larger, dominant family.

¹⁸⁹ Levine, Philippa, What’s British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East, Volume 27, Number 2*, 2007, Pg.275

¹⁹⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg. 73

¹⁹¹ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.163

¹⁹² Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.67

¹⁹³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.67

5.5- Conclusion

Marriage is a contentious subject within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection due to the fact that it concerns the private sphere. The three female authors, I study, choose to only examine the advantages of upper-class marriages in England, as their communal goal is to affect change in India within this sphere. Furthermore, discussing lower-class marriages opened up the possibility of poverty affecting marital relations. In Chapter 7, I discuss female alcohol abuse, often linked to abusive marital situations. The situation in India with arranged marriages, child marriage, sati, and restrained female freedom was addressed by both male and female authors and universally condemned. All three female authors openly criticize the aforementioned practices in India, whereas, only a few male authors, Datta and Malabari, take the same stance. However, unlike female authors, the male authors do not tout English marriages as being paragons of bliss, but rather reveal the inherent problems in said marriages. Datta rebuttals the colonial discourse that states women in England are treated with respect and accorded freedom. He contends, conversely, that British women of the upper-class must marry, and in the poorer classes, individuals marry without the proper financial resources.

Chapter 6: Views of female education in England

6.1-Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that female education in Britain caused discourses in conflict. Sara Mills asserts that, “Feminist theorists have attempted to modify Foucault’s model of discourse for feminist ends.....by analysing discourses in conflictual relations rather than in isolation.”¹⁹⁴ The three female authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection are an example of managing discourses in conflict as they were simultaneously Indian, colonial subjects, and activists for female education. Furthermore, references to correct feminine behaviour were crucial in order to remain ‘respectable’ to their male audiences. The authors studied, whether male or female, directed their Occidentalist gaze to the evolving position of women in the heart of the Empire, and ‘othered’ these women in the process. However, as Antoinette Burton claimed, the notion of home and away were no longer applicable during the period of the Raj with direct rule.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, if female education was appropriate for the British, was it not so for Indian women?

The subject of female education both in the United Kingdom and consequently in India inspired differing views from these Indian travellers. The three female authors in this *Empire Writes Back* Collection focus on the necessity for female education both in England and in India. They rationalise their arguments and cater them to a male audience. Their goal is clear – Indian women require at least a minimal education, and they employ examples of educated British females to defend their cause. The male authors studied within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection mostly agree that female education, to a point, is worthwhile. However, these male authors disagree regarding types and levels of education for English women and thus for Indian women. In this chapter the views of the male and female authors will be compared and contrasted.

¹⁹⁴ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

¹⁹⁵ Burton, Antoinette, Rules of thumb: British history and ‘imperial culture’ in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain , *Women's History Review*, 3:4, Pg.483

6.2 Rationale for female education

Mary Bhore, in her 39-page speech, contended in a nuanced manner the case for female education in India. Bhore's stated goal was to elucidate, "the social life of the English, the Education of Women, and their influence on the nation."¹⁹⁶ It is through English women that Bhore explains the positive effects of education for women and also for their fortunate husbands. Firstly, busy husbands require literate wives, as, "men do write letters but, having their own business or interests, family letters seem to be left chiefly to the ladies."¹⁹⁷ Therefore, female education is advantageous to industrious husbands, allowing them time for more urgent matters. Clearly, female education, in of itself, is not valid without the social context of marriage to legitimise its usage. Furthermore, family literacy allows for inspiring exchanges on varied topics, as English ladies and their daughters read every day: "I noticed that the women of the family, girls included, generally had some book of the hour to read, and so all were quite in touch with literary, political and general events of the day. Not that everyone was equally interested in everything, but while each might be especially interested in one topic, the others knew enough about it to agree, disagree and carry on an animate conversation."¹⁹⁸ Bhore negotiates enough space in this excerpt to point out that women and girls are aware of and capable of discussing politics and current events, and even, on occasion disagreeing with the male members of the household. Krisnabhabini Dab, a relatively unknown Indian women who lived in Cambridge for 14 years with her husband, found that women in India were considered second-class citizens, inferior to men, "where brothers from childhood learnt to hate their sisters on account of their being women."¹⁹⁹ Placing Bhore's assertion within this social context unveils her comments to be a form of resistance to the dominant discourse of male superiority.²⁰⁰

Raghavayya, begins her travel writing by asserting her femininity as a "Hindoo Lady from Madras." However, she artfully negotiates the conflicting discourses of

¹⁹⁶ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg. 39

¹⁹⁷ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.5

¹⁹⁸ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pgs.5-6

¹⁹⁹ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.168

²⁰⁰ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.81

being simultaneously a lady with proper feminine conduct while being a colonial subject. Thus, “discourses of colonialism/imperialism also exerted pressures on women writers, since they had to demonstrate that they, as imperial subjects, were strong, competent and in control, which often conflicted with the discourses on femininity.”²⁰¹ Raghavayya, although, very poetic in her writing, on occasion becomes highly political as the following quote reveals, “That country (England) ought to be a really blessed one for the reason that almost the whole population of females are educated, and the results and benefits of such education we all know, and among such educated women there are certain persons who take an earnest interest in the welfare of Indians.”²⁰² Even though this is her opinion, she tellingly employs the personal plural pronoun ‘we’ to create group support for her assertion. According to this quote, England’s colonial advantage only stems from female education and therefore, India can easily unlock the shackles of imperialism if they, too, embrace female education. Finally, she gives a rationale for female education in England, claiming that certain knowledgeable women are interested in the welfare of Indians.

Within the same chapter, Raghavayya also evokes economic gain as a rationale for female education. She cites the example of Madame Tussaud, who, “won unfathomable fame as the best lady artist both at English and French courts, and her extraordinary talent won her the prize for worked wax models from photographs of both the dead and living famous personages who were known to the world. Her success in this undertaking was so good and patronage unbounded that she opened a museum after her own name as I said before and breathed her last breath in 1850, leaving her sons to inherit the business...”²⁰³ Firstly, she explains the international success of this female artist due her creative talent, but more importantly, Tussaud’s ability to create a thriving business for her sons upon her demise. Female success, therefore, is an economic boon to male members of the family. This concept of female economic gain becomes a trope within Raghavayya’s writing, as she also relates the financial success of actors and actresses, stating, “The actors are all composed of grown-up women, men and girls. One should not suppose for a moment that because they are actors and actresses they are not clever and ready witted, which you will note hereafter. Many proprietors have retired from this business after amassing large

²⁰¹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

²⁰² Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.56

²⁰³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.66

fortunes owing to the public patronage they had. There is one lady songstress in London, by the name of Madame Patey, whose reputation draws thousands of people when she performs.”²⁰⁴ Raghavvaya makes clear that being an actor or actress demands intelligence and therefore, tellingly an education. In this quote, rather than using the ‘we’ she employs the pronoun ‘one,’ in reference to Indians and their perceptions of performers. With the pronoun ‘one,’ she places herself firmly in the same group as her countrymen and women, before announcing findings that are contrary to popular belief. Finally, she demonstrates the financial benefits of this oft-maligned industry, using a female actress to illustrate that women and girls can accrue a fortune while remaining respectable. Respectability for women was a necessity both in England and in India, especially during the Victorian era.²⁰⁵

The only male author in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, who asserts a specific rationale for female education, is Datta. He heralds back to the past to create a progressive civilisation narrative, which he then links to gendered education.²⁰⁶ He theorizes that the necessity of female dependency on men was due to physical inferiority, not mental incompetence, stating, “This necessity ceases to exist as in the progress of civilization the powers of the mind become more beneficial to society and are therefore held in higher estimation than those of the body, and one would naturally expect therefore that in the progress of civilization woman, who is not deficient in her mental powers as she is in her physical, should gradually have a share in public matters, and should generally be freed from her dependence on man.”²⁰⁷ Datta employs two key modifiers in his call for equality, the first is ‘gradually’, and the second is ‘generally’. Both terms allow for his discourse to be more acceptable within the dominant discourse in India, namely, that female education is not native to India, and is another form of enforced colonization.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.84

²⁰⁵ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

²⁰⁶ Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Time maps: Collective memory and the social shape of the past*. University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pg.14

²⁰⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.88

²⁰⁸ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.169

6.3 Formal education

Formal education is a topic that is evoked by both male and female authors. The three female authors discussed in the thesis tout the advantages of female education, in all its forms. Some male authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection agree whole-heartedly; however, others find that only limited education is necessary for social relations between the sexes and for economic reasons. Lala Baijnath debates the benefits of the Education Act of 1870, which made mandatory primary education for all English children. His Occidentalist view highlights both the positive and negative effects of mandatory education.²⁰⁹ He begins by stating that both male and female literacy rates have dramatically increased in the United Kingdom since the introduction of this act.²¹⁰ However, mandatory education requires all individuals, even those in lower socio-economic groups to attend school, which often places a financial strain on the family. He illustrates his argument with the example of a widow, who, “having an only grown-up son or daughter to earn for or look after the family, having been reduced to great straits because of this system of compulsory education; and it is not surprising if until lately magistrates refuse to convict persons charged with offenses under the Education Act.”²¹¹ Baijnath has negotiated enough space within the colonial context to criticize a national policy that does not take into account individual needs, and is not even implemented by the law courts. Therefore, he is feasibly challenging the notion that mass education would be beneficial in India.

Datta, on the other hand, is critical of female education in the United Kingdom, because it is limited and gendered. This fascinating stance stems from the fact that women are only educated in fields that make them more attractive on the marriage market, rather than making them intellectually capable individuals. Datta opines the fact that, “The education of a young lady is adapted not exactly to the proper cultivation of her mind, but to the formation of qualities which might make her most *pleasing to men*. Mathematics and the sciences, philosophy and learned

²⁰⁹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Baijnath, Lala. *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) Pg.152

²¹⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Baijnath, Lala. *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) Pg.152

²¹¹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Baijnath, Lala. *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) Pg.152

works on history are carefully excluded from her curriculum.”²¹² Datta was perceptive enough to realise that limited education did not afford equality to the female sex. According to Levine, Britain’s civilising mission was rationalised through the trope that women in colonised countries were demeaned, while in civilized countries they were exalted.²¹³ Taking this into account, Datta’s criticism can be considered a form of resistance against the false premise of colonial power.²¹⁴

In keeping with Datta’s commentary, Mahtabsing dedicated a chapter of his work to the theme of gendered education. While visiting a school in East London, students demonstrated their skills in the domestic domain. Girls from 10 to 16 years took, “cookery, laundry work and house-wifery classes.”²¹⁵ Whereas “the boys performed exercises in the methods of the use of triangular bandages in street accidents, resulting in injuries to jaws, collar bones, arm, ribs, thighs, shoulders, legs and feet.”²¹⁶ Mahtabsing, unlike Datta, makes no judgment on the activities accorded to each gender, and simply accepts this standardization of gender roles within the bounds of education. Education, therefore, was appropriate if girls focused on tasks to improve their capacities as wives. My final male author, Nadkarni, concurred with this tenet, finding female education acceptable if young girls were taught to stay ‘feminine’ and respectable. During one of his visits to an English family home, he stated that, “Mrs. Fowler was an exceptionally clever, affable and humorous lady. She kept the parts in very cheerful spirits by her modest but appropriate talk.”²¹⁷ The key words in the aforementioned quote are modest and appropriate, as these adjectives reveal the position allotted to women in Victorian society, and in Nadkarni’s vision.

Mary Bhore, as an educated Indian female having studied at Oxford University, endeavours to align the different discourses on femininity, the roles of women and the position of a colonial subject. These discourses in conflict demand multiple and co-existent identities of the writer as she navigates this troubled sea of differing perspectives.²¹⁸ Bhore’s main objective is to convince her Indian audience

²¹² Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.89

²¹³ Levine, Philippa, What’s British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East, Volume 27, Number 2*, 2007, Pg. 276

²¹⁴ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.103

²¹⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 62

²¹⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 62

²¹⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903) Pg.14

²¹⁸ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997) Pg.89

that female education is beneficial. To assuage fears of improper behaviour, she demonstrates that female and male students, even when given freedom, respect propriety. This stance reveals her first identity as a woman involved with the political situation of women during this turbulent period of social change in England. “The girls attending the same lectures as the men, often meet friends among them in society, and everyone takes it as the most usual and natural thing. It was here that I saw the result of the English life put to the severest test. For up to the time of going to college, girls are carefully guarded and accompanied by older friends, and this complete freedom is new to them. But as far as the behaviour of the girls and the young men went, I think, I may say it was exceptional!”²¹⁹ Using the technique of reading against the grain, I can ascertain that calling an event a ‘most usual and natural thing’ denotes that such gendered encounters outside the boundaries of supervision are rare and deemed inappropriate within Indian culture.²²⁰ Bhore, however, makes it clear that female behaviour in regards to the opposite sex is above reproach, respectable in every way, revealing her second identity as a proper lady.²²¹ Bhore continues with the unwritten but universally understood rules of conduct that allow for co-education, stating, “They never speak, still less pause on leaving the lecture room to converse. To break this rule would be considered highly irregular.”²²² Bhore has multiple identities to perform within this speech given to a mainly male Indian audience. And having espoused an opinion outside the norm, heralding female and co-education, she then strives to realign her comments with her third identity, namely as an Indian colonial subject. She phrases it thus: “As for such ideas as would directly occur to us here that there might be impropriety in such mixed meetings the notion I am sure has never crossed the minds of the English.”²²³ Her use of the pronoun ‘us’ allows Bhore to bridge the gap between herself and the audience through an understanding of their common concerns regarding impropriety. Finally she distances herself from the English, ‘othering’ them in the process. Indian students to Britain, as was the case of a Bengali student who wrote in the Journal of the National Indian Associations, were encouraged not to “liberalise their views on

²¹⁹ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pgs.19-20

²²⁰ Willemse, Karin. *One foot in Heaven: narratives on gender and Islam in Darfur, West-Sudan*. Vol. 5. Brill, 2007 Pgs. 20-33

²²¹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

²²² Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.19-20

²²³ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.21

education and liberty of women.”²²⁴ Doing so meant accepting colonial power over education and familial dynamics in India.

6.4 Physical education

Education in England was not only intellectual but also physical and aroused numerous reactions and comments from both male and female travellers. In India, women occupied the private sphere and thus were not seen publicly, especially not performing physical exercises.²²⁵ Pillai asserted, “in India a women ‘knows no society’, but in England, society means ‘nothing’ without women.”²²⁶ The two female authors that partake of or comment on female physical activity focus their Occidentalist gaze on freedom of movement, the benefits to one’s health and finally Mary Bhore rationalises female physical education in regards to male needs. Nadkarni and Pillai, although different in their approach, both refer to physical activity as a ‘manly’ activity, with Pillai denigrating and sexualizing the female participants.

Raghavayya was immediately enamoured with the freedom of movement for females in London, referring to herself as a bird out of a cage, who, “could walk or drive from morn to eve without fatigue and forgetful of hunger, in order-to-see the wonders of this place and the advantages of this land.”²²⁷ One of these advantages was physical exercise, which she compared with her lack of possible exercise in India, stating, “Physical exercise, which was never brought to practical bearing while in my native land, I paid attention to, and availed myself of the opportunity of taking daily long walks in Hyde Park in company with my husband, which was really conducive to health.”²²⁸ In London, the opportunity was available, but she is keen to remain a proper lady, as she only partakes of this physical freedom in the company of her husband. Female travellers often felt compelled to incorporate details of their

²²⁴ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.71

²²⁵ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.71

²²⁶ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.118

²²⁷Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.49

²²⁸Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.52

“‘proper’ female behaviour, because by doing so, they would ensure that their audience considered them respectable.”²²⁹

Mary Bhore strives to convince her public of the benefits of female physical education in tandem with limited academic pursuits, arguing that women, “spend a great deal of time in healthy vigorous exercise such as Tennis, Hockey and Rowing. The amount of study they undertake will not turn them out very learned or great savants, but it gives them a general, literary education.”²³⁰ Chris Christie and Clare Walsh have argued that women may employ elements of feminine discourse, as is the case here with Bhore, in the public sphere, “when they find that using competitive masculine speech styles is not the most effective form of behaviour.”²³¹ Therefore, Bhore, in negotiating space for equality, caters her comments to a male audience, ending her statement with women “are built up with healthy minds in healthy bodies, fit to be the associates and companions in future life of the young men who are being prepared by the country to do the great work of the British Empire.”²³² It is fascinating to witness how Bhore’s discourse on female physical and intellectual education is validated through its utility to men. Moreover, in the latter sentence she constructs her identity as proud member of the British Empire to further legitimise her claims.

The two male authors who discuss female physical education, Nadkarni and Pillai, both find that said activities, although pleasing to the eye, are manly in nature. Nadkarni states, “Aquatic excursions by boats are resorted to by young men and women. I saw several young women rowing, and it was with great pleasure to notice the interest the people in this country take in manly exercise.”²³³ The word resorted gives the idea that there is no pleasure in this physical activity, that it is obligatory when every other option is closed. Also, his Occidentalist gaze ‘others’ these women, who come from a foreign land where women partake in ‘manly’ activities. As Said declares, statements of this ilk, which are seemingly ‘objective’ are “in fact produced

²²⁹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.89

²³⁰ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.21

²³¹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.79

²³² Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.21

²³³ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903) Pg.46

within a context of evaluation and denigration.”²³⁴ In this instance, Nadkarni is judging female behaviour, which he finds improper and unladylike.

Pillai concurs with Nadkarni, declaring directly that; “there is also a tendency in English women to appear like men. They seem to forget that sex is eternally fixed by nature, that is in an *alte terminus hoerens*.”²³⁵ The notions of male and female often attributed being female to biological functions, which is the case in point. Alsop argues that, “this anchorage in biology restricted woman’s nature.” Pillai continues in this vein, describing a woman whom he met; “She was a teacher of Callisthenic exercises in a public school: but she had ceased to be a woman in everything else but in name. Certainly, it is not desirable that there should be any development of women in England in this direction.”²³⁶ In this instance, Pillai refuses to accept a physically strong woman, arguably because ‘Indian masculinity,’ according to Victorian standards, was “typically associated with physical weakness and uncontrolled sexuality, two characteristics also assigned to European women.”²³⁷ It is also of interest that Pillai employs the word desirable, even in this context, as he tries to reassert his dominance through sexualizing, and objectifying even this ‘manly’ woman.

6.5 Links back to India

Education, whether physical, at home or in an institution, encouraged numerous authors to herald back to the situation in India. Most comments condemn the limited place that women held in society; a few male authors upheld these differences due to the inherent flaws in Indian women’s characters. These comparisons reveal a great deal about the authors themselves, and often about the goals for their homeland.

In India, rare were the young girls who benefited from a formal education, as often the elders in the village forbid such seemingly progressive thinking. Mary Bhoire highlights this problem by asserting that Indian men, “often sigh for more intelligent companions in their wives, and would gladly have them taught a measure of what

²³⁴ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.97

²³⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.66

²³⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.66

²³⁷ Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. Univ of California Press, 1998. Pg.153

they have learnt themselves, but the elders of the family forbid it.”²³⁸ This patriarchal system prohibited mass female education, even limited education. Rachel Alsop argues that “the social relations of gender are the ones in which women are treated as inferior and subordinate to men,” and therefore oppressive in nature, which was evidently the case in India and England during this half-century.²³⁹ Bhore continues in this vein by summing up the situation for Indian girls: “Every step in life is fraught with repression, submission and obedience, so that instead of the stronger virtues being developed, patience, domestic industry and a general resignation of character is the final production.”²⁴⁰ Her solution to these ills is found in compulsory female education. However, in order to negotiate space within the dominant discourse she employs the voices of male Indians studying medicine or law in England to plead her case. Her choice of students studying highly academic subjects also adds validity to her claims: “Some expressed a kind of horror at having to return to a country in which life was comparatively so uninteresting and uninstructed. And is it to be wondered at that such should be their sentiments when we consider the condition of our women and consequently of our Society? The West casts its glamour over me too, but while charmed with England and the English, I still felt that to me at least ‘India’ would always be the most beautiful country on Earth.”²⁴¹ The Indian men never refer directly to female education, but she hijacks their comments and gives her own opinion conveyed on their tongues. She is the subaltern, as her voice only exists via others, in this source. However, gender is also performed and in the last sentence she distances herself from the remark and regains her constructed position as proud Indian, not as a British subject.²⁴²

Mary Carpenter by relating the words of the ‘Hindoo reformer’ Rajah Rammohun Roy, also strives to elucidate the need for education in India. Roy said it thus: “If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in

²³⁸ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.36

²³⁹ Alsop, R. Fitzsimmons. "A. & Lennon K.(2002). *Theorizing Gender*. Pg.67

²⁴⁰ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.36

²⁴¹ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.35

²⁴² Alsop, R. Fitzsimmons. "A. & Lennon K.(2002). *Theorizing Gender*. Pg.166

justice pronounce on their inferiority.”²⁴³ As an educator in England, Roy’s progressive thinking for India struck a note with Carpenter. Here, Roy makes clear that maligning women as being ignorant, while creating a gendered system of enforced ignorance, does not allow for a fair judgment on women’s potential.

Datta concurs whole-heartedly with Roy; however, his stance is even more remarkable for the era as he demands full education, liberty and suffrage for women in England and in India. In order to plead his case, he addresses the numerous arguments waged against gender equality, whether they be the ‘rules of nature’, or simply a history of subjugation, which I addressed in the subchapter entitled Rationale for Female Education. Moreover, he rebuttals the claim that education and personal liberty encourage women to be poor wives and mothers, by stating, “All civilised countries show that giving ladies education and personal liberty does not make them worse mothers and wives, and time will show that opening up to them all walks of life and independent professions will likewise have none but beneficial effects on society.”²⁴⁴ Again, he employs the progressive civilization narrative to legitimise his claims.²⁴⁵ However, he does not embrace the English system, nor does he try to mimic their limited advances, claiming, “Debarred by public opinion from adopting any means to support themselves the young ladies of England must either get married, or depend on their parents all their lives – leading an idle and cheerless life.”²⁴⁶ This reversal of the ethnographic survey places Datta, as the colonial observer, in the position of the subject, whereas the British with their faults and flaws are ‘othered’ by his clear vision.²⁴⁷

Datta, then sheds his enlightened gaze on the place of women in Indian society, inquiring, “When will ladies in our country throw off their veil and come out from seclusion which is injurious to society no less than it is ridiculous.”²⁴⁸ His use of the word ‘our’ reveals his position and identity as an Indian, an insider commenting on a national not colonial issue. Furthermore, he criticizes the speed at which reform is taking place on the Indian subcontinent, stating, “Young reformers in our country

²⁴³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Carpenter, Mary, *Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy* (London and Calcutta, 1866) Pg.87

²⁴⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.88

²⁴⁵ Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Time maps: Collective memory and the social shape of the past*. University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pg.14

²⁴⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.89

²⁴⁷ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.122

²⁴⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.103

are waiting till; as they put it, their wives are educated and become fit to come out to society. It is like waiting in the riverside till swimming is learnt. They forget that is coming into water that teaches one swimming, - that it is coming out in society (and not books) which would give our ladies the best sort of education.”²⁴⁹ Education, for Datta, is not simply formal, but linked to women being in the public sphere, exercising freedom, and will only occur with action.

However, Pillai disagrees with Roy’s and Datta’s assertions, contending that Indian women are not the equal of their western sisters. In the West, even higher-class women are now in the private and public spheres. These wealthy women, from the Queen down, reign supreme, perhaps challenging male dominance. Within the following discourse, Pillai places himself in regards to what is happening in India, stating, “It is here that woman rules in a double sense, both as Queen of the island as well as mistress everywhere inside the house, out in the streets, at private dinners, at social gatherings. Everywhere she is supreme. Respect for her borders on worship. And well it might be! Both physically and mentally, she is superior to her sister in the East.”²⁵⁰ It is also of interest that he employs the term Queen and not Empress, subtly yet undoubtedly, resisting British control of India, especially vis-à-vis to gender relations. This subtle resistance to colonial domination, written in travel literature, could pass under the radar of the Raj.²⁵¹

6.6 Conclusion

Through this chapter I have shown that female education was a frequently addressed, and sometimes contentious subject. Evoking this sensitive subject created discourses in conflict, especially for the female authors who had to navigate between multiple identities to accomplish their goal of mass female education in India. The three female authors, who are speaking or writing to mainly a male public, rationalise the need for female education, often catering their arguments to husbands’ needs. Most male authors do not rationalise their arguments, feasibly due to their position of relative power within a gendered Indian society.

²⁴⁹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.103

²⁵⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg. 59

²⁵¹ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.296

Additionally, the female authors herald formal education and physical education, as they both offer the prospect of being in the public sphere, allowing liberty of movement. Here the male authors differ, Nadkarni and Pillai find physical education not becoming for women, and even apply the term 'manly.' Indian males, within the colonial context, often had their masculinity called into question, which could explain such a reaction to female physical strength.²⁵² Datta, on the other hand, openly criticizes the limits to female education in England, finding education was means to capture a husband, rather than develop female minds.

Education in England had repercussions on the education system in India. As Levine argues, the British civilizing mission was gendered since Indian society failed to treat the 'weaker sex' equally and thus created British exceptionalism and a necessity for colonization.²⁵³ Certain Indian male authors resisted British dominance by refusing female education; others embraced these progressive ideas to create a more equal society.

Within this chapter, the opinions of male and female authors were less linked to their gender but more towards their concepts of gender roles and equality. However, negotiating space to assert opinions revealed Indian women to be in a more complicated position, creating discourses in conflict.

²⁵² Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.153

²⁵³ Levine, Philippa, What's British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East*, Volume 27, Number 2, 2007, Pg.275

Chapter 7: Indian views of women workers and impoverished women

7.1-Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that the imperial civilising mission was challenged in colonial discourse involving working women, impoverished women, female alcohol abuse and prostitution. Indian travellers, both male and female, could within their guest discourse criticize the Empire under Raj radar.²⁵⁴ The space they negotiate only allows for disparagement of the lower classes, as the upper classes are unassailable targets within this dominant Imperial context. The Indian voy(ag)eurs ‘other’ these economically unfortunate London women, which is, in of itself, a political act.²⁵⁵ Analysing how and why male and female authors criticize London society reveals as much about the values of Indian society, as the destitution in the heart of the Empire.

The British Empire and especially its capital were considered, according to Lala Baijnath, “the home of our rulers...those lands of civilisation and liberty”.²⁵⁶ London was often referred to as a wonderland, alive with electric lights as attest the travel writings of Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya.²⁵⁷ However, there were many cohabiting ‘Londons’, revealing glaring social and economic inequalities. The rich lived a lavish life of ease catered to by the lower classes. The employed lower classes were the lucky ones, as many impoverished individuals, both male and female, fought to make a living on the streets.

Consequently, I will shed light on the shadowed underbelly of the capital through a focus on the lives of lower class women. These poorer women had to work to survive, to subsist even. They were sometimes beaten, and some, the most unfortunate turned to prostitution. The Occidentalist perceptions and views analysed all stem from the written accounts of these Indian travellers, who had seemingly expected to find a pristine centre of the Empire, free from poverty and exploitation. They were instead shocked to find a different London, one not vaunted within the imperial civilising message. As Rajah Rammohan Roy so succinctly summed up, “well

²⁵⁴ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.296

²⁵⁵ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.99

²⁵⁶ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.105

²⁵⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.3

might one regard civilisation a failure on seeing the condition of the poor in London.”²⁵⁸ Finally, I will analyse the primary sources within this travel writing in order to ascertain if male and female Indian authors differed in their written accounts of these working women, of female drunkenness and finally of prostitution. Pillai explained it thus: “to those who wish to lead the life of the wicked there is no place more inviting than London, unless it is Paris.”²⁵⁹

7.2- Workingwomen:

Women in London held a multitude of different positions. Some sold flowers on the streets, others ran guesthouses and many were servants or shop-workers. There are also accounts of women as, “clerks in post-offices as platform orators, as bicycle riders in crowded thoroughfares of London, and experts in hair-cutting and shaving.”²⁶⁰ Mahtabsing even enjoyed listening to the organ grinders, who were mostly women.²⁶¹ These male and female Indian travellers were in constant contact with English women, who were outside the private sphere. Some of these women were visible to these Indian travellers, others were invisible chained to factory positions from dusk to dawn. Many male authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection found this constant contact with women in public most exhilarating, leading to a sexualisation of these encounters within their travel writing.²⁶² Whereas, for the female travellers this new found liberty of movement, was greeted with joy, as Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya noted, “one like me, a bird out of a cage, could walk or drive from morn to eve without fatigue and forgetful of hunger, in order-to-see the wonders of this place and the advantages of this land.”²⁶³ The Indian authors through their travel writing, viewed and reviewed these English women, often ‘othering’ them in the process.

Housekeepers and landladies held a central role in this literature, as these were the first ‘hosts’ of Indian travellers. Pothum Janakamma Raghavayya had a differing impression of landladies and housekeepers, finding the former dishonest in

²⁵⁸ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.118

²⁵⁹ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg. 67

²⁶⁰ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.119

²⁶¹ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 32

²⁶² Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.176

²⁶³ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.49

relations to pecuniary matters, and the latter competent multi-taskers. Her description of a housekeeper, clearly reveals a competent and capable employee, “her duty is to keep all account books, and weekly present them to her mistress for inspection, receiving at the same time payment for all the bills. She directs and controls all the women servants, does all the marketing, and directs all cleaning, animal or otherwise, in most houses.”²⁶⁴ Raghavayya is clearly impressed by the capabilities of this female employee. The two other female authors do not focus on working women, but more so on charity towards impoverished women. Raghavayya does not discuss female shop workers, or female peddlers on the streets, unlike the male authors I will now discuss.

The male authors in the *Empire Writes Back* Collection often refer to housekeepers and landladies; however, my research has revealed that they focus less on the abilities of the female employees but more so on the rationale for hiring women. There are three main reasons that are frequently addressed within the sources, firstly, “in each boarding house female servants are employed. Male servants are seldom engaged because in the first place there are very few and in the second place their wages are very high.”²⁶⁵ Therefore, it is for pecuniary matters, and availability on a saturated market that explain hiring women. Secondly, Mahtabsing states that many boarding houses are run by widows and “daughters of broken down traders of pensioned servants of Government, or those who have seen better days.” Evidently, women are forced into opening their homes in order to financially subsist. The source leads one to believe that women do not choose to work but are forced into contact with others in order to survive. Thirdly, there is a general comment that women are chosen for their looks, as Lala Baijnath, so aptly states, “It is not in the palaces of the rich in England that female beauty is always found. On the contrary it is in these girls of the lower strata of the middle class, well formed, well dressed, fairly educated and fairly well conducted, that the beauty of the English woman seems to show itself at its best.”²⁶⁶ Mahtabsing concurs fully, “in large hotels the chief waiters are generally males. In small hotels waiting is done by damsels entirely. They

²⁶⁴Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.53

²⁶⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg.17

²⁶⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Baijnath, Lala. *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) Pg.29

are evidently chosen for their appearance.”²⁶⁷ This sexualisation of female employees is even clearer when regarding female shop-workers, and peddlers on the street.

Male authors often describe female shop workers as young, well dressed and attractive. These women had constant contact with their clients, and were accessible to male eyes. Lala Baijnath, who quite often sexualizes women in his writing, compares and contrasts elder, wealthier women with the younger, nubile shop workers by stating, “a fashionable scare-crow of 50 is trying a piece of millinery or jewellery more suited for a girl of sixteen. How odd she looks; and what a contrast she presents to the shop girl who is showing her the article.”²⁶⁸ He firstly criticises the svelte physique of the elderly lady by referring to her as a scare-crow while then referring to the shop worker as a ‘girl.’ This theme is continued by Mahtabsing, who on occasion entered into a public house, averring, “go into a beer shop and you are enchanted to stay and take a draught. A well dressed bar-maid is busily employed in dispensing glasses of all sorts of beer to her numerous customers.”²⁶⁹ The bar maid’s attire is referred to after stating that the public house is enchanting, perhaps due to her presence, especially since Mahtabsing is tempted to take a beer from her hands. Malabari, an ardent advocate for women’s rights in Indian and England, enunciates why beauty is often on display, averring, “the most comely looks are to be found probably among barmaids, tobacco and other shop girls, girls employed at hotels and restaurants, for sufficient, though perhaps not always creditable reasons.”²⁷⁰ The reference to creditable ways casts a doubt on the true occupation of these female workers. Are these comely females merely prostitutes in disguise?

Nandala Dasa gives a differing view as to why females are employed rather than in sales departments, noting, “women are largely employed as saleswomen in the shops and workers in the manufacturing departments, and it is women who make the most purchases for the family.”²⁷¹ He continues by adding that even though

²⁶⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 14

²⁶⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Baijnath, Lala. *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) Pg.29

²⁶⁹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 32

²⁷⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.88

²⁷¹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 2. Dasa, Nandala, *Reminiscences – English and Australian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893)Pg. 43

women are freely on the streets making purchases they are never victims of molestation. Dasa does not doubt the credibility of female employees based on their employment or looks. Furthermore, there is also a veiled reference to the lives of women back in India, who are not accorded free movement, in part to protect their persons from unwanted attention and abuse.

Workers outside the household and therefore in the public sphere were perceived as being hierarchically below these male, wealthy travellers. Mukharji, even asserted that, “utopian India was attainable through English women.”²⁷² English women of lower classes were omnipresent, especially street sellers. From the crack of dawn, they plied their wares by encouraging passers-by to behold the beauty of their goods. Pillai was particularly enamoured with flower girls, gushing, “Of all characters in London the flower-girl is the most picturesque. She alone dresses differently and not in black.” The objectification is drawn through rendering her as a ‘picturesque colourful character,’ rather than a poor, young girl working to survive. Pillai is even aware of, or imagines her daily life, declaring, “she rises very early, goes to the garden where flowers are sold whole-sale, converts them into nice button-holes and bouquets and tempts every way-farer with them. ‘A lovely bunch of roses – a penny’- ‘A penny – a lovely bunch of roses.’ He is clearly besotted with the image she represents, rather than her reality. He sexualizes her through the use of the word ‘tempts;’ his colonizing view diminishes her to an entity to be beholden. According to Pillai, the flower girl evokes desire through her actions. She is wanton, and he, merely the recipient of her attention. He adds, “You have hardly the time to look around when there appears a bunch of roses under your chin and following your eyes in the direction of the flowers you find a white arm. That is the arm of the flower girl. The flower-girl knows when to tempt you.”²⁷³ By changing the personal pronoun from ‘I’ to ‘you’ he generalises this experience. All flower girls act wantonly to all men, and therefore, he relieves himself of any responsibility for eliciting her actions. The sexualisation reaches a crescendo as he evokes the image of naked, white arm tempting passers-by, Eve this time with a flower. The flower girl, within this literature, becomes a trope, as three male authors within those studied for this thesis refer to her in slightly differing ways. Pillai does not directly call her a prostitute,

²⁷² Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg. 181

²⁷³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.37

whereas Mahtabsing places her in the most unfortunate group of prostitutes, those poor girls who are driven to selling their bodies due to poverty, “such girls you will always find near train termini or public gardens holding a bunch of flowers and offering it for a penny.”²⁷⁴ Dasa is less direct in using the term prostitute, but questions how these young girls can sell products for a penny or less, expressing “whenever I met any of these, I wondered how they could make a living by selling such a cheap article.”²⁷⁵

Certainly, there are other male sources that herald this brave new world of female employment, like Dasa who is openly impressed that, “registering letters, issuing or paying Money Orders, and selling stamps, all these are done by women. I believe they have to pass an examination, before they can get this sort of work in the Postal Department. Women in England are now pushing themselves fast into places which has been the reserve of men for ages, and becoming their rivals in the earning of livelihood.”²⁷⁶ Nadkarni concurs that women are a welcome addition to the realm of work insomuch as they become true helpers for their husbands. He does, however, worry that, “the new tendencies must in some measure unsex her, but compared with the advantages, it seems to me that would be too sentimental to dwell on the loss.” He follows this assertion by adding, “but when is all considered – the head, the heart, the beauty – I feel that the women of Great Britain must take the palm for feminine charm.”²⁷⁷ Nadkarni, therefore, negotiates space to criticize British women, even stating that they are un-sexed through their activities, before, in the next sentence reversing his position by bestowing praise on these new women. He was particularly impressed with nurses who possessed the qualities often attributed to women – charitable, self-sacrificing and devoted.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg.100

²⁷⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 2. Dasa, Nandala, *Reminiscences – English and Australian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893) Pg. 41

²⁷⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 2. Dasa, Nandala, *Reminiscences – English and Australian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893) Pg. 43

²⁷⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903) Pg.405

²⁷⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903)Pg.406

7.3 Poorer women

In keeping with the theme of qualities most often attributed to women, both male and female authors heralded London ladies' projects to help the poor, and especially impoverished women. Mary Bhore, in particular, writes copiously and in glowing terms about these ladies of benevolence, gushing, "women especially busy themselves much in raising the condition of poor girls, who in their struggle to earn their daily bread, find life so hard that the weak ones go under morally and physically. For these poor sisters the rich women have endless societies."²⁷⁹ She continues by explaining the lengths to which certain richer ladies go to in order to better comprehend the real life situation of these impoverished women by relating the following anecdote, "bolder spirits among the younger ones have disguised themselves and gone to work as poor women in the hardest and most repulsive employments in the hope of finding out what can be done to raise the women who are employed there."²⁸⁰ In this situation the lady's maid had to be present to communicate with cockney accent in order to gain acceptance by the workingwomen. This situation, according to Mary Bhore, lasted for three weeks, upon which the lady and her maid returned home fortified in their resolve to help. Raghavvaya concurs with the deep resolve of British ladies when faced with a dilemma, adding "Englishwomen too, for that matter, would encounter all kinds of difficulties and dangers to accomplish any one design on which they have set their hearts."²⁸¹ Both female authors have a tendency to embellish their narratives regarding British women as they constantly compare the freedom available in Britain to its scarcity in India. Raghavayya negotiates enough space to state, "ladies in England hold a very different position to what they do in India, there they are equals of the men and are their best advisors, while in this country, I am sorry to say, they are held inferior in every respect; and instead of being advisers, are treated by many as slaves to the will and bidding of the male sex."²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.25

²⁸⁰ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.25

²⁸¹ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.9

²⁸² Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 4. Raghavayya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877) Pg.114

The male authors discuss the excellent role women play in a plethora of different charities but do not refer back to the roles women hold in India. Malabari, who throughout his writing touts higher-class ladies, continues along these lines stating, “here we see the genius of charity walking side by side with callousness. It is a noble contrast, this devotion of high-born Englishwomen, to the wants of some of the lowest and perhaps most unworthy of their race.”²⁸³ Said argued that colonial discourses, written as statements of fact, often denigrated “the other.” In the aforementioned quote, Malabari debases the lower classes, while asserting the superiority of the higher-classes. He is placing himself as the judge of this situation and therefore on the same level as the higher classes. Indians visiting London understood the class system, as it was similar to the caste system in India. Also, all the authors I have studied within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection are from rich or relatively affluent Indian families.

Awatsing and Datta visited different charitable institutions including hospitals for orphaned or abandoned children. The civilizing mission of the Empire was questionable, even fallible in this setting. However, these two authors focused more on the help being afforded to the most unfortunate and weak members of society, rather than the origins of their plight. Datta was impressed that “these poor children whose mothers cannot maintain are supported and educated here.”²⁸⁴ Datta, as an ardent advocate for education and equality, was astounded that even in these foundling hospitals there was an attempt made to improve the lives of these deserted children.

Certain male authors also heralded women’s roles in Christian organisations. “In connection with each church a great variety of Christian and charitable work is carried on, in which the ladies of the congregation take a prominent and active part.”²⁸⁵ The Temperance Society is one such society, and gained popularity throughout the 1800’s. It represented, “the ideas of self-control and self denial,” epitomizing middle-class Victorian values.²⁸⁶ Alcohol-consumption, they argued, was linked to violence, child abuse and often attributed as being rife in the poorer classes,

²⁸³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.82

²⁸⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.62

²⁸⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 2. Dasa, Nandala, *Reminiscences – English and Australian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893)Pg. 74

²⁸⁶ <http://www.loyno.edu/~history/journal/1992-3/smith-r.htm> (accessed 21/6/15)

as Malabari argued. Many wealthy women were active within this movement, and Malabari so aptly phrased, “they go forth amongst all classes of people, preaching, setting an example and inviting volunteers to sign a pledge.”²⁸⁷ Alcohol-consumption and abuse was a constant refrain in many travel writing accounts written by men as will be seen in the next subchapter.

7.4 Women and different substances (alcohol and cigarettes):

The female authors in the Empire Writes Back collection only address the controversial subject of alcoholism on one occasion. This is feasibly due to a contradictory and ambiguous stance regarding alcohol in India, especially during the period of the British Raj, “with widespread alcohol use in some sectors of society, including the high status caste of warriors/rulers (Kshatriyas), versus prohibitions and condemnation of alcohol use, especially for the Brahmin (scholar-priest) caste.”²⁸⁸ Also, these female authors tended to herald British women as being the epitome of progressive modernity – free in movement, educated and utterly respectful of social mores. Mary Bhore touches very briefly on the curse of alcohol and the brutality it engenders. Her objective, however, is to state that even in these hard circumstances where poverty encourages alcohol abuse, the social education that all individuals in Britain receive encourages a degree of civility. She phrases it thus: “it adds much to the happiness and goodwill of society at large if, from childhood all are taught to be civil in speech and to help the weak.”²⁸⁹ Her goal is to defend a society where education is the hallmark, in order to encourage Indians to educate their young, both male and female. However, silence is an interactional resource, a choice these women made, and is as valid as any louder forms of discourse.²⁹⁰ Their silence on this subject is deafening as it reveals a conscious choice not to engage ‘verbally’ with this trope.

Conversely, drunkenness is a subject that numerous male authors condemn voraciously, especially when linked to women. Nandalala Dasa was only twice mocked for being Indian during his time in England, but chose, in his writings, to

²⁸⁷ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.53

²⁸⁸ Sharma, H. K., B. M. Tripathi, and Pertti J. Pelto. "The evolution of alcohol use in India." *AIDS and Behavior* 14.1 (2010): Pgs. 8-17.

²⁸⁹ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.18

²⁹⁰ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.72

focus on the instance when the mockery came from a female. “A woman, apparently under the influence of liquor, on a Saturday afternoon, when working people receive their pay and many of them indulge in drink.”²⁹¹ Clearly for Dasa, it was emasculating to be insulted publicly, especially by an inebriated woman. He was being treated like a “colonial spectacle, a process that repeatedly called the legitimacy of his masculinity, as measured by Victorian standards, into question.”²⁹² Indian masculinity was often effeminized within the imperial message. Indian men were accused of being physically weak with uncontrolled sexual impulses, “two characteristics also assigned to European women”.²⁹³ He did, however, feel in a position of sufficient power to comment negatively on her actions, even within this imperial context. Nadkarni, too, only focused on female drunkenness, rather than that of men, which stems partially from his cultural background.²⁹⁴ In India, women were often only in the private sphere and never seen inebriated. Malabari agrees with Nadkarni, adding in clear terms, “a drunken man is bad enough; a drunken woman is infinitely worse. If she is a mother, she rages like a moral pestilence round the homestead. She spreads the vice around and through her. Her example is more catching than that of her husband, though she generally takes her first lessons from him or her father.”²⁹⁵ The above quote clearly asserts that female inebriation is worse for the family than male drunkenness, as according to Malabari women become contagions of vice, whereas husbands keep their foibles to themselves. He continues his diatribe, stating, “Many English-women nurse their babies on beer, ale or gin! – Shame upon their motherhood!”²⁹⁶ Clearly, Malabari has negotiated enough space within this colonial context to criticise a British woman, but only one of a lower socio-economic group. Moreover, he clearly draws a distinction between classes and alcohol consumption, arguing that, “at any rate, ladies of real education and position are free from evil. In its worst form drunkenness exists amongst the lowest orders, who are also the slowest to appreciate their own interests or those of their

²⁹¹Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 2. Dasa, Nandala, *Reminiscences – English and Australian, being an account of a visit to England, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania and Ceylon, etc* (Calcutta, 1893)Pg.37

²⁹² Burton, Antoinette M. *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain*. University of California Press, 1998. Pg.153

²⁹³ Idem. Pg.153

²⁹⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903)Pg.384

²⁹⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.51

²⁹⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.51

families.”²⁹⁷ This classist attitude is a recurrent, but not universal trope within the *Empire Writes Back* collection, as the hierarchical class system in England was familiar, inasmuch as it resembled the caste system in India.

Pillai, however, negotiated enough space in order to criticise all those who abused alcohol, aggrieving, “there is an insatiable thirst for drink among all classes, nothing seems to quench the thirst of man, woman or child like drink.”²⁹⁸ This critique of all classes reveals a degree of resistance to colonial domination. Pillai is visibly questioning the Empire’s ability to be a civilising force, as the Empire itself was suffering from the curse of alcohol. Furthermore, Pillai places himself as the subject and the British become the object, devoid of power and chastised for their alcoholic practices.²⁹⁹ His condemnation continues further by claiming, “that some public houses have refused to sell drink to ‘children under thirteen.’”³⁰⁰ The latter, adds insult to injury, revealing the ‘Imperial dream’ as being vacuous even for the youngest and most impressionable members of society. Pillai effectively reverses asymmetries of power, permitting the colonized to become the colonizer.

The habit of alcohol consumption on the Sabbath was found particularly shocking and note-worthy by male authors in this collection. On Sundays, all commerce was closed except for gin shops and restaurants,³⁰¹ inciting Lala Bajinath to wryly comment, “John Bull lets his people hear sermons in the morning and get drunk in the afternoon.”³⁰² It was, Malabari, however, “who made the link between the number of liquor shops licenced by the state, and the interest of the government in revenue.”³⁰³ The Indian eye, with its Occidental lens, clearly saw the link between economic gain for the government and the selling of alcohol, regardless of religious mores. The British utopia, in the flesh, became human and fallible.

Wife battery linked to alcoholism is a familiar trope within many male authors works in the *Empire Writes Back* collection. Ramesachandra Datta relates the horrors of poverty, that according to him drive fathers to the pub, asserting, “pestered

²⁹⁷ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.52

²⁹⁸ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg. 46

²⁹⁹ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.103

³⁰⁰Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.56

³⁰¹ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.115.

³⁰² Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Bajinath, Lala. *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)Pg.32

³⁰³ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.115.

and bothered by a hungry wife and starving children, the drunken husband and father often has recourse to violence, the accounts of which emanating every day from police courts fail to startle the people only on account of their frequency.”³⁰⁴ Unlike female drunkenness, male inebriation and violence is directly linked to the actions of the hungry wife and starving children. The husband is provoked, and this occurrence is so ubiquitous that it is no longer note-worthy. It is clear that notions of appropriate behaviour linked to gender are at play here. Male actions are defensible and blamed on ‘pestering wives,’ whereas female actions were viewed as being shameful.

Smoking pipes and cigarettes was a secondary vice that elicited attention only from Malabari. Like with the Temperance Movement, Malabari hoped that ladies of a certain social class would help men temper this habit. However, he opined, “Do not English women deal with the question too diplomatically? There are some that rather encourage the habit. I have seen some ladies holding the umbrella or the hat under which their affianced might light the cigar.”³⁰⁵ Malabari places the onus of responsibility soundly on the shoulders of the female gender. He even, goes so far, as to sexualise smoking women, gushing, “I have also seen pretty little cigarettes between pretty little lips, and have been asked to share the privilege. The sight is very contagious. Is it, after all, so very becoming in these advocates of equal rights.”³⁰⁶ Even though Malabari was an activist in India and a champion of women’s suffrage in England, he still objectified and diminished these female smokers by employing the term ‘little’ repeatedly. The sexualisation continues through his reference to their pretty lips, and how becoming these ‘liberated’ ladies were in the act of smoking. The fact that he found their actions contagious reveals the temptation, reminiscent of Eve with the apple of truth in the Garden of Eden. This performance of masculinity, through the sexualisation and belittling of British ladies, reversed asymmetries of power, and was a form of colonial resistance.

None of my authors mention partaking of any alcoholic drinks, or smoking cigarettes. This is feasibly due to the fact that such actions would be criticised by the Indian public reading their travel writing. Remaining respectable was necessary for all these authors were not permanent residents in metropole but travellers.

³⁰⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.57

³⁰⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893)Pg. 57

³⁰⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.57

7.5: Prostitution:

Prostitution like inebriation, were not subjects addressed by my female authors. The reasons for their silence are unclear. Possibly, fallen women were not appropriate conversation for these refined, British-educated, Indian ladies. Or, perhaps, it challenged their own notions of femininity and leaving them sexualised in the process. Their silence, however, speaks volumes, as it was chosen.

On the other hand, numerous male authors focus on this vice, which, they assert, was often linked to alcohol consumption and addiction. Prostitution was prevalent in turn-of-the-century London, and, on occasion, women propositioned these authors in more or less direct manners. One major tenet of the civilising mission in the nineteenth century was that, “among rude people, the women are generally degraded; among civilized people they are exalted.”³⁰⁷ The civilizing mission, which was allegedly the corner stone of British superiority, could be questioned and denigrated if women were not protected, and worse still, forced into selling their bodies to survive. It was argued by these authors that women sold their bodies at the altar of materialism, money being the true god at the heart of the empire. Additionally, an Indian man who wrote about prostitution positioned himself as a cosmopolitan ‘man of the world.’ Of course, mentioning prostitution did not remove the man’s virtue, as he duly noted the harms incurred by such fallen women.

Awatsing Mahtabsing allocated three groups for women whose morality was at a very low ebb, ‘othering’ these women in the process. Firstly, there were prostitutes and pickpockets who were always bordering on intoxication. He averred that, “some of the most daring of these wretches would surround you and demand money for the purpose of buying beer and if you are alone and not within the easy call of a police man you will be deprived of all what you have.”³⁰⁸ The word ‘wretches’ reveals, that even though Mahtabsing was assaulted, he still pitied the poverty that drove theft, but not the alcohol consumption that it engendered. He positions himself as a superior to these fallen women, even within this colonial context.

Secondly, he evokes the case of unfortunate women, driven by poverty to become criminals, often at the behest of dissolute men, declaring, “they implore alms and are caught by some licentious rake or voluptuous who drop gold into their hands

³⁰⁷ Levine, Philippa, What’s British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism, *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East*, Volume 27, Number 2, 2007, Pg.215

³⁰⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.99

that only had seen copper and thus yielding to the temptations lose their virtue and in course of time bring forth children for the Hospital and become consummate harlots or prostitutes. Such girls you will always find near train termini or public gardens holding a bunch of flowers and offering it for a penny.”³⁰⁹Mahtabsing pities these unfortunate women, whose virtue is tempted by materialism, by the golden hue of money. This is a constant trope in the *Empire Writes Back* collection, as many authors compared the accumulation of money to a religion.³¹⁰ Baijinath phrased it thus: “Your money is the test of your merit....There it is the law of the survival of the fittest and the fittest is he who commands the most money.”³¹¹ Prostitution, often referred to as the first commercial interaction, was the epitome of a consumerist market devoid of morality. Pillai’s sexualized flower girl again makes her appearance but not as purveyor of flowers, but as a purveyor of her own body. Mahtabsing clearly states her occupation, whereas Pillai employed sexualized language in order to convey more subtly her profession.

Finally, the third group entitled ominously as ‘daughters of crime,’ meaning high-class whores, who frequented the best hotels and restaurants in London.³¹² According to Mahtabsing, “they are always finely dressed and fine spoken. They look ravishingly beautiful. A new comer in London cannot distinguish between this daughter of crime and an English lady.”³¹³ Mahtabsing draws a line between ladies and those pretending to be ladies but are truly prostitutes. In keeping with Malabari, he places prostitutions squarely within the classist system; those without morality are not in the upper classes. He endows this third group of women with the power of sorcery, stating, “They will coax you and use all fine language at their command in a most bewitching manner. You cannot free yourself from the witchery of these women, unless you possess a strong mind. This is the time when your passions and moral nature war together and how serious is the conflict can only be realized by those that have undergone such trials. Make up your mind and implore heaven to keep and preserve you in the path of virtue and you will be saved. But if you succumb, woe unto

³⁰⁹ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg.100

³¹⁰ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.165

³¹¹ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.165

³¹² Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.99

³¹³ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg. 100

you and you are undone for ever.”³¹⁴ His choice of vocabulary is very telling with words such as coax, bewitching, witchery and passions. These women tempt him, but he places the onus of responsibility on their shoulders, as they are the ones bewitching him. He continues in this vein with the words passion and trials. The religious imagery is apparent as his morality is being tried and only heaven can keep his virtue intact. He ends this paragraph by stating that if men succumb to this vice of the flesh purveyed by these women of ill repute, they will be lost forever. Mahtabsing was apparently only tempted by this third group, and therefore finds them the most dangerous to his virtue.

This division of prostitutes into three groups says a great deal about Mahtabsing’s own definition of morality, as it differentiates between those women that chose to be a “whore,” rather than being forced into prostitution due to economic necessity. Even his choice of vocabulary is revealing, as the word “whore,” attributed only to the third group, is more vulgar than prostitute.

Malabari, as was the case with alcohol, firmly places this vice within the confines of the lower classes. He is also a firm believer in women helping women, commenting, “Every such girl saved from the pavement is a gain to society. I am glad to see strenuous efforts made in this behalf by women themselves. That is the most effective agency.”³¹⁵ His secondary solution is radical for the time but reveals him to be a man ahead of era, “I should like to see movements get up to induce employers of labour, especially skilled labour, to observe the same scale of wages between men and women, where the quality of the work done is the same. It is the small prejudices of the other sex that rankle women most.”³¹⁶ Asking for equal pay for equal work is still a refrain today, but his rationale is different. He argues that women are ‘rankled’ by this inequality, but is this anger the reason they truly turn to prostitution, or is it more economic necessity? Even though, Malabari is heralded in all of my secondary texts on this subject, his arguments, although avant-gardist for the time frame, reveal deep classism and a degree of sexism.

³¹⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 1. Mahtabsing, Awatsing, *Something about my trip to Europe* (Sukkur, 1905) Pg.101

³¹⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.71

³¹⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg. 71

7.6- Conclusion

These trans-nationalist travellers were shocked by the harsh realities of poverty in the capital of this vast empire. “In the flesh, the British utopia became fallible;” the civilising mission challengeable, at least, in regards to the lower classes.³¹⁷ Women in London were in the public sphere, viewable and open to judgement. The judgments rendered were mostly positive in regards to workingwomen, and their capabilities, by both men and female travellers. However, only male authors evoked the topic of female sexuality, especially in regards to street vendors, and more specifically flower girls.³¹⁸ Certain other careers, regardless of their particular merits, were found to ‘unsex’ women workers.³¹⁹ This performance of masculinity, through the sexualisation and belittling of British women, reversed asymmetries of power, and was a form of colonial resistance.

Alcohol abuse was found to be abhorrent by all male authors, and barely discussed by female authors.³²⁰ This trope was also gendered, as drunken women were clearly found to be more repugnant and shameful than drunken men.³²¹ Even wife battery was blamed on wives nagging their husbands, thus forcing the latter to drink in order to survive their interminable lives of poverty with unbearable wives.³²² Female authors tended to focus on the benefits of a freer society with women working, making purchases and being visible in the public sphere. Male authors admired capable workingwomen; however, they also shed light on the lives of poor, the curse of alcohol and the lack of morality that existed in the centre of the empire. Prostitution, alcohol, cigarettes – London was a mercantile, consumerist nirvana but at what price? To these male authors morality itself had been bought. Commercial exploitation, known in India under direct rule, existed at the core of the empire, with the British government pocketing revenue from taxes on purchased alcohol.³²³

³¹⁷ Codell, Julie F., ‘Reversing the Grand Tour: Guest Discourse in Indian Travel Narratives’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (2007). Pg.175

³¹⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.37

³¹⁹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903).Pg. 406

³²⁰ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.57

³²¹ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.51

³²² Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.57

³²³ Visram, Rozina, *Asians in Britain 400 years of History* (UK), 2002 Pg.116

Chapter 8: Final Conclusion

The British Empire with its Indian travellers was a complex geographical and cultural space. These Indian voy(ag)eurs' experiences in London between 1870-1920 arose on the backdrop of economic and political domination on the Indian subcontinent. A hierarchical yet intertwined colonial system emerged and notions of home and away became less applicable. The Empire was connected also through discourse and the movements of individuals to and from the metropole. Thus, the Indian travellers were a physical link between India and London.

This thesis challenges two long running historiographical debates; firstly, the usage of centre and periphery, with travellers voyaging from the centre to the periphery, and the contrary. This is still a useful dichotomy, as perceptions are constructed through cultural background. However, Indians travellers to the centre recognized that even London had poor people, alcohol issues and prostitution; thus, the alleged notion of a pristine, more "civilized" core was challenged. Secondly, I question the usage of Orientalism and Occidentalism, which consists of two supposedly oppositional angles of view. Within this thesis, I argue that Occidental views exist from individuals who have already been viewed through Orientalist eyes. Therefore, these two forms of "othering" are intrinsically linked, rather than diametrical opposites.

Comparing and contrasting male and female voya(ag)eurs within the *Empire Writes Back* collection has proven to be an eye-opening experience. My hypothesis, before commencing my research, was that Indian men and women would differ substantially in how they viewed women in London through their Occidental gaze. However, my findings were not so easily divisible into gender categories, except in regards to my last sub-question with impoverished women. However, it is important to note that any such comparisons are limited in scope due to the fact that there are only three female authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection and only eight male authors that evoke gender and gender roles.

Returning to my main research question: *Why, where and when do male and female Indian Voy(ag)eurs agree or disagree in their vision of women in London between 1870 and 1920?* Firstly, all these travellers, bar one (Mary Carpenter), are Indian. As such, these authors, regardless of gender, sought for an improved and

modernized India. London was employed as a mirror, reflecting different approaches to gender and gender roles. The authors' vision of this new India varied; as did their ability to openly state their opinion. The three female authors frequently negotiate between different discourses in conflict derived from unequal power relations.³²⁴ On numerous occasions, they resist the dominant discourse, challenge accepted mores, but always with finesse. This finesse was necessary to constantly remain respectable in order to gain male approbation for their views. Whereas, the male authors, although often dealing with the same subjects, are more direct in their assertions. Their power dynamic is firmly anchored in their masculinity. There is, however, a certain degree of mimicry that occurs, linked with the developing cultural hybridity of these Indians.³²⁵

In regards to marriage, I have demonstrated that female and male authors differ in where they direct their vision. Raghavavyya and Bhore herald upper-class marriages as a more civilised and progressive approach to gender relations, as both husband and wife benefit from this more equal relationship.³²⁶ They actively condemn the situation in India with the practices of child marriage and sati, and use London upper-classes marriages as an example to be copied in India.³²⁷ The majority of the male travellers agree with this opinion in regards to upper-class marriage, and also condemn child marriage and sati in India. However, Datta is the only author that challenges the notion that these relationships are truly equal. He argues that women must marry and are educated to be good wives, not complete individuals.³²⁸ The major difference is that male authors also direct their Occidental gaze towards poorer families, revealing less harmonious marital relations, often due to a lack of money and education. The female authors only reveal arguments that support their claims for increased equality in India in the private sphere. Male authors take a more general approach, which is actually more inclusive of differing socio-economic groups, creating a less radiant picture of marriage in London.

³²⁴ Mills, Sara. "Discourse: The new critical idiom." *London and New York: Routledge* (1997). Pg.70

³²⁵ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol.1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.XV

³²⁶ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Raghavavyya, Pothum, *Pictures of England* (Calcutta, 1877)Pg.114

³²⁷ Erasmus University Library. *The Empire Writes Back collection*, part I. Reel 1. Bhore, Mary, *Some impressions of England* (Poona, 1900) Pg.38

³²⁸ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.89

Concerning education, I have proven that the opinions of male and female authors were less linked to their gender but more towards their concepts of gender roles and equality. Most authors, both male and female, saw the advantages of educating females both in England and consequently in India. Raghavavyya and Bhore herald education, whether it is intellectual or physical. However, two male authors, Pillai and Nadkarni, criticize physical education for females as it creates ‘manly’ women.³²⁹ Pillai disagrees with all other authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, as he admits the advantages of education for the British, but argues that Indian women are not intellectually capable of benefitting from said education.³³⁰ Pillai’s stance can be viewed as form a colonial resistance, a refusal to be dominated within the private sphere; or, simply as a form of male dominance within an Indian society, where women were often considered as second-class citizens.³³¹ Also, mass female education would radically change Indian society. Datta, on the other hand, openly criticizes the limits to female education in England, finding education was means to capture a husband, rather than develop female minds.³³² Female education is a divisive subject for the male authors for a multitude of reasons. However, the three female travellers tout the benefits of education for all women, in England and India. The key difference between male and female writers is the constraints upon their discourse. Male writers assert their differing discourses only within the confines of the colonial context, which meant confining criticism to the lower classes within British society. Female authors have to negotiate space within numerous discourses in conflict, explaining why female authors cater their arguments to a male audience, within a colonial context, while remaining respectable. Remaining respectable required a constant reference to proper conduct in the public sphere.

Unlike in India, women in London were in the public sphere, viewable and open to judgement. Male and female authors both “othered” these women, who were omnipresent on the streets and in shops in the ever-crowded capital. However, the

³²⁹ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg.66

³³⁰ Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 8. Pillai, G.P., *London and Paris through Indian spectacles* (Madras, 1897) Pg. 59

³³¹ Lahiri, Shompa. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race and identity, 1880-1930*. Vol. 1. Psychology Press, 2000. Pg.168

³³² Erasmus University Library. *Empire Writes Back* collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890). Pg.89

judgments rendered were mostly positive in regards to workingwomen, if their employment was deemed respectable.

Conversely, I argue that female and male travellers do differ in their vision of and treatment of impoverished women, prostitution and alcohol abuse. Male travellers evoked the topic of female sexuality, but only in regards to lower-class women, as upper-class ladies were unassailable figures.³³³ Female travellers, however, did not evoke sexuality as perhaps it affected their own notions of femininity and left them sexualised in the process. Their silence, however, speaks volumes, as it was chosen. By choosing silence on topics that sexualized or demeaned women, female travellers could orientate the discourse towards increased freedom and education for women in India.

Alcohol abuse was found to be abhorrent by all male authors, and barely discussed by female authors.³³⁴ This trope was also gendered, as drunken women were clearly found to be more repugnant and shameful than drunken men.³³⁵ Female authors tended to focus on the benefits of a freer society with women working, making purchases and being visible in the public sphere. Male authors admired capable workingwomen; however, they also shed light on the lives of poor, the curse of alcohol and the lack of morality that existed in the centre of the empire.

The male and female travellers' views on gender and gender roles offer a startling vision, less about their own gender, than about a desire for a more modern India. Their perceptions stemmed from Indian culture, from being 'othered' at home, and through their eyes gender is viewed and reviewed both in London and in India.

My research is far from complete on this complex and fascinating topic. My findings are limited by the scarcity of female authors within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection. Also, the approach is elitist as all the authors studied are from higher socio-economic groups, but it is the best collection of material available. The fact that the majority of the sources are in English reveals the importance of the dominant language of the Empire. However, Indian women employ the English language in their quest for gender equality against the male dominated society; thus dominant becomes sub-altern.

³³³ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 4. Nadkarni, Ghanasyama, *Journal of a visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903) Pg. 406

³³⁴ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 3. Datta, Rameschandra, *Three Years in Europe* (Calcutta, 1890) Pg.57

³³⁵ Erasmus University Library. Empire Writes Back collection, part I. Reel 5. Malabari, Behramji, *The Indian Eye on English life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London, 1893) Pg.51

My research has taught me that this fascinating topic deserves further study to do justice to these Indian travellers who made this journey to the heart of the Empire, and “wrote back.” In order to stay within the word limit of this Master’s thesis, I, unfortunately, could not exploit all the sources within the *Empire Writes Back* Collection, which was highly frustrating. Also, there are collections of letters and journals located in different libraries that could further shed light on this topic. I found that studying fewer authors would have allowed for a deeper contextualization of their stance in regards to gender. Finally, a more in depth study of gender and gender roles in India would benefit this research. This topic is highly complex and deeply fascinating as through the study of the past, current situations in both England and India are more comprehensible. It has enthralled me for the last six months, and has motivated my decision to continue within this avenue of study at the doctoral level.

I have chosen to end my Master’s Thesis with a quote from John Richard Green (1837-1883), known as the people’s historian.³³⁶ His words sum up the notion that the British Empire was as much a part of the periphery as the core, an interconnected cultural terrain of moving goods and peoples.

“England is only a small part of the outcome of English history. Its greater issues lie not within the narrow limits of the mother island, but in the destinies of nations yet to be.”³³⁷

³³⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Short_History_of_the_English_People (accessed 24-07-15)

³³⁷ http://www.archive.org/stream/tellitingath00osgogoog/tellitingath00osgogoog_djvu.txt(accessed 24-07-15)

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Appendix 1:

This is an excerpt from a travel document that I have studied during the course of the Master's Thesis.

The author is Ghanasyama Nikantha Nadkarni, and his work is entitled: *Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896* (Bombay, 1903)

Nadkarni Pg. 405

