ART IN INDIA'S 'AGE OF REFORM'

Amateurs, Print Culture, and the Transformation of the East India Company, c.1813-1858

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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Art in India's 'Age of Reform'

Acknowledgements

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Many of my close friends and academic peers have been invaluable in providing a combination of intellectual discussion, advice, and personal support. From within my field, I have benefited from conversations with Siddhartha Shah, Sria Chatterjee, Anshul Avijit, and Joshua Ehrlich, and have also run stimulating seminar series with Julien Domercq, Matthew Lasnoski, and Sacha Zdandov. Otto Saumarez Smith and Emily Guerry were instrumental in several funding proposals, whilst Julia Nowicka has repeatedly read through drafts. Besides her continued friendship and support, she has been my most usefully-harsh editor.

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Memorial in Kolkata, and Chitta Panda kindly helped me gain access to the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

I spent the final months of the project 'writing-up' in the idyllic city of Florence, affiliated as a research fellow with the Kunsthistorisches Institut. I could not have asked for a more enjoyable or stimulating place to bring the work to completion. The members of the research group 'Objects in the Contact Zone', whom I joined, provided both friendship and intellectual debate. For the opportunity to study in this beautiful city, alongside countless insightful conversations about transnational art history, I owe a significant debt of gratitude to Eva-Maria Troelenberg.

Now that it is finished, I find it remarkable how clearly certain themes in the work reflect autobiographical concerns or decisions. I first visited North India in 2012, on a 'holiday' that ill-timedly coincided with the monsoon's peak, but which provided in compensation my first experience of mango season. I was evidently hooked - it is from this point on that I began to research and write about nineteenth-century art in India, and I will always be enormously grateful to the Bakshi family's unfaulting generosity whilst hosting me during this first stay.

Additionally, I have noticed the subtle effects of two other influences on the outcome of this PhD, both seemingly bubbled up from my childhood and into the concerns of what follows. I initially planned to research India's eighteenth century, but was inexplicably drawn to the Regency era, and eventually wrote over one-half of the project on a total epitome of Regency taste and fashion - Sir Charles D'Oyly. I have no doubt that the memory of frequent family visits to Regency-era National Trust properties made an impact somewhere along the line. Second, the final chapter of this thesis encapsulates a concern with the relationship between art, industry, and Victorian society that seems an inescapable interest growing up in the North-West of England, where the legacy of the Industrial Revolution is palpable, and with the Walker and Lady Lever as my two closest and most formative art galleries. For introducing me to these childhood influences, alongside an unflinching support in their academic development, I owe the greatest debt to my family.

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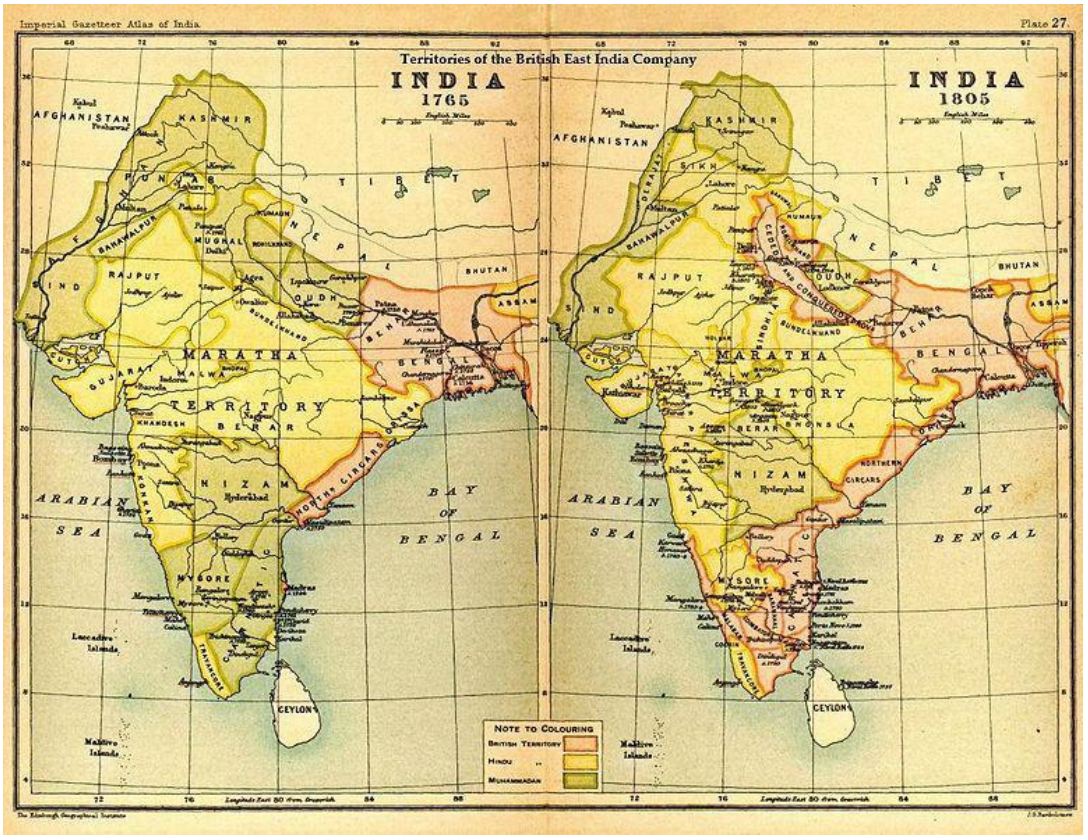

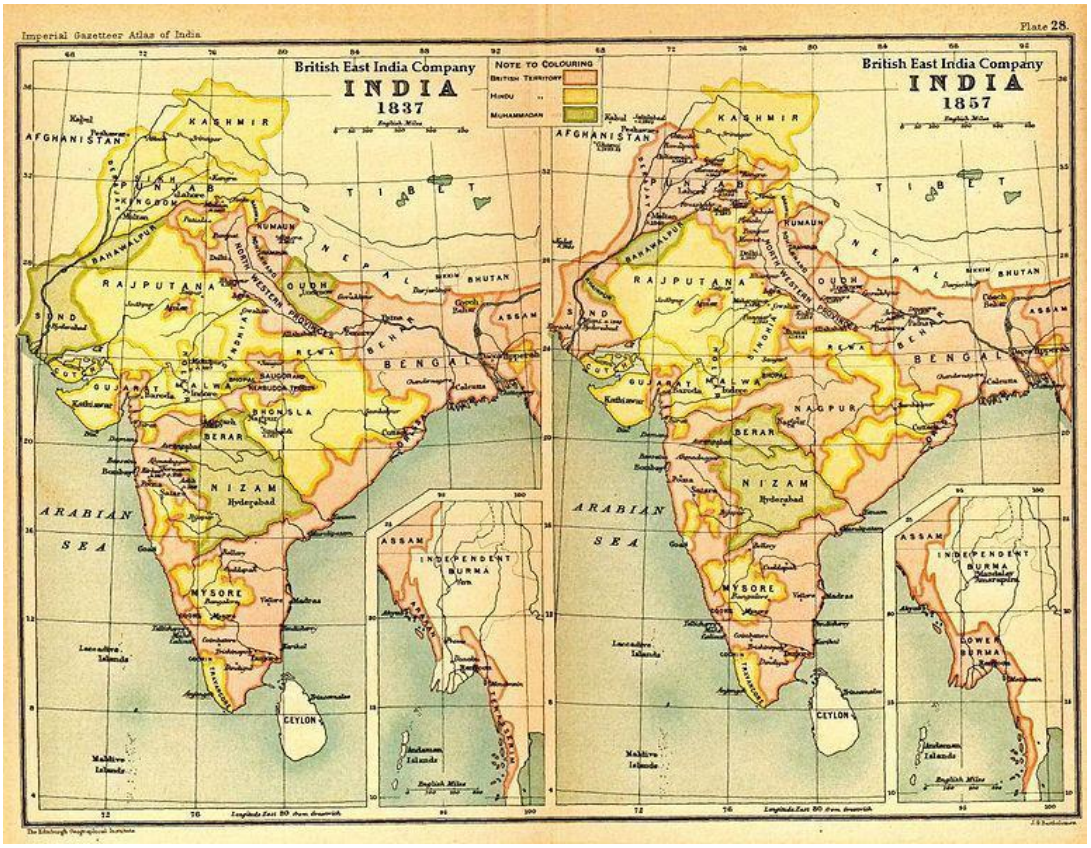

Frontispiece: The Expansion of Company Territory in India, 1765-1857.

- *Introduction* -

1. Merchant to Emperor? Two Images of British India

'The first origin of the evil is, that the merchant is become the sovereign; that a trading company have in their hands the exercise of a sovereignty'

- *Thomas Pownall,* 1773 [1]

I begin with two iconic depictions of British India, painted almost a century apart. The first is *Colonel Mordaunt's Cockmatch* (*fig*:1), completed in 1788 by the renowned German artist Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), and featuring a tumultuous scene of colonial politics at the Lucknawi court of *Nawab Wazir* Asaf-ud-Dowlah (1748-1797). Sexual innuendo is used to portray the Nawab's court as base and debauched, fuelled by desire rather than European 'reason'. The central and conspicuously-aroused *Nawab* gestures towards his chief minister and 'favourite' bodyguard Hassan Resa Khan, who is avidly engaged in a 'cockfight'.[2] Dressed in white and facing the *Nawab* is Mordaunt himself, the illegitimate and largely illiterate son of the Earl of Peterborough, who was paid to provide Asaf-ud-Dowlah with such extravagant entertainments.[3] Observing the 'barbarous amusement' from the scene's margins are several of the *Nawab's* notable European retainers.[4] Seated on a dais is French adventurer Colonel Claude Martin, supposedly the only known man to have successfully completed surgery on himself.[5] Just behind him is the East India Company's paymaster, John Wombwell, shown enjoying his *hookah* pipe, whilst to his right stands the haughty Colonel Antoine Polier, a Swiss engineer who made a handsome fortune in India, only then to be stabbed to death by Revolutionaries after an inopportune entry into the French aristocracy.[6] This depiction of

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[1] Pownall, Thomas, *Right, Interest, and Duty, of Government, as Concerned in the Affairs of the East Indies,* (London: J. Almon, 1781), p.3.

[2] The Nawab's sexuality was included in British descriptions of Oriental 'deviancy'. Lewis Ferdinand Smith recounted that despite a vast *harem*, the Nawab 'has many adopted children, but none of his own', and that 'he has never fulfilled the duties of a husband'. Cited in: Archer, Mildred, *India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825,* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers for Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1979), p.144.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Captain Robert Smith cited in: Archer, (1979), p.148.

[5] On Martin, see: Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, *A Man of the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century India: The Letters of Claude Martin, 1766-1800,* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2003); and *Ibid.*, *A Very Ingenious Man, Claude Martin in Early Colonial India,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[6] On Polier, see: Alam, Muzaffar, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I'Jāz-i Arsalānī (Persian Letters 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Lucknow's 'carnivalesque' court and the eccentric coterie of Europeans in its employ was commissioned by Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the first Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William, and under whose tenureship the Company's increasingly territorial ambitions turned towards post-Mughal polities like the *Nawab's*.

The second image, *The Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi* (*fig*:2), was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1880, and constituted the three-year labour of Valentine Cameron Prinsep (1838-1904). This artist had landed in the bustling port of Bombay on the 5th December, 1876, returning to the country of his birth for the first time since his departure for an English education at the age of four.[7] The official purpose of this subcontinental reunion was to capture in paint the spectacular 1877 Imperial *Durbar* at which Queen Victoria would be proclaimed Empress of India.[8] The resulting canvas was vast, measuring ten by twenty-seven feet, and proclaimed the grandeur of imperial Britain's power in a riotous blaze of colours and neo-medieval pageantry. According to Bernard Cohn, the *Durbar* constituted the 'completion of the symbolic-cultural constitution of British India'.[9] Held just twenty years after the desacralisation of Delhi and the suppression of the Indian 'Mutiny' of 1858 (also known as the First War of Indian Independence),[10] Prinsep's canvas brought back to London a potent image of the Victorian State's assumption of colonial sovereignty in South Asia.[11]

In the first image, the site of colonial politics is cast as a vibrant world of opportunity, vice, and 'cultural exchange'; in the second, the vivid colours and fabrics of the former have been regulated within a system of evident hierarchy. Set in conversation like this, Zoffany's and Prinsep's canvases thus work to reinforce two images of British India that continue to persist in the modern imagination. The former substantiates characterisations of the eighteenth century as a world of incipient multiculturalism, of sexual adventure amidst the hazy smoke of *hookah* pipes. On the contrary, the latter embodies the supposed grandeur of the Victorian Raj, its vast public buildings

[7] Details of Prinsep's voyage to India are contained in a journal that he published on his return. See: Prinsep, Valentine Cameron, *Imperial India: An Artist's Journals*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879).

[8] The painter would spend several months after the *Durbar* weaving between the courts of India's remaining princely states, collecting portraits of the *rajas* and *maharajas* that had been present, before then returning to London in 1879.

[9] Cohn, Bernard, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger (*eds.*), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.165-209, p.179.

[10] The term was used both contemporaneously and by later nationalist historians. See: Marx, Karl, and Frederich Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence, 1857–1859*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960); and Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar, *The Indian War of Independence: National Rising of 1857*, (London: Anon. Pub., 1909).

[11] Of course, this did not necessarily mean that it was received as such. Sean Wilcox has demonstrated that some critics reacted uneasily to the work's vibrant colours and unusual composition. See: Wilcox, Sean, 'Composing the Spectacle: Colonial Portraiture and the Coronation Durbars of British India, c.1877-1911', in *Art History*, Vol.40, Issue 1, (February, 2017), pp.132–155.

and stiff upper lip.[12] Whilst rooted in select truths, these over-generalised periodisations have remained so pervasive because they help to conceptualise a fundamental shift in the nature of British colonialism in South Asia. As Thomas Pownall remarked as early as 1773, they give engaging historical identities to a process through which 'the merchant is become the sovereign'.[13]

As recent historians have demonstrated, the fundamental tenets of this narrative were established in the nineteenth century as a means to vindicate the assumption of colonial rule by the British State. The Battle of Plassey in 1757, and the subsequent grant of the Mughal *diwani* - or the right to administer and collect revenue in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa following the Battle of Buxar in 1764 - had transformed a chartered trading venture into a territorial power, rendering it 'not merely an anomaly but a nuisance' in John Babington Macaulay's infamous opinion.[14] For many, the Company constituted a 'rogue state' commanded by 'mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them'.[15] As a consequence, only greater British involvement was thought capable of remedying the situation, converting this nuisance into a 'beneficial anomaly' that might function as a force for moral improvement and just rule.[16] Supposedly devoid of a genuine imperial strategy, the improper meddlings of a trading venture were thus believed to have ethically impelled Britain to adopt a position of total supremacy in India. In 1883, Sir John Seeley pithily summarised a popular belief that Britain had 'conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind'.[17] For many contemporary historians, the moral necessity of this transformation is circumspect, yet the chronology remains essentially the same. In William Dalrymple's widely influential *White Mughals* (2002), for instance, the period portrayed by Zoffany is characterised as an era of genuine cross-cultural exchange, a moment of fluid racial identities that was sadly eclipsed by the Victorian Raj and the rigid hierarchical distinctions portrayed in Val Prinsep's vast canvas.[18] In both chronologies - be it the

[12] The swashbuckling image of the first serves as the perfect backdrop for television programmes like *Sharpe's Challenge* (2006), in which a typecast Sean Bean battles a roguish Company officer and a scheming concubine; whilst the pomp of the second serves as the perfect excuse for a sudden efflorescence of shows in which *Downton Abbey* meets India, including *Indian Summers* (2015-), *Viceroy's House* (2017), and *Victoria and Abdul* (2017).

[13] Pownall, (1781), p.3.

[14] Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 'Lord Clive', (1840) in *Critical and Historical Essays contributed to 'The Edinburgh Review'* (London: 1884), pp.498-99.

[15] *Ibid*, p.526.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Seeley, John R., *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lecture*, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), p.170. This quote is often discussed as if it was Seeley's opinion, rather than his remark on the opinions of the British public.

[18] Dalrymple, William, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2004). This work has (perhaps unfairly) become something of a methodological strawman, and is cited by a number of authors seeking to challenge the idea of a more 'racially fluid' world in eighteenth-century India. See: Jasanoff, Maya, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850*, (London: Fourth Estate, 2005); Chatterjee, Partha, *The*

nineteenth century's story of vice to probity, or a contemporary rueing of dialogue lost to dominance - a dramatic *cultural* gulf is understood to have separated Britain's late eighteenth- and late nineteenth-century engagement with India.

In recent decades, several pioneering historians have sought to redefine this chronology, adding nuance to our understanding of the changes and continuities that the shift from Company to Victorian Raj entailed.[19] Yet art historians have made no comparable reassessment, focusing on either the efflorescence of artistic activity that occurred during the last decades of the eighteenth-century, or the construction of grand architectural programmes and the institutionalisation of artistic education in the late-Victorian colony.[20] The cultural gulf between these two periods is even characterised quite literally as an artistic lacuna, the result of a bureaucratic administration with

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Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Ghosh, Durba, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[19] I will deal with these novel historical frameworks in more depth later in this introduction. Excellent studies charting the transformation of the East India Company first into a territorial power, then into an administrative bureau of the British State, include: Bowen, H. V., *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *Ibid*, '"No Longer Mere Traders": Continuities and Change in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600–1834', in Bowen, H. V., Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby (*eds.*), *The Worlds of the East India Company*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002); Bayly, Christopher, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); *Ibid*, 'The British Military-Fiscal State and Indigenous Resistance: India 1750–1820', in Stone, Lawrence (*ed.*), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Sen, Sudipta, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India*, (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[20] Studies of Company-era art typically end at, or skip over, the decades immediately following 1820 - even if the title suggests otherwise. For example: Archer, (1979); Pal, Pratapaditya, and Vidya Dehejia, *From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); de Almeida, Hermione, and Gilpin, George H., *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); McAleer, John, *Picturing India: People, Places and the World of the East India Company*, (London: The British Library, 2017). Whilst the Victorian Raj has received slightly more attention from art historians, this period also suffers from the preoccupation of scholarship with the eighteenth century. As Sean Willcock has suggested, 'the practices of Victorian-era colonial artists in India...have so far been repeatedly sidelined in a body of research that has otherwise started to provide highly nuanced assessments of equivalent colonial artists working in the eighteenth century, or [modernist] Indian artists working in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'. Willcock, Sean, *The Aesthetics of Imperial Crisis: Image Making and Intervention in British India, c.1857-1919*, (unpublished PhD thesis, 2013). Nevertheless, studies such as Tim Barringer's *Men at Work* have ably traced the monumental construction of Bombay's Victoria Terminus between 1878 and 1888 (now known as the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus), whilst Thomas Metcalfe has examined the Victorian Raj's articulation of imperial grandeur through monumental architectural schemes. See: Barringer, Tim, *Men at Work: Art and Labor in Victorian Britain*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); and Metcalf, Thomas, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Research on the extravagant Durbars of 1877, 1903, and 1911 have further contributed to our understanding of Victorian and Edwardian Britain's careful deployment of art, architecture and cultural spectacle to express political ideology in India. See: Cohn, (1983); Wilcock, (2017). Accordingly, it is clear that if the post-1858 art history of British India remains 'sidelined', then art in the last decades of the Company's rule has disappeared altogether down the fissures that separate scholarship on the Company Raj and the Victorian Empire.

limited taste and wealth.[21] Art in British India therefore continues to be studied as either the product of an unregulated world of Company capitalism, or the state-sponsored initiatives of the Victorian monarchy. Between the apparent dichotomy of these regimes, cultural production is understood to have simply ebbed.

Reassessing the art history of the near-century between *Colonel Mordaunt's Cockfight* and *The Imperial Assemblage at Delhi* thus collides three contradictory historiographical traditions. First, the traditional historical account of British India emphasises the increasing centralisation and reach of the British State - beginning in the crises of 'dual sovereignty' precipitated at Plassey, and resolving itself in Parliament's assumption of the Company's activities following the 1858 Government of India Act.[22] Second, the prevailing art-historical narrative contends that, over this same period, artistic patronage and production in the subcontinent declined dramatically. Yet, over the last two decades, the field of British art history has sought to give prominence to the instrumentality of art and culture in the political processes of British imperialism and the consolidation of the Nation-State - a trend deeply indebted to the vigour of postcolonial, culturalist, and poststructuralist theory in the Humanities.[23] Together, these historiographical traditions therefore produce the following, quite contradictory account: that despite the supposed importance of art and culture to both British colonialism and state-formation, artistic patronage and production diminished over the exact period in which the British State emerged triumphant in the subcontinent. Unravelling this historiographical paradox is the guiding ambition of *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'*. Over the remainder of this introduction, I am going to establish these historiographical traditions in more detail - focusing first on the way that art historians have variously characterised the first half of India's nineteenth century as a cultural backwater, before then tracing the contradictory precepts enshrined in the growing oeuvre that explores the interconnection of British art, state-formation, and imperialism. After doing so, I will set out the key intervention that *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* seeks to achieve: the production of a novel historical framework that not only uncovers the rich art history of British India during the first half of the nineteenth century, but uses the evidence of this art history to nuance the cultural basis on which the polarised *Zeitgeists* implicit in the 'merchant to emperor' narrative are habitually reinforced.

[21] See: Section ii below, 'Decline and Fall? Art and Its Trajectories in British India'.

[22] The term 'dual sovereignty' was used in Edmund Burke's notorious attack on the Company during the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings. See: Burke, Edmund, *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, Vol.VII: Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, (London: Bell & Daldy, 1870), p.58.

[23] See: Section iii below, 'Art and Imperial Britain: State, Nation, Empire'.

ii. Decline and Fall? Art and its Trajectories in British India

The notion that art declined over the first half of the nineteenth century is certainly not a new one, and can even be found in the writings of Val Prinsep. On his return to England in 1878, the wearied artist wrote a journal of his extensive travels that presented a deeply nostalgic view of the country - perhaps unsurprisingly for a man briefly reunited with the Anglo-Indian[24] world of his forefathers.[25] Romanticising the early days of British rule and denouncing what he saw as the contemporary ills of the Victorian Raj, Prinsep's narrative combined personal nostalgia with a self-aggrandizing myopia of fellow painters, formulating what would become a highly influential critique of India's decline as an artistic muse. In a rhetorical flourish to the work's concluding paragraph, he reproached his 'brother labourers in the arts' for leaving the country 'sadly neglected', and lamented 'the old time' of almost a century prior, when India had been 'painted by Zoffany and Daniel, both Royal Academicians'.[26] For this painter, then, it was not only a political gulf that stood between his canvas and Zoffany's, but an artistic one.

In reality, of course, Prinsep was by no means the first professional artist to engage with the subcontinent since the Daniels had concluded their nine-year voyage across the country in 1794, and, rather ironically, nor was he the first to bemoan the country's supposed cultural atrophy. In *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch* (1849) the artist Colesworthy Grant (1813-1880) had similarly decried 'the almost non-existence of the fine arts' in India,[27] whilst before him the Anglo-Indian amateur Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845) had damned the country as 'famous for empty white walls'.[28] Contemporary periodicals myopically declared Grant's artistic activities as 'laying the foundation of the fine arts in India',[29] and amateur societies struggled to 'raise the fine arts from their present

[24] Throughout this PhD, 'Anglo-Indian' refers to men and women resident in India, as well as their family members. This is an attempt to capture the familial networks and identities that were associated with Company service throughout the period - during which national demonyms were employed far more fluidly.

[25] Prinsep, (1888).

[26] *Ibid.*, pp.350-351.

[27] Grant, Colesworthy, *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch: A letter from an Artist in India to his Mother in England*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1849), p.i.

[28] *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens*, (Patna: 1824-c.1826), f.183. For more information on this manuscript, see the Prologue to Part I.

[29] Quoted in: Mittra, Peary Chand, *Life of Colesworthy Grant, Founder and Late Honorary Secretary of the Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*, (Calcutta: I.C. Bose, 1881), p.5.

dormant state'.[30] Likewise, and just seven years before Prinsep's own statements, the amateur artist William Tayler had used his popular autobiography to decry how 'Calcutta was not propitious to the cultivation of art; there were not professional artists, no public galleries, and very few pictures worth seeing, in the possession of private individuals'.[31] Accordingly, India 'was not a country where art was appreciated'.[32] This trend did not conclude, either, with Prinsep's rather poetic rendition of the conceit. Writing just four years after the painter's journal was published in 1888, William H. Carey emphatically reiterated the artist's sentiments in *The Good Old Days of the Honourable John Company,* a work that despite developing a Whig history of the 'improvement and progress...[made] during the Government of the East India Company', nevertheless decried how European art seemed 'to wither amid the arid plains of Hindostan'.[33]

Anxiety over the 'state of the arts' had, crucially, constituted a *leitmotiv* of British art theory from at least the early eighteenth century - employed for varying purposes by authors with a range of personal and political interests.[34] Most famously, in 1768 Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) had used his first presidential *Discourse* at the Royal Academy to question why 'Britain should so long have wanted an ornament so suitable to its greatness', promising instead a new golden age of British 'elegance and refinement'.[35] By 1835 many commentators were still sceptical - the Radical MP William Ewart (1798-1869) spoke for many when he condemned the Nation's art as 'standing in a lower degree than that of almost any other country' in Europe.[36] In 1841 Ewart was even assigned the chair of a parliamentary select committee tasked with the decoration of the new Palace of Westminster, which considered one of its broader objectives to be the 'extension among the people

[30] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), p.102.

[31] William, Tayler, *Thirty-Eight Years in India: from Juganath to the Himalaya Mountains, Vol.I*, (London: W. H. Allen, 1881), p.95.

[32] *Ibid,* p.476.

[33] Carey, W. H., *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company: Being Curious Reminiscences Illustrating Manners and Customs of the British in India during the Rule of the East India Company, from 1600 to 1858*, (Simla: Argus Press, 1882-87), Vol.II, p.235.

[34] For an assessment of this theme during the specific period in which these writers were working, see: Winter, Emma L., 'German Fresco Painting and the New Houses of Parliament at Westminster, 1834-1851', in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.47, Issue 2, (June, 2004), pp.291-329.

[35] Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 'A Discourse Delivered at the Opening of the Royal Academy, January 2nd, 1769, by the President', in Reynolds, Sir Joshua, and Morley, H., *Seven Discourses on Art by Sir Joshua Reynolds*, (London: Cassell & Company, 1888). This quote has now been used by several scholars in their analyses of the connections between art and empire. See: Crowley, John, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745-1820,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Hoock, Holger, *The King's Artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture, 1760-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Kriz, Kay Dian, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Quilley, Geoff, *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Fordham, Douglas, *British Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[36] *Parliamentary Debates*, (1835), XXIX, p.554.

of this country, a taste for the arts - which they yet much wanted - and at the same time raising the character of the artists of this country'.[37] Whilst art historians now frame these Georgian and Victorian polemics within their appropriate ideological contexts, however, it is remarkable just how thoroughly comparable nineteenth-century lamentations over the state of the Anglo-Indian art scene were absorbed into critical scholarship over the course of the twentieth century.

Sir William Foster (1863-1951), the Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, was the first to proffer a critical explanation to substantiate this narrative of decline, writing in the *Volume of the Walpole Society* in 1930-31 that 'in the early days, when fortunes were easily made, the East India Company's servants were munificent patrons; but, as time went on, incomes declined and an increasing disposition was shown to defer an outlay of this character until the days of retirement'.[38] Foster's basic premise became the authoritative interpretation when it was adopted by Mildred Archer (1911-2005), whose extensive oeuvre almost single-handedly established the study of Anglo-Indian and 'Company art' as an academic field during the second-half of the twentieth century. In *Indian Painting for the British*, co-authored in 1955 with her husband William, Archer explained that the dearth of cultural activity following the 1830s resulted from a 'new spirit discernible' in the Company's increasingly bureaucratic civil service,[39] attendant to a 'decline in sensibility' and the 'extinction of the amateur artist'.[40] Confounding matters, 'as the Indian continent was finally conquered and occupied, it lost much of its novelty'.[41] This chronology, coupled with Archer's fetishistic focus on 'fine art' - predominantly oil and miniature paintings - resulted in her seminal 1979 monograph, *India and British Portraiture* 1770-1825, focusing narrowly on the period 1770-1825, with just three of the artists examined actually remaining in India following the Charter Act of 1813, with which the present study opens.[42]

Symptomatic of her continuing influence in the field more generally, Archer's account remains largely uncontested. In a 1981 essay, Clive Dewey conceded that 'what went wrong with Anglo-Indian art in the second quarter of the nineteenth century is harder to establish than what went right in the last quarter of the eighteenth', although, drawing on Archer, he did tender the combined factors of London's expanding art market, dwindling patronage in Asia, and the

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Foster, Sir William, 'British Artists in India, 1760-1820', in *Volume of the Walpole Society*, (1930-31), p.1.

[39] Archer, Mildred, and William George Archer, *Indian Painting for the British, 1770-1880: An Essay*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.100.

[40] *Ibid.*, p.104, p.103.

[41] *Ibid.*, p.103.

[42] Archer, (1979).

proposition that 'metropolitan taste, also, was turning against India'.[43] The most recent art-historical account of the Company, John McAleer's *Picturing India: People, Places and the World of the East India Company* (2017), set out to chart the cultural basis on which a 'retail dealer in muslins and indigos' transformed into the preeminent presence in South-Asian politics.[44] The result is both informative and insightful, yet McAleer's focus on the transformation of the Company from a mercantile venture into a territorial power understandably leads the author to focus less on the decades following 1813, when the Company was essentially consolidated into an administrative bureau of the British State. This focus results in a notable dearth of artists working in the 1830s and 1840s, thereby privileging once more the cultural importance of the decades surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century.[45]

The pervasiveness of this decline narrative is demonstrated further by its incorporation within two landmark exhibitions on Anglo-Indian art, both staged during the last two decades of the twentieth century. The first, *From Merchants to Emperors*, was held at the Pierpoint Morgan Library and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1986; the second, *The Raj: India and the British* 1600-1947, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1990. The catalogue for the 1986 show, co-authored by Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, emphasised the great difficulties that India presented European artists, and confessed that 'it is not surprising, therefore, that by 1825, the "fancy died away"'.[46] Christopher Bayly's accompanying catalogue to the V&A's exhibition, whilst contributing an unprecedented understanding of the period's art-historical complexity, also noted the 'dearth of European and Indian representations' in the first half of the nineteenth century, and contrasted this period with an intriguing and wholly convincing characterisation of Richard Wellesley's Governor-Generalship (1798-1805) as fostering a spectacular 'Regency' style in Company rule.[47]

Just one study has set out to produce an alternative art-historical chronology for the

[43] Dewey, Clive, 'Figures in a Landscape: Anglo-Indian Art', in *Modern Asian Studies,* 16, 4, (1982), pp.683-697, p.691.
[44] McAleer, (2017).
[45] Despite contributing a remarkably original reimagining of art's importance within moments of extreme violence or 'imperial crisis' in South Asia, Sean Willcock's unpublished 2013 thesis, *The Aesthetics of Imperial Crisis: Image Making and Intervention in British India, c.1857-1919*, equally adopted the accepted account of nineteenth-century Company patronage, emphasising the 'emaciated', 'pitiful state of the colonial art scene' during this period, and describing India as 'no longer the profitable theatre for commercially-minded European artists that it had been in the eighteenth century'. See: Willcock, (2013).
[46] Pal and Dehejia, (1986), p.13.
[47] Bayly, Christopher, 'From Company to Crown: Nineteenth-Century India and its Visual Representation', in *Ibid.* (*ed.*), *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947,* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1990), p.132.

period.[48] Published in 2005 and co-authored by Hermione de Almeida and George Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* simultaneously nuanced the established account by formulating a more explicit connection between art and colonial politics, whilst entirely reinforcing it by proposing that the last decades of the eighteenth century witnessed an 'Indian Renaissance' in British art, which dissipated in correlation with the Company's increasing subcontinental dominance.[49] For the authors, the evidence of this trajectory is the art itself, as 'the full portfolio of English Romantic portraits and views of India reveals both the visual occasion and the conceptual signposts through which an initial and transnational movement of creative inquiry and imaginative endeavour was first adapted, then harnessed, and finally transformed out of itself to meet and express the prerogatives of a British India'.[50] The authors' connection between art and politics is established through an artistic periodisation mapped onto the tenures of the Company's Governors-General, whose policies and personalities are used as a heuristic device for assessing the 'character' of the period's colonialism and the art produced during it. The authors' 'renaissance' occurred during the administration of Warren Hastings, Governor-General between 1773 and 1785,[51] who they portray as an enlightened patron actively encouraging a period of genuine cross-cultural enquiry and 'sympathy'.[52] In contrast, the authors reductively suggest that the more 'imperial' tenures of Charles Cornwallis (1786-93) and Richard Wellesley (1798-1805) initiated the decline of a 'Romantic India', alongside the artistic achievements of the previous decades.[53] Their narrative of increasing imperial consolidation thus intimately overlaid their art-historical trajectory, producing an account which integrated ethical and aesthetic considerations whilst qualitatively distinguishing

[48] Romita Ray has produced a deeply intelligent study of nineteenth-century art in colonial India, but whilst she does not reiterate the 'decline narrative' I have been tracing, nor does she challenge it.

[49] de Almeida and Gilpin, (2005).

[50] *Ibid.*, foreword, p.vii.

[51] Hastings' tenure technically began after Pitt's India Act of 1773, but he had been Governor of the Bengal Presidency since 1772.

[52] 'The Indian Renaissance in British Romantic art was made possible by the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal'. de Almeida and Gilpin, (2005), p.108.More generally, see: pp.108-114.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp.167-176. This periodisation simplifies the historical reality. Cornwallis was specifically tasked with consolidating and limiting the extensive territorial conquests of Hastings, who had annexed Benares through precisely the same mechanism – the subsidiary alliance system – that would continue to fuel further Company expansion until 1858. The artist William Hodges, lauded as 'Romantic' by these authors, found himself employed as a war artist on several of these campaigns. Moreover, the research of the Asiatic Society did not simply constitute 'benign curiosity', but, in uncovering the supposed legal codes of indigenous India, reinforced a metropolitan ideology of governance central to the consolidation of the modern state - the sanctity of the rule of law. Characterising Hastings' regime as 'benevolent' or 'multicultural' obliterates this historical reality. Equally, the authors' historical trajectory concludes in the 1830s, and thus conveniently ignores the tenures of the avowedly Liberal Governors-General between William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie, whilst also curtailing the continued life of the Asiatic society and Oriental scholarship post-1830, which saw works published by intellectuals such as William Prinsep and James Atkinson.

works of art, and which blurred these categories even in its critical language: 'our book tells with visual illustrations the story of that inspiration and the history of those pioneering artists whose achievement was subsumed and then eclipsed, and whose *bright images were shadowed*, by the complacencies and assumptions of later generations'.[54] Whilst de Almeida and Gilpin's efforts to correlate the art history of Company India to its political history were thus a prescient addition to the scholarship, *Indian Renaissance* ultimately recast the art-historical trajectory underpinning both contemporary scholarship and Victorian polemics, privileging aesthetically a period of cultural efflorescence at the end of the eighteenth century, and providing explanations for why artistic engagement with India declined in the first decades of the nineteenth.

Of course, some of the most insightful critical scholarship over the last decade has focused attention on individual artists, intellectual trends, or specific aesthetic frameworks rather than this somewhat anachronistic concern with qualitative artistic periodisation.[55] Besides the current shift in the Humanities away from the type of *longue durée* analysis that a chronological reassessment would require, scholars have understandably been more interested in exploring how the arts related to structures of colonial power and their bases in hierarchies of class, race, and gender. Yet, as I seek to show in the following section, this oeuvre's guiding principle - that art was intrinsically linked to its political context - actually makes this overarching narrative of decline an impediment to understanding art and culture's relationship to these very issues.

III. ART AND IMPERIAL BRITAIN: STATE, NATION, EMPIRE

Since the turn of the millennium, historians of British art have sought a politically-nuanced connection between cultural production and the histories of state-formation, nationalism, and imperialism.[56] A germinal point in this development was a series of studies examining the material and artistic legacies of the transatlantic slave trade, itself influenced by several novel frameworks developed in cultural studies during the 1990s - including Paul Gilroy's notion of the 'black-

[54] *Ibid.*, foreword, p.viii, my italics. This 'ethical' narrative mirrors the framework popularised by Dalrymple.

[55] See: Eaton, Natasha, *Mimesis Across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765-1860*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Ray, Romita, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[56] For an overview, see: Fordham, Douglas, 'State, Nation, and Empire in the History of Georgian Art', in *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA*, No.1 (2012), pp.115-35.

Atlantic', and Joseph Roach's methodology for studying 'circum-Atlantic' exchange.[57] Four seminal works largely defined the growth of this oeuvre: Marcus Wood's analysis of art's vexed relationship to the slave trade in his *Blind Memory, Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America* 1780-1865 (2000); Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz's investigation of the relationship between 'visual culture and aesthetics to the trade in goods and human bodies that sustained the Atlantic economies' in their *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World,* 1660-1830 (2003); the catalogue accompanying the Yale Centre for British Art's exhibition *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (2007), which provided a ground-breaking evaluation of colonial Jamaica's culture on the eve of emancipation; and Kay Dian Kriz's expansion of the themes she addressed in two essays contributed to these previous publications, entitled *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the West Indies* 1700-1840 (2008).[58] This latter study offered a particularly nuanced analysis of themes that have characterised the development of this field from its inception, including how artistic 'taste' was employed as a strategy for distinguishing class, race, and national identity, how 'difference' was constitutive in the production of these identities, and how race and racism were represented during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[59]

This dynamic literature was complemented in 2001 by a conference at Tate Britain addressing the more holistic topic of 'Art and the British Empire', which was subsequently published as an edited volume in 2007.[60] With the ambition to 'reinsert empire as a fundamental category for the analysis of British art', this intellectually unprecedented collection of essays asserted that 'culture and, in particular, the visual image play a formative as well as reflective role in the course of empire'.[61] Several of the contributors to this volume subsequently published their own monographs addressing the artistic cultures of British imperialism, including Natasha Eaton and Romita Ray in the field of Anglo-Indian art.[62] Drawing an equivalence between the impact of the 'imperial turn' and the 'new imperial history' on historians of the British Nation, Natasha Eaton has

[57] Gilroy, Paul, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Roach, Joseph R., *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

[58] Wood, Marcus, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Quilley, Geoff, and Kay Dian Kriz (*eds.*), *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660-1830,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Barringer, Tim, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez Ruiz (*eds.*), *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his Worlds,* (New Haven: London, Yale Center for British Art in association with Yale University Press, 2007); Kriz, (2008).

[59] A small number of works on the British Empire were published outside of this specific focus, most notably: Tobin, Beth Fowkes, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

[60] Barringer, Tim, Geoff Quilley, and Douglas Fordham (*eds.*), *Art and the British Empire,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

[61] *Ibid.,* p.3, p.4.

[62] Ray (2013); and Eaton, (2013).

even described this field's dramatic expansion as an 'imperial turn' in the history of art, reflecting a shift in the conceptual significance of empire and colonial culture from the 'margins' of British art history to its 'centre'.[63]

Whilst this historiographical shift certainly brought into focus the global and imperial histories of British art, Douglas Fordham has suggested that the emergence of this oeuvre in fact belongs to a wider 'political turn' in British art history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concerned with reintroducing the significance of the state, politics, war, and imperial expansion into a field formerly characterised by a study of 'stateless capitalism'.[64] Fordham's critique responds to the field's continuing intellectual preoccupation with a set of issues associated with the concerns and ideological debates of 'Thatcherite Britain'.[65] Pioneered by several extremely influential scholars - most notably John Barrell, David Solkin, and Ann Bermingham - this literature presented a compelling explanation of art's place within the 'polite', mercantile discourses that proved fundamental in articulating the interests of a developing consumer class and its formation as a 'public' in eighteenth-century Britain.[66] Essential to their work was the historian J. G. A. Pocock's research on the legacies of Civic Humanism, an ethical and intellectual framework that these scholars argued was fundamental in shaping the production of art and artistic theory during the period, and which underpinned the formation of an 'artistic public sphere'.[67] Several of the early studies examining the relationship between British art and imperialism had already highlighted this approach's blind-spots. In their *An Economy of Colour*, Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz made the then-controversial argument that 'the very concept of Civic Humanism as a methodological key to analysing eighteenth-century culture has entailed the marginalization of the no less complex, but perhaps more amorphous, history of protean internationalism developing in the long eighteenth

[63] Eaton, Natasha, '"Enchanted Traps"? The Historiography of Art and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century India', in *Literature Compass*, 9, (2012), pp.15–33.

[64] Fordham, (2012).

[65] *Ibid,* p.117. On this theme, see also: Solkin, David, 'The Battle of the Books; or, The Gentlemen Provok'd – Different Views on the History of British Art', in *The Art Bulletin*, 67, 3, (1985), pp.507-515; and Hemingway, Andrew, 'New Left Art History's International', in *Ibid* (*ed.*), *Marxism and the History of Art: From William Morris to the New Left,* (Ann Arbor: Pluto, 2006).

[66] See: Barrell, John, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: 'The Body of the Public',* (New Haven: London, Yale University Press, 1986); Solkin, David, *Painting for Money: the Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England,* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993); Bermingham, Ann, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art,* (New Haven: London, Yale University Press, 2000).

[67] Pocock, J. G. A., *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); *Ibid.*, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

century as a result of colonial settlement, imperial expansion and transoceanic commerce'.[68]

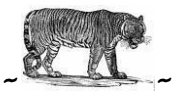
Fordham's own seminal contribution to this reappraisal of Civic Humanism's historiographical dominance asserted that Barrell's and Solkin's 'politely progressive model of artistic development' had actually emerged as a fiction during the eighteenth century itself, and was 'used to provide the foundling arts with a long and distinguished pedigree'.[69] His counter-narrative, presented in *Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy* (2010), systematically explored how 'the sinews of the body politic Barrel and Solkin trace[d] were mercantile, military, protestant and imperial', contending that it was only after artists had reconciled themselves with an expanding and centralising fiscal-military state that the rhetoric of aesthetic autonomy associated with the Royal Academy could then develop.[70] Fordham's art-historical analysis drew on the work of the cultural historian Holger Hoock, whose first publication, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture* 1760-1840 (2003), suggested that the existing historiography had 'failed to conceptualise important features of British artistic culture', and contended that 'politics and political institutions (such as the monarch, court, government, and Parliament) were far more significant agents and sites of cultural change than is generally allowed'.[71] Accordingly, Hoock's analysis of the history of the Royal Academy sought to demonstrate how 'art institutions shaped not only the production and consumption of specific images, but also contemporary conceptualisation of the national and patriotic role of the arts more generally', thereby highlighting how 'cultural patriotism and the cultural production of national consciousness are influenced by politics and political institutions, and relate to the formation of the nation-state'.[72] Hoock's second publication, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World,* 1750-1850 (2010), exposed the complex 'public-private partnerships' that related Britain's cultural life to wider imperial prerogatives, challenging the 'cultural exceptionalism' typically credited to a non-statist Britain in contrast to statist France or Prussia, and thereby demonstrating the reach of a 'porous' yet nevertheless expansive 'cultural state' in Britain.[73]

Expanding on his contributions to *Art and the British Empire* and *An Economy of Colour* in his 2011 monograph *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain*, Geoff Quilley similarly emphasised the importance of art to the development of an imperial British Nation-State,

[68] Quilley and Kriz, (2003), p.5.
[69] Fordham, (2010), p.24.
[70] *Ibid,* p.3.
[71] Hoock, (2003), p.9.
[72] *Ibid,* p.4.
[73] Hoock, Holger, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850,* (London: Profile Books, 2010).

arguing that the 'elusive forces such as loyalty and collective sympathy' essential to the myth of nationhood could be better articulated by visual culture than a geopolitical appeal to the abstract notion of a 'compact, well-defined territory'.[74] In particular, *Empire to Nation* dealt with the interrelationship of Britain's overseas Empire and the development of its metropolitan conceptualisation of nationhood.[75] Quilley's study thus substantiated Fordham's assertion that the 'political turn' in art history could provide 'an account of representation's place within the fiscal-military state, national consciousness, and the dreamwork of imperialism'.[76] Not only did *Empire to Nation* reveal the connection of peripheral imperial cultures to the metropolitan politics surrounding the consolidation of Britain's Nation-State, but equally to the construction of terms used to assess and conceptualise this transformation, such as 'nationhood' and 'Britishness'.

Taken together, the 'imperial' and 'political' turns in British art history have therefore amply demonstrated how the period between 1750 and 1850 witnessed a dramatic increase in both professional and amateur artists, artistic institutions, and an art market in Britain. Furthermore, they have also demonstrated that these developments were explicitly linked by contemporaneous writers and cultural practitioners to the strength of the British State, imperial glory, and 'national character'. As such, studies in this field have repeatedly shown the importance of art and cultural institutions in the development of the British Nation-State, alongside the interrelation between art produced in the colonies and the political culture of the metropole. This being the case, how should we understand the prevailing art-historical account of nineteenth-century India? Does the established narrative of artistic decline simply confirm Victorian biases, or does the East India Company's state provide a useful counterpoint to studies connecting art and the development of the British Nation-State? Alternatively, does the trajectory of Anglo-Indian art point to fundamental historical flaws in the 'merchant to emperor' narrative?



IV. THE ART HISTORY OF 'REFORM': INDIA, 1813-1858

[74] Quilley, (2011), pp.87-88.

[75] *Ibid.*, p.3. 'I argue that the visual imagery of the sea in this period intersected closely - both reflexively and constitutively - with the changing historical discourse over the character and identity of Britain as a maritime nation. Further, that this intersection between visual and historical discourse mirrored and articulated the relation between empire and nation, which was far from being monolithically stable, but instead fluid, contested and conflicted, much like the oceans through which that relation was materialized'.

[76] Fordham, (2012), p.133.

It may be admitted that the prospect of extensive reform is at this time more promising than at any previous consideration of the Company's affairs'

- *James 'Silk' Buckingham,* 1829 [77]

In what follows, I seek to resolve this historiographic paradox in two ways. First, and quite simply, *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* is an attempt to redress the dearth of studies focused on Anglo-Indian art produced in the first half of the nineteenth century. By bringing previously unstudied artists and their work to light, it materially testifies to the period's artistic production, and thereby highlights the inadequacies of the prevailing decline narrative. More significantly, however, it sets out to contextualise this art history within a nuanced account of the peculiarities of the Company-State, the British State, and their political dynamic over the period. It contends that focusing on art's relationship to this dynamic is key to understanding the political instrumentality of art and culture in British India. For when the Battle of Plassey won the former extensive territories in Bengal, it also precipitated a 'revolution' that accelerated increasing Parliamentary regulation of Company activities.[78] Effectively, the more expansive the Company-State became, the greater its loss of real sovereignty to a centralising British Nation-State.

From at least the 1780s, this process was specifically couched in a discourse of 'reform' - a term that enjoyed both moral and political, personal and public valances during the period.[79] The East India Company was considered by many contemporaries to be *the* prime example of 'old corruption' - unrepresentative, therefore unaccountable, and enjoying an arbitrary monopolistic privilege granted by the monarch. As such, fierce debates raged over the nature and functions of the corporation on the eve of each of its Royal charter renewals. In 1773, after defaulting on its revenue and customs payments to the Treasury and in dire need of a £1.4 million loan in order to remedy a looming bankruptcy, Parliament passed an act establishing limited regulation of Company activity. Like Britain's banking sector in 2008, the private Company had become central to the national 'public' interest - it was deemed 'too big to fail'.[80] A decade later, Parliament's authority to regulate Company affairs was then substantially expanded in Pitt's 'India Act' of 1784, which established a metropolitan Board of Control to monitor Company business. Reform zeal translated into political spectacle. In the aftermath of the 1773 bailout, the man who had directed the Company's territorial

[77] Buckingham, James 'Silk', 'Home Government of India', in *The Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, No.71, Vol.23, (November, 1829), p.164.

[78] On the concept of the Company's 'revolution', see: Burke, (1870), p.58.

[79] Innes, Joanna, '"Reform" in English Public Life: The Fortunes of a Word', in *Ibid.*, and Arthur Burns (*eds.*), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain, 1780-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[80] Bowen, (2002).

extension at Plassey, 'Clive of India' (1725-1774), was interrogated in Parliament. One year later he slit his own throat using a paperknife, and was buried in an unnamed vault.[81] Between 1788 and 1795 Warren Hastings - the Governor-General whom Pitt's India Act had established in Calcutta - was subjected to an extensive and spectacular impeachment trial over his supposed Company mismanagement.[82] Despite his ultimate vindication, the trial became a focus for a Nation's anxiety over imperial expansion, transforming the former Governor-General into a scapegoat for previous colonial atrocities, and supposedly laying the foundations for a 'reformed', 'morally justified' programme of imperial governance.[83]

Following Hastings' trial reform accelerated. The charter renewals of 1793, 1813, and 1833 gradually dismantled the Company's commercial privileges, with private trade between India and Britain opened in 1813, and the Company's remaining monopoly on the China trade abolished in 1833.[84] In the quarter-century after the 1833 Charter Act, the corporation was effectively reduced to an administrative bureau of the British State. Equally, two clauses in the 1813 Charter Act opened the way to reforms considered 'moral' or 'private'. After decades of lobbying, the so-called 'pious clause' finally permitted missionary activity in the Company's jurisdictions, whilst a second, 'educational clause' allocated Rupees 100,000 for the promotion of indigenous education. In 1828, an ardent Liberal, Lord William Bentinck, was appointed Governor-General, initiating a series of Liberal executives who, over the following decades, would transform the subcontinent into something of a 'laboratory' for the creation and implementation of Liberal and Utilitarian policies.[85] Overall, the first half of the nineteenth century thus witnessed a clamouring contest over the nature and functions of the Company - characterised here as an 'Age of Reform' - and be it Radicals, Evangelicals, Utilitarians, or free-trade advocates, I believe that all of these reformers relied on art and artistic institutions to shape the ways in which they envisaged the Company's future, alongside their specific programmes for its potential reform.

In what follows, the 'Age of Reform' thus functions as an analytical framework for

[81] Historians have also recently suggested that he may have died of an opium overdose, administered to relieve chronic pain.

[82] A substantial oeuvre of scholarship has developed on the history of Hastings' impeachment trial. Critical studies include: Suleri, Sara, *The Rhetoric of English India*, (Chicago: London, 1992), especially chapter one; and Dirks, Nicholas B., *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[83] This interpretation is similar to the one offered in: Dirks, (2006).

[84] On the changing nature of the Company's monopoly, I found extremely useful: Webster, Anthony, *The Twilight of the East India Company: The Evolution of Anglo-Asian Commerce and Politics, 1790-1860*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).

[85] The trajectory of Liberalism in British India is traced in: Metcalfe, Thomas, *Ideologies of the Raj,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially the chapter 'Liberalism and Empire'.

developing a new periodisation for the art history of British India - reconceptualising the instrumental place of art and culture in the process through which the territories of a trading venture were legislated and 'reformed' to become the colonial possessions of the British Nation. My intention is to imbue this crucial period of political change with a distinct historical identity that not only makes sense of its position between two better-researched eras, but relates cultural developments in the subcontinent to both the era-defining reforms in domestic British politics,[86] and a wider, transnational 'Age of Reform' that both overlaps and correlates with what Eric Hobsbawm famously defined as the 'Age of Revolutions'.[87] Whilst reform was an ongoing process that continued throughout the Company's history, my specific focus is on the period between the Charter Act of 1813 and the Company's ultimate liquidation following the Government of India Act in 1858. This is to challenge the narrative of decline that has characterised art-historical accounts of the Company during the first half of the nineteenth century, and to demonstrate instead the importance of colonial art to both to the disassemblage of the Company, and to the triumph of a centralised form of British rule in these decades. Over two parts, each comprised of two chapters, I will reveal how two genres of artistic media that have previously been overlooked in art-historical accounts were actually intimately connected to the historical developments most frequently cited as atrophying artistic production in nineteenth-century India.

Part I, *Amateur Art and Bureaucratic Reform*, explores the relationship between amateur practice and the professionalisation of the Company's civil establishment. In the first chapter, I trace an artistic biography of the acclaimed amateur Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845), arguing that his use of art in practices of exchange consolidated a peculiarly early modern form of political corporation. I suggest that D'Oyly's attempts to cultivate an Anglo-Indian public for his work enabled members of this social formation to develop a self-conscious sense of identity and community, fostering an *esprit de corps* in the Company's civil service. In Chapter II, I take this analysis further by studying an amateur art society that D'Oyly founded in 1824, proposing that the sociability of amateur practice provided a combination of social spaces, cultural languages, and shared material practices through which this community could develop into a 'colonial public sphere'. I contextualise this development in relation to the Constitutional Liberal politics of the

[86] An 'Age of Reform' has been deployed variously by historians of Britain. See: Turner, Michael J., *British Politics in an Age of Reform, 1760–1832*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Turberville, A. S., *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784–1837*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1958); Woodward, E. W., *The Age of Reform, 1815–70, 2nd Edn.*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Mandler, Peter, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830–1852*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). For an excellent overview of the period and its historiography, see: Innes and Burns, (2003), particularly the introduction.

[87] Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962).

1820s, arguing that amateur art not only networked the Company's bureaucracy, but provided the material and social basis for a set of beliefs and values through which Anglo-Indians could conceptualise their lives and identities in relation to the period's political turbulence. Overall, Part I maintains that rather than citing the Company's increasing bureaucratisation as the cause of a decline in fine art patronage, it is crucial instead to recognise how amateur practice shaped this bureaucracy's collective identity and ethos.

Part II, *Print Culture and Socioeconomic Reform*, turns towards the dramatic demographic shifts that resulted from the repeal of the Company's monopolistic privileges in 1813 and 1833. To address this history, I examine the social and political impact of Anglo-Indian print culture, focusing in particular on representations of the division of indigenous labour in the costume album genre. In Chapter III, I show how novel trends in Regency-era print culture provided a material basis for contemporary ideas about the ways in which 'occupational identity' and the division of labour construed social knowledge and class identity. I argue that printed depictions of India's social typology provided the material basis through which both a professional middle-class bureaucracy and an emerging community of private merchants could express cultural capital, thereby challenging the vestiges of the Company's eighteenth-century patrician character. In Chapter IV, I explore the history of illustrated periodical culture in the decades after the Charter Act of 1833, tracing in particular the ways in which it articulated or embodied the new political prerogatives that the total liberalisation of trade gave the Company's employees. My argument revolves around one specific case study - a lithographic album of Indian portraits produced by the artist Colesworthy Grant (1813-1880), an illustrator of the *laissez-faire*-supporting *India Review*, and Secretary to the Calcutta Mechanics Institute and School of Art. Overall, Part II seeks to demonstrate the importance of artistic culture in providing cultural capital to the transnational middle class who consolidated around the new economic opportunities a free market created in the early-Victorian Empire. Whilst patrician forms of cultural production may well have declined in post-1813 India, Part II highlights how a whole host of middle-class artistic formats both emerged out of - and in many ways bolstered - the period's dramatic socioeconomic reform.

By tracing the importance of these two previously neglected media in relation to two of the most significant political and social changes in Company India, *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* demonstrates that art did indeed retain a political significance during the first half of the nineteenth century, despite the decline in patronage suggested by previous art historians. Set between the apparent heyday of fine art patronage in the late eighteenth century, and the grandiose building schemes of the Victorian Raj, it reveals the ways in which new media and artistic cultures developed

in relation to the exigencies of changing class demographics and specific political imperatives. Essentially, it works to turn the established narrative on its head: rather than citing bureaucratic or economic reform as the *explanation* to art historical trends, it seeks to demonstrate how art and cultural practices *shaped* the political history of the period in which these reforms occurred. In doing so, it sets out to explain why art in British India eschews a framework connecting cultural production to the consolidation of the nation-state, foregrounding two interrelated processes: the brief blossoming and then sudden decline of the Company's 'autonomous' form of statehood post-Plassey, and the increasing penetration of the British State into both geographical and ideological spaces further from the British Isles.

v. ART, THE 'MODERNITY' OF STATE-FORMATION, AND 'WORLD ART HISTORY'

'For there to have been a British *Empire in India, not only did the East India Company have to conquer India but the British State also had to conquer the East India Company; the "conquests" in India became* British *only when Parliament asserted its rights to them'*

- *Philip J. Stern,* 2011 [88]

Importantly, the notion of an 'Age of Reform' in India functions not only as a critical lens for analysing the entwined political and artistic histories of the East India Company, but also as a framework to connect this art history to a global analysis of how polities and empires changed during the political, economic, and cultural reforms (or frequently revolutions) that ushered in the 'modern' era.[89] I propose that the East India Company's 'Age of Reform' provides a key methodological case study through which we can question the critical assumptions that characterise the 'imperial' and 'political' turns in British art history, and particularly the vexed issue of how the relationship between metropole and colony influenced the cultural processes of state-formation. Two models determining how art historians address this issue predominate in the literature. On the one hand, scholars have explored what is, in effect, the projection of a pre-formed political category outwards - the extension of the 'British State' beyond the British Isles. On the other, and in the significantly more nuanced literature that I have traced above, scholars have revealed how the

[88] Stern, Philip J., *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.213.

[89] For an overview of this period, see: Bayly, Christopher, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2004); and Hobswarm, (1962).

categories of national identity and nationhood were themselves constituted through, and in relation to, the imperial experience. Despite the greater subtlety of this latter oeuvre's historical interpretation, at root its analytical categories still frequently rely on either a Weberian or Westphalian model of modern statehood,[90] and often fail to historicise the 'modernity' of this political formation.[91] Over the last three decades a significant corpus of historical scholarship has, however, developed precisely around these issues - particularly in the field of 'world history' - and one broader ambition of *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* is to use the insights provided by this literature to nuance how colonial art is related to the history of the British State over the first half of the nineteenth century.[92]

Scholarship that adopts the first approach of examining the colonial imposition of cultural representations and practices attendant to a metropolitan construction of statehood face the significant challenge that most recent scholarship on the early modern period has refuted the existence of a centralised form of British statehood prior to the significant political and cultural upheavals that characterised the nineteenth century. Instead, historians have stressed the 'loose' nature of Britain's early modern state, with governmental functions performed by dispersed agents, and in which even well-defined governing institutions might be understood as 'points of contact' where various elites negotiated particular and local interests.[93] This scholarship extends both to a European and global comparison, with many historians of the early modern period highlighting the manner in which monarchical dynasties, 'composite' empires, pluralistic legal cultures, and hybrid or

[90] On these political categories, see: Krasner, Stephen, 'Compromising Westphalia', in *International Security*, 20, No.3 (1995–96), pp.115-51; Osiander, Andrias, 'Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth', in *International Organization*, 55, No.2, (2001), pp.251-87; and Biersteker, Thomas J., and Cynthia Weber (*eds.*), *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[91] The definition and analytical use of the term 'Modernity' forms a particularly vexatious subject, the issues surrounding which I tackle in the conclusion to Chapter III. For elegant overviews of the problems attending the term, see: Ballantyne, Tony, 'Empires, Modernisation and Modernities', in *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 2, 1, (2014), pp.25-42; Washbrook, David, 'From Comparative Sociology to Global History: Britain and India in the Pre-History of Modernity', in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.40, No.4, (1997), pp.410-443; and Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'The Muddle of Modernity', in *The American Historical Review*, Vol.116, No.3, (2011), pp.663-675.

[92] Christopher Bayly's *Birth of the Modern World* is an excellent introduction to this oeuvre's ambitions and approach. See: Bayly, (2004). Historiographical accounts of the field include: Bentley, Jerry H. (*ed.*), *The Oxford Handbook of World History,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); McNeill, William H., 'The Changing Shape of World History', in *History and Theory,* 34, 2, (1995), pp.8-26; O'Brien, Patrick K., (*ed.*), *Atlas of World History*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002).

[93] Braddick, Michael J., *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550–1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Ibid.*, and John Walter (*eds.*), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Brewer, John, and Eckhart Hellmuth (*eds.*), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

competing forms of jurisdiction existed and often overlapped across the globe.[94] Moreover, work on eighteenth-century 'sociability' in Britain has demonstrated how the state was rarely considered an entity separate from society, but was constituted through politically charged circuits of social interaction - making governing less about actual intervention, but rather the mediation of various interests in a manner comparable to Michel Foucault's famous definition of 'governmentality' as sovereignty's circuitous ambition to maintain sovereignty.[95] Of course, this interpretation expands - and frequently contradicts - the model of the 'fiscal-military state' that has dominated scholarship within the 'political turn' in British art history.[96]

Central to this historical reappraisal has been the research produced by a long tradition of English legal and political historians documenting the intellectual life of 'corporation' - a concept rooted in Civil Law that possessed key legal and associational valances throughout European history. Such historians have argued that early modern Europe can best be understood as an overlapping matrix of 'corporations' with their own legal, political, and social identities, including city-states, guilds, churches, and familial networks. Even the monarchy and the national state itself were legally and conceptually understood as a form of corporation.[97] As Harold Laski put it in 1916, 'everywhere we find groups within the state, a part of it; but one with it they are not...whether we will or no, we are bundles of hyphens'.[98] The East India Company has unsurprisingly featured significantly in this reappraisal, with scholars such as Philip J. Stern using the intellectual history of 'corporation' to redefine the characterisation of the early modern Company as solely an economic organisation, demonstrating instead that from the outset English merchants were involved in

[94] See: Shepard, Alexandra, and Phil Withington (*eds.*), *Communities in Early Modern England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Patterson, Catherine F., 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England', in *History*, 85, (2000), pp.546-71; Withington, Phil, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England', in *American Historical Review*, 112, No.4, (October, 2007), pp.1016-38; Spruyt, Hendrik, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Gustafsson, Harald, 'The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe', in *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 23, (1998), p.189, pp.193-97, p.211; and Braddick, (2000).

[95] On sociability and the state, see: Scales, Len, and Oliver Zimmer (*eds.*), *Power and the Nation in European History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). On Foucault, see: Foucault, Michel, 'Governmentality', in Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (*eds.*), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).

[96] For the most influential account of the fiscal-military state, see: Brewer, John, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783*, (London: Routledge, 1989). For art-historical analysis that this model has inspired, see: Fordham, (2010); Hoock, (2003); and *Ibid.*, (2010).

[97] Maitland, F. W., 'The Crown as Corporation', in *Law Quarterly Review*, 17, (1901), p.133.

[98] Laski, Harold, 'The Personality of Associations', in *Harvard Law Review*, 29, No.4, (1916), p.425.

'public' duties and political jurisdiction.[99] Indeed, in Stern's analysis the Company no longer begins life as a Macaulayian 'anomaly', but constituted an early modern form of government.[100]

If the work of early modern historians has highlighted the failings that frequently accompany art-historical accounts of culture undergirding an imposed 'British' form of colonial statehood, the more nuanced account of colonial art's interrelationship to metropolitan culture and the formation of the British State equally face methodological challenges posed by recent research on the historical ruptures that attended the decline of *ancien régimes*, the increasing division between society and the modern state, and the emergence of 'nationalised' forms of social, religious, and racial identities after 1800. For instance, by discussing colonial culture as 'constituting' the British State and cultural conceptions of 'Britishness', art historians frequently overlook how the processes of state-formation were coterminous in Britain *and* the colonies, occurring as both emerged from the disparate web of sovereignties that characterised the early modern period. Jon E. Wilson has suggested, for example, that the nineteenth-century formation of the colonial state in India relied on a more cogent enterprise of 'state-building' than in Britain, closer in kind to comparable processes in Napoleonic France, Prussia, and Federalist America.[101] Such global comparisons highlight how an approach that is focused on the binary relation of colonial and metropolitan cultures not only risks homogenising 'British' culture and its important distinctions of region and class, but frequently misses the important cultural processes that were entwined with forces that shaped transnational historical change - such as technological innovation and the global economy.[102]

The framework of 'reform' that I seek to develop over the next four chapters therefore places Britain and colonial India within what might be termed a 'unitary field of analysis', and defines their relationship as determined by forces of political, economic, and cultural change associated with global processes of 'modernisation'.[103] Part 1 draws on the insights provided by early modern historians and seeks to show how the East India Company's basis in early modern forms of political and legal corporation significantly shaped the production of art in the first decades of the

[99] Stern, (2011). See also: *Ibid.*, '"A Politie of Civill & Military Power": Political Thought and the Late Seventeenth-Century Foundations of the East India Company-State', in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.47, (April, 2008), pp.253-83; and *Ibid.*, 'Corporate Virtue: The Languages of Empire in Early Modern British Asia', in *Renaissance Studies*, Vol.26, No.4, (2012).

[100] Stern, (2011).

[101] Wilson, Jon E., 'Early Colonial India beyond Empire', in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.50, No.4, (2007), pp.951–970, p.964.

[102] This is the principal argument made by scholars who advocate an analysis of connected systems of global historical change.

[103] Wilson, Jon E., *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

nineteenth century, alongside the ways in which this art consolidated forms of 'corporate identity'. Just as the national state has been characterised as an 'imagined community', I contend that corporations relied on various forms of cultural production to structure and conceptualise their collective interests and political values.[104] In doing so, I seek to avoid the binary debate over the dynamics of metropolitan and colonial influence by framing the British state as only one form of political community in a global world of interconnected corporations shaping cultural production - thereby positing the geographical lens of the British Isles as a less significant framework of analysis than global familial networks or transnational economic and religious organisations. In contrast, Chapter II then goes on to explore the place of art within British India's emerging civil society, charting the ways in which art's 'public' functions actually eroded the cultural bases for early modern forms of corporate sociability, and replaced them with modern understandings of art's relationship to national culture and the 'patriotic' function of the arts prevalent across contemporaneous processes of state-formation in Europe. Art is thus shown to be central to a process of 'reform' that dismantled the early-modern nature of the East India Company over the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Part II situates this transformation of the Company into an administrative bureau of the British State within a wider account of global economic and demographic shifts. The 'middle-class' cultures that I trace across Chapters III and IV are related to forces of 'cultural homogenisation' associated with industrialising societies and nineteenth-century processes of 'modernisation' - particularly various discourses about the ways in which capital interpellated identity or structured civil society. I seek to link these transnational processes to global narratives of cultural production, drawing examples from the significant but unexplored history of lithographic printing as a formative cultural technology that variously yet coterminously shaped processes of 'modernisation' across the globe.[105]

Art in India's 'Age of Reform' therefore explores the art produced during the final decades of the Company Raj in order to stage two interventions into the growing body of literature surrounding the subject of British art's relationship to colonial cultures and state-formation. First, and following Stern, it seeks to contextualise the period's artistic culture as simultaneously involved in articulating the political demands of one corporation (the East India Company), at the precise moment that another (the British State) was emerging in a recognisably modern form precisely by

[104] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

[105] Lithography features in each chapter of this thesis, but a more focused study of the medium beyond colonial India, which in my opinion is sorely lacking, is sadly beyond the limited scope of this PhD.

assimilating and undermining alternative forms of political community like the Company-State. It then situates this process within an important historical juncture defining the first decades of the nineteenth century, establishing a broader account of how art in specific local contexts interacted with global historical processes. By placing colonial culture and the formation of the modern British state into this unitary analytical field, I hope to emphasise through a comparative approach exactly what was peculiar about the colonial context, and thus precisely how art shaped structures of colonial power. I argue that focusing on an 'Age of Reform' set between 1813 and 1858 reinscribes the place of art and culture in the critical historical process through which the nature and operations of power in colonial India were fundamentally transformed, and thus set out to challenge the prevalent narrative of cultural atrophy by emphasising the importance of this neglected period as a key point of transition between two better researched eras. Equally, by demonstrating just how protracted the shift from corporate forms of political organisation to modern forms of national identity proved to be, I aim to defamiliarise the critical categories that developed out of the emergence of the modern state, and which remain so ubiquitous in art-historical scholarship.[106] If returning national politics and the history of the national state to a field dominated by 'stateless capitalism' has therefore preoccupied historians of British art over the last two decades, *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* seeks alternatively to emphasise how the historical formation of the modern British State can best be understood within a broader 'world art history' that connects global artistic production, the forces of transnational capitalism and its attendant corporate cultures, and a comparative assessment of interconnected state-formations.[107]

[106] Geoff Quilley's *Empire to Nation* is one example of an art-historical account that avoids these conceptual pitfalls by situating the gradual formation of 'national identity' within an existing and far more amorphous maritime world of 'aggregate' empire. See: Quilley, (2011).

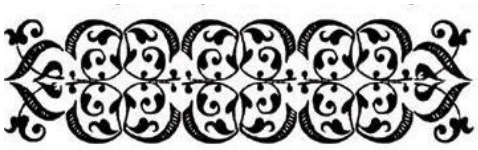
[107] I take the term 'world art history' from my supervisor Jean Michel Massing, who has spent his career on a global 'quest for new information' that remains centred on a 'respect for primary sources, whether textual or visual'. Massing, Jean Michel, cited in Stocker, Mark, and Paul Lindley (*eds.*), *Tributes to Jean Michel Massing,* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016), p.8. Other scholars have engaged with the idea of a world art history - but in what follows this term denotes a specific attention to the concerns and methodological tendencies provided by the historical school increasingly well-recognised as practicing 'world history'.

Figure 1: Johann Zoffany, '*Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match*', c.1784–8, oil on canvas, in the possession of the Tate Collection, London (T06856).

Figure 2: Valentine Cameron Prinsep, '*The Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi*', 1877-80, oil on canvas, in the possession of the Royal Collection Trust, London (RCIN 407181).

- PART I -

Amateur Art And Bureaucratic Reform



- *Prologue* -

1. A Letter to Daylesford

On the 30th August, 1813, amidst the stifling humidity of Calcutta's monsoon season, an emotionally-wearied civil servant sat down to pen a letter.[1] Our out-of-luck correspondent was Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845), the recipient, his beloved godfather and India's notorious first Governor-General, Warren Hastings (1732-1818). The news was bleak. Opening by thanking Hastings for personally recommending him and his father Sir John D'Oyly (1754-1818) to the incumbent Governor-General Lord Moira (1754-1826), he lamented that his father - an old friend of Hastings' - was incapable of sending his own letter of gratitude. A recent stroke had robbed Sir John of the use of his writing hand, an affliction that the reproachful D'Oyly attributed to his father's 'constant indulgence' of the *Hookah* pipe.[2] To personally attend to his declining health, D'Oyly had been forced to sacrifice a lucrative collectorship at Dacca (now Dhaka) and take up a minor position at Calcutta's Custom House. His woes did not end there, however. Our correspondent miserably recorded the death of Sir Walter Farquhar (1778-1813), a close friend whose passing had widowed D'Oyly's youngest sister Maynard (1785-1866), before then worriedly telling Hastings about the 'enthusiasm' for Evangelical Christianity that was currently clouding the minds of his eldest sister, Harriet (1777-1833) and her husband George Baring (1781-1854). Just two years later, Maynard would marry an Evangelical vicar patronised by the Baring family called Reverend Thomas Snow (1785-1867), thus entwining the lives of both D'Oyly sisters with the radical milieu of Evangelicals known as the 'Western Schism'.[3] For our concerned writer, the family affairs were looking increasingly perilous.

Right in the middle of this account, however, D'Oyly turned abruptly - almost as if he couldn't bear the subject of his misfortunes any longer - to a quite different, and rather unusual topic. Setting out his plans to illustrate an account of the antiquities of Babylon being written by the English explorer Captain Lockett, he began a long description of his supposedly prodigious 'talent

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[1] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For more information on the 'Western Schism', see: Carter, Grayson, *Anglican Evangelicals: Protestant Secessions from the Via Media, c.1800-1850,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Rowdon, Harold H., 'Secession from the Established Church in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Vox Evangelica,* 3, (1964), pp.76-88.

for drawing'.[4] In previous correspondence, Hastings had congratulated his godson on this 'useful employment of the mind',[5] conceiving it as a 'resource against positive idleness', whilst D'Oyly himself had affirmed how 'it has had the good effect...of dispelling from my thoughts...melancholy objects' - no doubt a godsend at this particular moment.[6] However, D'Oyly's discussion on the subject reveals his engagement with amateur practice to have been far more than just a 'coping mechanism' (whether that meant staving off boredom or abating grief), whilst his personal ambitions appear, similarly, far grander. As he explained to Hastings, 'having once consented to appear before the public you will not be surprised to find me again contemplating a second exhibition of my talents or my anxiety to prove myself a good amateur artist'.[7] Personal satisfaction was apparently not sufficient for the budding amateur. He desired public acclaim.

The first 'appearance' that D'Oyly was referring to comprised a collection of views of Dacca that had illustrated an historical account of the city written by his friend and Company civil surgeon, James Atkinson (1780-1852).[8] The plans to publish this work under the title *The Antiquities of Dacca* had been drawn up with the London-based engraver John Landseer in 1811, and sections of the work would continue to be released piecemeal until 1827. In the end, D'Oyly needn't have been so anxious about public approbation. In 1826 James 'Silk' Buckingham (1786-1855) - a notorious Radical and editor of *The Oriental Herald* - lauded the *Antiquities of Dacca* as 'masterly', 'magnificent', and announced that it could be 'confidently recommended to the public'.[9] Nevertheless, Buckingham did have a rather specific 'public' in mind. For whilst he declared that the work 'must be looked for by every admirer of the fine arts with the greatest impatience', he added that this was true 'more especially [of] the tasteful and liberal among our Countrymen in the East'.[10] Ascribing D'Oyly's art to a specific 'Company' audience did not depart too far from the amateur's own

[4] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

[5] Hastings was notable in lauding the functions of sketching in the colonial context, which included the accumulation of scientific, sociological, anthropological, and cartographic information. Various scholars have shown how these benefited colonial and military agendas. The best and most succinct accounts are: McAleer, (2017); and, as an example from the Empire more broadly, *Ibid.*, (2010).

[6] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 9th January 1807, (Add MS 29182), f.9; and Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 15th November 1808, (Add MS 29184). This also cast D'Oyly within a Byronic framework - the Romantic poet had described his art as the only method of dealing with the melancholy of exile. See: Garber, Frederick, *Self, Text and Romantic Irony: The Example of Byron*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Shilstone, Frederick, *Byron and the Myth of Tradition*, (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1989). Byron was D'Oyly's preferred poet, an attachment that I examine in more depth in Chapter II.

[7] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

[8] Atkinson, James, and Sir Charles D'Oyly, *The Antiquities of Dacca*, (London: J. Landseer, 1814-1827).

[9] Buckingham, James, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Antiquities of Dacca', in *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, Vol.XI, (1826), p.316.

[10] *Ibid.*

conception of his 'public', however, which he had already discussed in a letter to his godfather. Writing on the 25th January, 1811, D'Oyly had described the *Antiquities of Dacca* as 'a very interesting work & particularly so to Indians, as Atkinson's abilities are very superior and he has obtained great reputation in many literary attempts both at home & in this country...I consented to the business with a confidence that my part of it would be no disgrace to either'.[11] In framing the reception of his work as split between an audience 'at home' and 'in this country', D'Oyly equally figured his 'public' as bipartite. More intriguingly, he defined this latter audience as 'Indian'. That D'Oyly was referring to those who possessed affiliations with the East India Company - so-called 'Anglo-Indians' - seems reasonably certain, and makes sense of his further request that Hastings 'subscribe [himself] & bespeak it favourably to [his] Indian friends'.[12] Understood as harbouring shared cultural interests, and defined through a fluid use of national demonyms, D'Oyly's desires for 'public' recognition thus appear to have been directed at a rather curious social body.

Despite the *Antiquities of Dacca's* success, D'Oyly's second attempt to gain recognition ultimately failed to reach fruition - despite the announcement of the *Antiquities of Babylon's* expected publication in *The Literary Panorama* of January 1814.[13] Indeed, the amateur would not return to the public eye until 1828, when he provided illustrations for a satirical poem detailing the misadventures of a naïve East India Company cadet, penned once more by James Atkinson, and entitled *Tom Raw, the Griffin*.[14] Nevertheless, a watercolour made in preparation for this work was specifically premised on D'Oyly's desire to appear 'before the public', and features a previously unidentified self-portrait of himself, his second wife, and his late father enjoying a visit to Taylor & Co.'s Emporium in Calcutta (*fig:*1).[15] The scene's satire revolves around the preposterous figure of Tom Raw, who, shown proudly puffing up his chest, displays an awareness of visiting an important public space for being *seen* by 'polite' society, but not of the importance of being *seen looking* at the objects to which he has turned his back.[16] In this satire on the cultural nuances of 'looking' in public spaces, D'Oyly thus self-referentially depicted himself being watched by those in Anglo-Indian society who

[11] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 25th January 1811, (Add MS 29186), f.13.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Notice under 'Works Announced for Publication', in *The Literary Panorama,* Vol.15, (London: Jones and Hatfield, 1814). D'Oyly finished the drawings and a notice described them as 'very fine'. Sadly, they are now lost.

[14] Atkinson, James, and Sir Charles D'Oyly, *Tom Raw, The Griffin: A Burlesque Poem*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1828). It is difficult to delineate the pair's individual contributions neatly - it is quite possible that D'Oyly produced the watercolour scenes first, and then Atkinson penned verses to accompany the illustrations.

[15] The ailing Sir John had passed away in 1818. For more information, see: Chapter I, Section ii.

[16] On the Spectatorian model of politeness associated with Georgian-era shopping, see: Berry, Helen, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.12 (2002), pp.375-394, p.377.

professed a tasteful, even connoisseurial eye. Equally, the space itself mirrored D'Oyly's description of his transnational public - a classical Tuscan colonnade, European fashions, and portraits in oils juxtapose starkly with the sparsely-clad 'natives' of Calcutta.

D'Oyly's 'anxiety' to prove his amateur talents before a public, the ways in which this public was conceived by both himself and his reviewers, and his depiction of a 'public space' in Calcutta each point to a constellation of themes that are going to structure Part 1. Throughout, I will be arguing that the 'public' qualities of visual and material culture provide an effective means of engaging with the subject that structures the conceptual spine of this thesis: how art mediated the transformation of the Company's territorial conquests into the colonial possessions of the British Nation. For despite being severely under-researched, scholars have begun to use India's nineteenth-century 'public' as a key prism through which the factional debates that surrounded the question of the Company's political sovereignty can be scrutinised.[17] Indeed, officially British India was never supposed to develop a 'public'. Still wary after the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, both MPs and members of the Company's Court of Directors were well-aware that the dominant Enlightenment understanding of society's relationship to the state meant that any acknowledgement of a 'public' in British India also involved tacitly accepting an argument for greater civil liberties - including political representation and constitutional rule.[18] This was anathema, and instead the peculiar authoritarianism of Company rule was underwritten by the conceit of 'enlightened despotism' - a form of governance acknowledged as abhorrent to a 'civilised' nation like Britain, but widely considered a necessary evil for governing India's 'barbarous or semi-barbarous' people.[19] Although this 'authoritarian liberalism' remained official policy until the regime change of 1858, its ideological precepts became increasingly alienated from historical reality.[20] The 1813 Charter Act permitted non-official immigration to India, and the conscious attempt at 'state-building' that characterised Company rule over the first decades of the nineteenth

[17] The topic has been touched upon by a number of writers. See: Bayly, Christopher, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Marshall, Peter J., 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?' in *The International History Review*, 12, No.1, (1990), pp.26-44; Travers, Robert, 'Contested Despotism: Problems of Liberty in British India', in Greene, Jack P. (*ed.*), *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.191-219; and Taylor, Miles, 'Joseph Hume and the Reformation of India, 1819-33', in Burgess, Glenn, and Matthew Festenstein (*eds.*), *English Radicalism, 1550-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.285-308.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] The quote is from J. S. Mill, see: Mill, J. S., 'On the Government of Dependencies by a Free State'', in *Considerations on Representative Government* (London: 1856), pp.322-3. On 'enlightened despotism', and its justification in India's perceived tradition of 'oriental despotism', see: Metcalf, Thomas, *Ideologies of the Raj*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.6-8; Travers, (2010); and Taylor, (2007).

[20] Chapter II charts the growth of civil society in India.

century precipitated many of the structural transformations that also shaped modern European society - including the growing separation of civil society from the state, and a shift from identity being formulated through personal interaction with political institutions, to definitions of selfhood as rooted in collective notions of culture, language, religion, caste, or race negotiated in the 'public' sphere.[21]

In Chapter I, I seek to show how art both consolidated systems of social and political organisation rooted in an early modern formulation of corporation, and that notions of publicity were inflected by their development within these idiosyncratic corporate networks. This demonstrates how any art-historical analysis of British India must be set within the peculiar local conditions that shaped the Company's colonial polity and the means by which it exercised power. However, in Chapter II I argue that art's 'public' qualities and the shifting political context in which Anglo-Indian art was produced began to erode the validity of these early modern forms of political organisation, producing 'public' cultural spaces and representations of community more traditionally associated with the modern state. Rather than attributing cultural atrophy to the decline of the lavish and extensive patronage of 'nabobs' and their unregulated pillaging of India's financial resources, I therefore position art as a key factor in the reform of the Company's employees first into a regulated bureaucracy, and then into members of an Anglo-Indian civil society.

Both chapters rely on a rich archive of personal correspondence, journals, and art theory produced by Charles D'Oyly and a broader social network of amateur artists that I will be calling the Bengal Amateur Network.[22] Central to my argument is one key manuscript, overlooked by

[21] For these structural changes, see: Chapter II. More generally, see: Bayly, (2003); and Wilson, (2007).

[22] Whilst no monograph currently exists on the subject, D'Oyly's artistic talents have been recognised in a small oeuvre of scholarship. However, such studies either take the form of biographical and empirical accounts of his life, or simply use his art to support thematic art-historical arguments, with little attention paid to the large archive of primary material related to his art and career. Moreover, many of the earlier biographies of his life contain factual errors, including the biography given in: Abbey, J., *Travel in Aquatint and Lithography*, 1770-1860, (London: Curzon Press, 1956), pp.422-23; and Archer, Mildred, '"The Talented Baronet": Sir Charles D'Oyly and his Drawings of India', in *Connoisseur*, 175, (November, 1970), pp.173-81. Jeremiah Losty, Professor Emeritus at the British Library, has produced three excellent empirical essays on D'Oyly's life, oeuvre, and the printing press that he established at Patna. See: Losty, Jeremiah, 'A Career in Art: Sir Charles D'Oyly', in Rohatgi, Pauline, and Pheroza Godrej (*eds.*), *Under the Indian Sun: British Landscape Artists*, (Bombay: Marg, 1995), pp.81-106; *Ibid.*, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Lithographic Press and his Indian Assistants', in Rohatgi, Pauline, and Pheroza Godrej (*eds.*), *India: A Pageant of Prints*, (Bombay: Marg, 1989), pp.135-60; and *Ibid.*, 'The Calcutta of Charles D'Oyly', in Pal, Pratapaditya (*ed.*), *Changing Visions, Lasting Images: Calcutta through 300 Years,* (Bombay, Marg, 1990), pp.47-58. Whilst highly informative and thoroughly researched, these works do not engage fully with the huge resource of the *Proceedings* manuscript, and do not attempt to go beyond empirical analysis. A selection of scholarship makes reference to D'Oyly, or uses his art to support broader arguments. See: Ray, (2013), pp.19-21, pp.26-29, p.118, pp.125-127, pp.132-3, p.136, p.204, p.207; De Almeida and Gilpin, (2005), pp.257-263. However, none of these authors engage with the large corpus of archival material relating to D'Oyly, and both ascribe to his work

previous scholars because of its unadvertised location in a private collection. This hefty, 339-page volume is entitled *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* and contains details of the Bengal Amateur's day-to-day activities, as well as poetic verse, satirical writing, and copious illustrations.[23] Indeed, taken together, these archival materials potentially constitute the largest known collection of associated primary documents related to artistic activity in Company India.

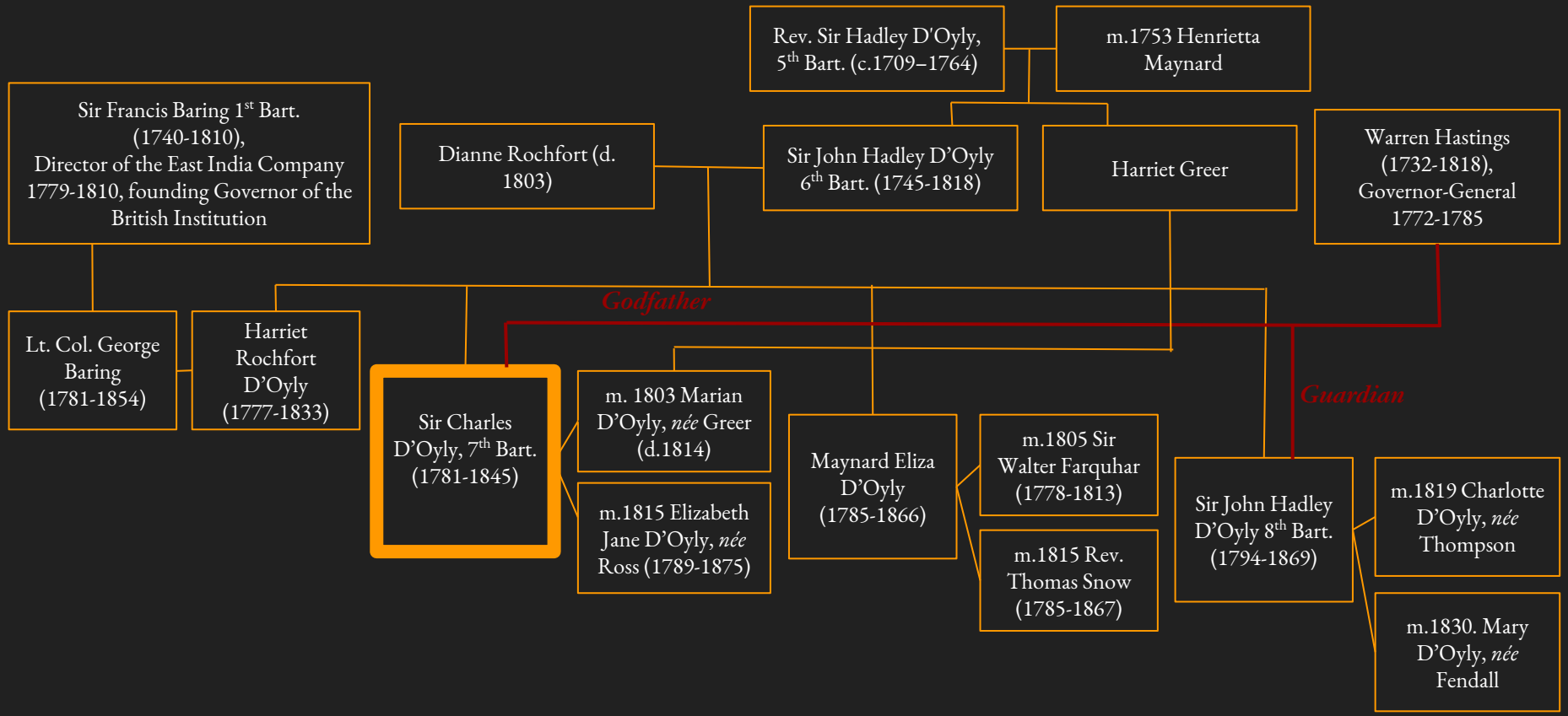
political values which do not necessarily correlate with the conversations about Company politics which can be found in his letters to Warren Hastings (BL Add MSS 45417-45418).

[23] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826). For more information on the nature of this album, its contents, and its role within the life of the artistic society that produced it, see Chapter II.

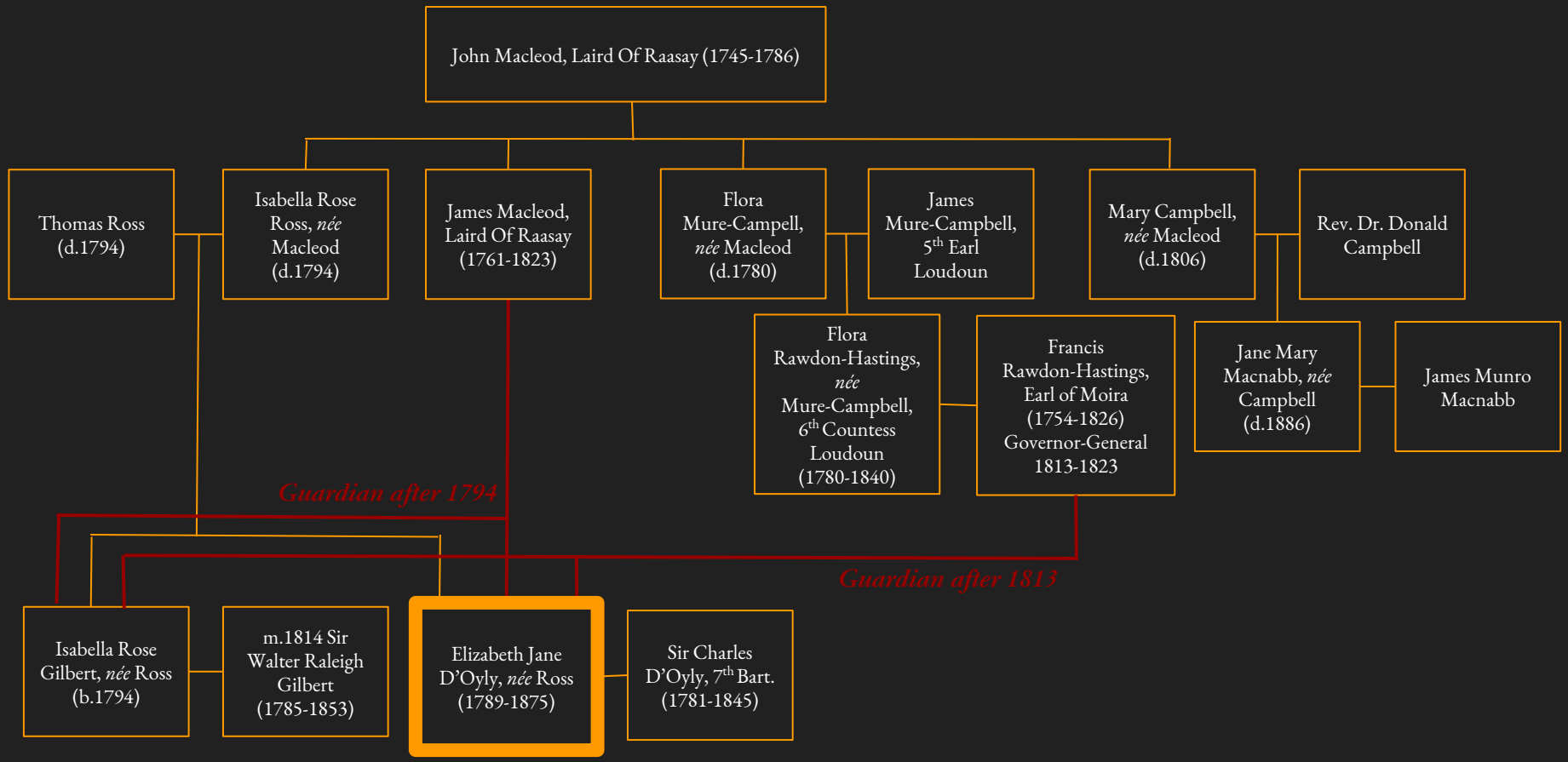
Figure 1: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Tom Raw Visits Taylor & Co.'s Emporium in Calcutta (containing a self-portrait of Sir Charles, and portraits of his father Sir John and his wife Marian)*', c.1812-1828, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, originally to be included in: Atkinson, James, and Sir Charles D'Oyly, *Tom Raw, The Griffin: A Burlesque Poem,* (London: R. Ackermann, 1828), in the possession of the V&A, London, South & South-East Asia Collection (IS.1-1980).

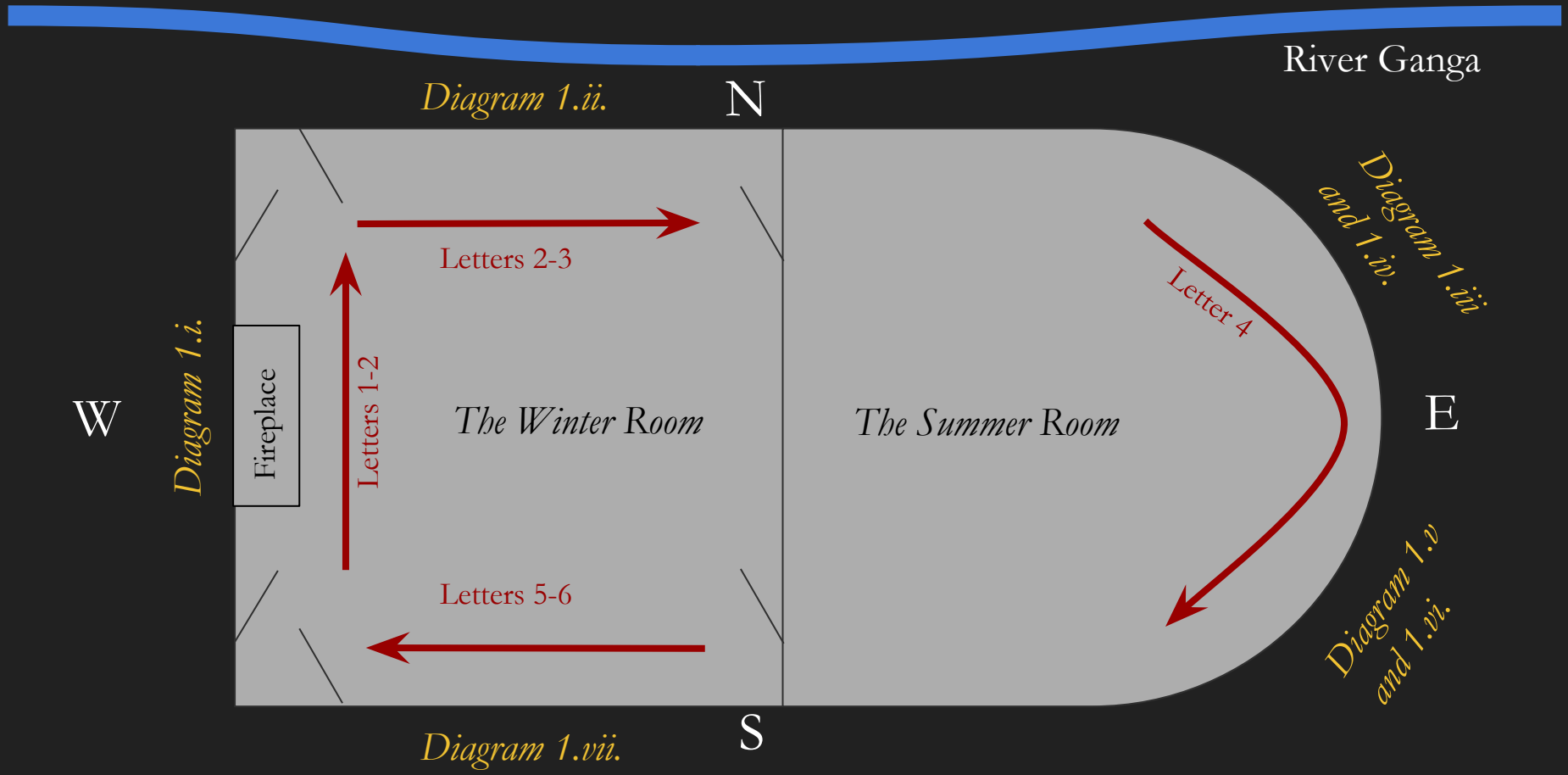
Sir Charles D'Oyly: Family Trees and *Diagrams 1.i.-1.vii.*

The Extended Family of Sir Charles D'Oyly, *7th Baronet of Shottisham*



The Extended Family of Lady Elizabeth Jane D'Oyly, *née Ross*





Sir Charles D'Oyly's Drawing Room, as described in the letters of 'Sir Peregrine *de la* Tour', 1824

Diagram 1.i. The West Wall

Copy after Sir Joshua Reynold's PRS *Laughing Girl.*

Portrait of the Marquess of Hastings (Governor General 1813-23), Copy after George Chinnery, by Charles D'Oyly.

'Family Department', miniatures including: Marian Hastings; Warren Hastings (Governor-General 1772-85); Lady D'Oyly by Mrs Browne; Charles D'Oyly by G. Chinnery; Mrs Colin Shakespeare and Daughter; Lt. Col. Walter Gilbert; Earl of Rawdon at the age of 12; John D'Oyly Jr., his wife Mrs Thompson, both copied from originals by G. Chinnery; a female head copied 'by a native'.

View of Mr Gardner's Residency House, Kathmandu, by Lady D'Oyly.

View of the Isle of Wight, copied after William Payne, by Charles D'Oyly.

Door on south side of the western wall.

A portrait of Major Cloete of the 25th Dragoons, by George Chinnery.

Fireplace

A portrait of James 'Silk' Buckingham, given as a gift to Charles D'Oyly.

Door on north side of the western wall.

Diagram 1.ii. 'The Great North Panel'

View of the the coast at Madras, by George Chinnery.

Portrait of B. H. Hodgson, by Charles D'Oyly (his first portrait in oils).

Door on west side of north wall

Large panel of miniatures covered by a 'green silken veil'. Includes miniatures of: 'the head of a native', either painted by or inherited from the late Lady D'Oyly, mother of Charles D'Oyly; Lady Farquhar; Mrs Barton; Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar, copied from a miniature by 'Lannders'; two watercolours of Venus and Cupid; Mrs Snow (sister-in-law of the President's younger sister).

'Moses Being Hidden in the Rushes', by William Westall.

Scene from *Old Mortality* by Walter Scott, painted by Charles Philips.

'Battle of Waterloo', by Charles D'Oyly after Capt. Jones.

An 'Asiatic Battle' by Charles D'Oyly.

Portrait of Edward Gardner, Political Resident at Kathmandu, by George Chinnery.

^ Portrait of Andrew Stirling, Persian Secretary, by George Chinnery.

Animal genre scene, by Thomas Sidney Cooper.

Family portrait of Sir William D'Oyly, the first D'Oyly Bart., his wife Miss Margaret Randall, their son Edward, and their daughter. Painted by Sir Peter Lely.

Diagram 1.iii.

Summer Room, Panel 1

View of the gateway of the Old Fort, Calcutta. By Charles D'Oyly.

^ View of the temples 'Birkenpud' and 'Suddadhur Jee's Mundle' at Gyah, in the distance the hill 'Burrum Jervin Chand', by Charles D'Oyly.

View of a waterfall in the 'Monghyr Hills' called 'Gorakhoor', by Charles D'Oyly.

'Asiatic Landscape' by Charles D'Oyly.

Unknown

Coloured Chalk portrait of Mrs Colonel Lindsay by Mrs Browne.

Diagram 1.iv.

Summer Room, Panel 2

The ‘dwelling house’ of the Lairds of Raasay, with the Isle of Skye visible, by Charles D’Oyly.

Scene from *The Adventures of Nigel,* by Walter Scott, painted by Charles D’Oyly.

Scene from *The Adventures of Nigel,* by Walter Scott, painted by Charles D’Oyly.

View of the Highlands of Scotland, by Charles D’Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel’s and Richard Ayton’s *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

View of the Highlands of Scotland, by Charles D’Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel’s and Richard Ayton’s *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

Coloured chalk sketch of the Marquis of Hastings, by George Chinnery.

Diagram 1.v.

Summer Room, Panel 3

View from the window of the 'Dwelling House' of Raasay, by Charles D'Oyly.

Scene from *The Adventures of Nigel,* by Walter Scott, painted by Charles D'Oyly.

Scene from *The Adventures of Nigel,* by Walter Scott, painted by Charles D'Oyly.

View of Armadale Castle, seat of Lord MacDonald, by Charles D'Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel's and Richard Ayton's *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

View of Dunvegan Castle, seat of Macleod, by Charles D'Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel's and Richard Ayton's *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

Chalk portrait of an anonymous woman.

Diagram 1.vi.

Summer Room, Panel 4

View of a banyan tree besides a *ghat*, by Charles D'Oyly.

View of a house at 'Baglepore', by Lady D'Oyly after Charles D'Oyly.

View of the Rajmahal Hills at Pulwar, by Charles D'Oyly.

View of the Highlands of Scotland, by Charles D'Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel's and Richard Ayton's *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

View of the Highlands of Scotland, by Charles D'Oyly, after a print by William Daniel in Daniel's and Richard Ayton's *A Voyage around Great Britain.*

A portrait of Mrs Macnabb (a first cousin of Lady D'Oyly), by Charles D'Oyly, after Mrs Browne.

Diagram 1.vii. 'The Great South Panel'

Portrait of M. Leake, 'Chief of Chittagong', with an elephant and servants, 1781, by William Devis. Painted for John Hadley D'Oyly.

Genre scene entitled 'The Sick Traveller', by William Westall RA.

Magdalene, copy after Guido Reni.

Genre scene of gypsies, by Charles D'Oyly.

'Asiatic Landscape', by Lady D'Oyly, after Charles D'Oyly.

Marine view, by George Webster.

View of the River Thames, by Richard Wilson RA.

Marine view, by George Webster.

Door on west side of the south wall

Coloured chalk portrait of the sister of C. Elliot, by Seodial.

Marine view, by Charles D'Oyly, after an Adriaen van de Velde in the Dulwich Galleries.

Marine view, by Charles D'Oyly, after an Adriaen van de Velde in the Dulwich Galleries.

Marine view, by Charles D'Oyly, after Claude-Joseph Vernet.

Marine view, by Charles D'Oyly, after Claude-Joseph Vernet.

- *Chapter 1* -

'The Delights of Association': Gifted Art, Corporate Culture, and the Early Career of Sir Charles D'Oyly

1. 'It is Better to be Romantic than Prosaically Dull in Imagination'[1]

On the 8th December, 1820, Sir Charles and Eliza D'Oyly wrote a joint letter to Jane Mary Macnabb, Eliza's cousin and a close family friend. After eight years of struggling in Calcutta's Custom House, the newly-ennobled baronet had finally won a promotion to become Opium Agent for Patna - one of the Bengal Presidency's key commercial centres.[2] The couple's letter excitedly detailed their new home in the city, a 'very large' bungalow in Hajipur, which, being on the north bank of the Ganga and outside the city walls, afforded them the tranquillity of a 'very spacious' garden 'covered with magnificent tamarind trees' (*fig.*1:1).[3] The location was perfect for a couple as avidly interested in amateur art as the D'Oylys, who spent their afternoons leisurely sketching in their new grounds (*fig.*1:2). Serendipitously, Jane Macnabb's husband James knew this apparent paradise well, for he had actually been born there in 1790. For Jane's sake, however, the D'Oylys squeezed between two paragraphs some rough sketches of the ground plans, '*thro'* which Macnabb can guide you with all his associations - and tell you in all probability the room in which he was born' (*figs.*1:3-1:5).[4] Such 'associations' had already been working their effect on the D'Oylys, who told Jane how 'the breakfast room with the fireplace was Mrs Macnabb's sleeping apartment & these in all probability your good man awoke to life...whether it is anticipated association...I know not but

[1] Letter from Sir Charles and Elizabeth D'Oyly to Jane Mary Macnabb dated 8th December 1820, (BL IOR F206/19).

[2] Patna formed the 'second-city' of the Bengal Presidency, and also traded indigo, sugar, lac, cotton cloth, musk from Bhutan, and saltpetre for gunpowder. See: Hagen, James, *Indigenous Society, the Political Economy, and Colonial Education in Patna District: A History of Social Change from 1811 to 1951 in Gangetic North India* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1984); Karna, M. (*ed.*), *Studies in Bihar's Economy and Society* (New Delhi: Concept, 1981).

[3] Letter from Sir Charles and Elizabeth D'Oyly to Jane Mary Macnabb dated 8th December 1820.

[4] *Ibid.*

it is of all the rooms in the house the one we prefer'.[5] Desiring to affirm their supposition, however, the D'Oylys asked Jane to confer with her husband, explaining that they could hold the room 'sacred' once they knew for sure, and commemorate it appropriately by installing 'some remembrance of him'.[6] For this purpose, they asked the Macnabbs to 'send us up his picture & your own finished by Chinnery' - a renowned Calcutta-based artist and close friend of the couple.[7] The rationale behind installing a portrait in this 'sacred' room suggests a ritualistic engagement with art more traditionally associated with religious imagery. It seems that the couple were using portraiture as a way to shape their domestic interior into a space that represented their familial and emotional networks, and within which they could engage with these relationships through sentimental 'associations'.[8] As D'Oyly explained to his cousin-in-law, 'it is better to be romantic than prosaically dull in imagination'.[9] He was simply 'enjoying the delights of association'.[10]

By early 1824 the D'Oylys had moved into a grand, classically-porticoed residence in Bankipore, a large European suburb that abutted the *Ganga* from the west of Patna.[11] From various lists and descriptions of the works of art displayed in this new house, as well as two charming watercolours that D'Oyly made of the drawing rooms (*figs.*1:6&1:7), it is clear that the Macnabbs' portraits would have ended up hanging in rather good company.[12] I have been able to recreate the exact hang of D'Oyly's collection from these sources, and have detailed this unprecedented glimpse into Anglo-Indian domestic display in a series of schematic diagrams (*Diagrams* 1.*i*-1.*vii*). My recreation reveals that by 1824 the couple had acquired twenty-eight portraits, twenty landscapes of England and India, six marine views, nine genre scenes, six religious, mythological, and battle paintings, alongside numerous sketches and miniatures. In the first half of this chapter, I am going to examine correspondence like that between the D'Oylys and the Macnabbs, arguing that this remarkable collection formed the culmination of an extensive use of gifting, soliciting, and emotionally engaging with art in ways which materialised key social relationships within the

[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] I discuss the cultural semantics associated with the domestic interior later in this chapter.
[9] Letter from Sir Charles and Elizabeth D'Oyly to Jane Mary Macnabb dated 8th December 1820.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] The artist and author Emily Eden amusingly described Bankipore as 'a sort of Battersea to Patna'. See: Eden, Emily, '*Up the Country*': *Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India, 2nd Edn.*, (London: R. Bentley, 1866). I have attempted (over several days) to locate the D'Oylys' house in Bankipore, but believe it to have been demolished. Several houses in a similar style do, however, still survive in the suburb, and images of the house sketched and painted by D'Oyly exist as a reference (see: *fig.1:8*).
[12] A list of paintings owned by D'Oyly, alongside an ekphrasis of the collection, are included in: *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826). See especially: f.15, ff.17-23, ff.42-48, ff.63-68, ff.91-96, ff.171-174, and ff.181-183.

Company's corporate structure - consolidating family networks or forging bonds of political clientage. My argument will turn on the twin meanings of the term that cropped up so frequently in the D'Oylys' letter - 'association'. For on the one hand, I want to show that art formed a crucial material basis for consolidating friendship groups by 'affording' certain associational practices.[13] On the other, I want to argue that art possessed this capacity as a result of its implication in a culture of sentimentality grounded in 'associationist psychology'.

The precise lineaments of this culture have been well documented by art historians.[14] To precis, aestheticians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries came to ground aesthetic pleasure in a work of art's ability to evoke in the viewer 'trains of memories' or emotions that they associated with particular times, places, or people.[15] There is an abundance of evidence revealing D'Oyly's engagement with this aesthetic framework: a description of the joys that the Macnabbs might experience visiting their old home at Barrackpore; gratification derived from two drawings that allowed D'Oyly to 'perfectly recollect' his godfather's house at Daylesford; or a desire that Richard Wilson had included 'human interest' in his landscapes.[16] Accordingly, I will be arguing that the exchange of art objects possessing sentimental associations acted as a means to communicate and incite emotion within D'Oyly's social network. The affiliations that this practice fostered could then be displayed within the domestic interior, where the sorts of affective, 'associationist'

[13] There is a large literature on the 'affordances' of objects. For the philosophical origin of the idea, see: Gibson, James Jerome, *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).

[14] Good analyses are included in: Kriz, Kay Dian, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), especially chapter four; and Solkin, David, *Painting Out of the Ordinary: Modernity and the Art of Everyday Life in Early Nineteenth-Century England,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), especially chapter one.

[15] The capacity of art to produce 'trains of associations' was popularised to a large extent by Archibald Alison in his *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste,* (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1790). A second edition of Alison's *Essays* was published in 1811, potentially making a greater impact on contemporaneous thought than the first edition.

[16] On the Macnabb's 'associations', see: Letter from Sir Charles and Eliza D'Oyly to Jane Mary Macnabb dated 8th December 1820 (BL IOR F206/19), 'associations unquestionably arise in abundance out of every road and turning throughout the park. Such & such were thoughts in going up that rising ground - in winding *thro'* that avenue, you thus meditated and soon - recalling the various workings of your sensitive mind as you retraced the moving scenes of that beautiful domain. The pleasures of memory had a fine field to sport in and among them the days of courtship, fettered as they were, shone bright as they flashed across your mental vision'. On Daylesford, see: Letter from Sir Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234, 'the two views of Daylesford I am sure I have mentioned in some of my letters but as they are now before me I must again bring them into notice. They have a correctness about them which I scarce ever saw better effected every inch of ground represented. I perfectly recollect & in recollecting am highly gratified'. On Richard Wilson, see: *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.174, 'it is indeed a very superior piece. I could have wished the introduction of a few of the human species in the scene, a peasant watching the grazing cows or a female villager returning to her village but not one is to be found, even in the distance to tell the viewer that so lovely a spot is uninhabited'. Associationist aesthetics defined the inclusion of human characters as an important way to 'enliven' and add interest to landscapes. See: Hemingway, (1992), p.88.

responses we saw in the D'Oylys' letter to the Macnabbs enabled the couple to reflect on their own interests and identities as embedded *within* these social bonds.

Of course, several scholars have previously noted the emotional resonances that material culture generated by circulating within imperial social networks, whilst the emotional functions ascribed to art objects - and specifically portraits - have received rich documentation in scholarship on British art.[17] Of particular relevance is Margot Finn's research on the 'emotional economy of Anglo-Indian society', which has demonstrated how material and epistolic practices of exchange cultivated and maintained colonial dynasties and the 'liens of political obligation' that shaped the Company's polity.[18] Finn has gone so far as to characterise this polity as a 'familial proto-state', structured according to a web of extended kinship networks in which capital circulated, and within which patronage and policy were determined.[19] D'Oyly's rich archive, and the unprecedented insight into colonial domestic display that it provides, supports this scholarship in superlative detail - providing insights into the gifting strategies of three Governors-General of India. However, D'Oyly's specific use of art as a mechanism for fostering association also raises significant further questions about the manner in which the employees of the East India Company affiliated themselves, alongside the ways in which Anglo-Indians conceptualised their social identities.

Finn's scholarship has emphasised the antinomies prevalent in the material practices of Anglo-Indian society, thereby highlighting the inadequacies of the conceptual categories through which historians have traditionally studied the colonial individual. Her emphasis on gift exchange has not only revealed how 'pre-modern' forms of material practice coexisted with 'modern' contractual and market-orientated modes of behaviour, but her emphasis on familial networks has led her to argue against anachronistic notions of the 'autonomous', Romantic, and consumerist self

[17] Besides Margot Finn, whom I discuss in depth below, scholars such as John McAleer and Natasha Eaton have demonstrated the continued importance of gifts and the circulation of material culture in colonial societies. See: McAleer, John, 'Eminent Service: War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope c.1782-1807', in *The Mariner's Mirror*, 95, 1, (2009), pp.33-51; and Eaton, Natasha, 'Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift and Diplomacy in Colonial India, 1770-1800', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46 (4), (2008), pp.816-844. On the extra-inanimate qualities of portraiture in the history of British art, see: Cooper, Tarnya, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); and Pointon, Marcia, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). David Solkin has also expertly shown how Godfrey Kneller's 'Kit Kat' portraits helped define the new community of Whigs in the early eighteenth century. See: Solkin, (1993), particularly chapter one.

[18] Finn, Margot, 'Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c.1780-1820', in *Modern Asian Studies*, 40, 1, (2006), pp. 203-232; and *Ibid.*, 'Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century', in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33, 1, (March, 2010), pp.49-65.

[19] Finn, Margot, 'Family Formations: Anglo India and the Familial Proto-State', in Feldman, David, and Jon Lawrence (*eds.*), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History: Essays for Gareth Stedman Jones*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.100-117.

in the colonial context. As she has capably demonstrated, colonial commodities circulated in an 'affective economy in which the claims of kin outweighed those of financial cost and the demands of the individual ego were embedded within a web of carefully constructed and sedulously maintained collective social identities, rather than finding free expression in the anonymous marketplace'.[20] Whilst this is clearly an important intervention, it is also clear that artistic culture fits uneasily within the conceptual dichotomy underlying such a statement. D'Oyly certainly used art and its affective qualities to consolidate kinship networks, but he was also concerned about cultivating a broader artistic 'public' for his work - a community defined by 'universal' and 'disinterested' notions of taste. Whilst gifted art did not belong to the 'anonymous marketplace' of the commodity, it could still represent or crystallise certain collective identities that were less particular than those curated by the private or 'intimate' gift.

In the second half of this chapter, I am going to address this issue by delineating the unique properties and social affordances that distinguished art from other categories of material culture, focusing particularly on the ways in which it shaped certain forms of colonial identity. The crux of my argument is that D'Oyly's art not only 'publicly' defined the conceptual boundaries of the private or intimate spheres in Anglo-India, but made public the social and political affiliations that regulated these spheres - essentially showing the 'familial proto-state' back to itself. I contend that this sort of 'public representation' was vital to the formation of collective social identities in British India.[21] This chapter therefore takes the concerns of an intellectually far more nebulous literature on the impact of artistic culture on colonial identity-formation, and seeks to address these issues through the archivally grounded analysis of individual biographies and imperial family networks pioneered by scholars such as Margot Finn.[22] One of its principal ambitions is to temper the increasingly popular notion that 'autonomous' local identities formed in the Presidency cities over

[20] Finn, (2006), p.228.

[21] I am relying here on the work of several cultural historians who have emphasised the importance of 'representations' in producing individual and collective identities, and who have also located the public sphere as the conceptual space within which such representations operated. All of these historians are careful not to separate the public sphere from the state, which is critical to my argument that a social network that effectively constituted the colonial polity defined itself in the public sphere. See: Brewer, John, 'This, That and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the 17th and 18th Centuries', in Castiglione, Dario, and Lesley Sharpe (*eds.*), *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), pp.1-21; Blanning, Timothy J., *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), especially the introduction; and Sharpe, Kevin, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), especially the introduction.

[22] Finn, (2010); Lambert, David, and Alan Lester (*eds.*), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Lambert, David, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies: The British Case', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 40, 1, (January-March, 2014), pp.22-41.

the first decades of the nineteenth century.[23] In contrast, I will demonstrate that the *esprit de corps* that did develop in the Company's civil and military establishments was both fostered within, and in relation to, the social networks that defined the Company's 'familial proto-state', and that it was represented visually in a public sphere circumscribed by the nature and interests of these corporate bodies.[24]

ii. A Biography in Art: Emotive Gifts and Domestic Display

'A more comprehensive recognition of the extended family's role in imperial material life will in turn enrich historians' understanding of the ways in which the British conceptualised, wielded and understood power in colonial India'

- *Margot Finn,* 2006 [25]

The numerous portraits hanging on D'Oyly's walls reveal a broad social network of family, patrons, and peers in the Company's civil service. The boundaries between these distinctions was by no means this clear-cut, however, and the overlap between these categories reveals in an exemplary way the complex forms of social allegiance and affiliation that colonial service fostered. D'Oyly belonged to an 'extended' imperial family - an assortment of blood and non-blood relatives bound together to limit the 'centrifugal forces' of diasporic living and tropical death, whilst also cultivating the factional and patronal loyalties that structured the distribution of colonial power.[26] Born in India in 1781 - in all likelihood in the Bengali city of Murshidabad where his father was the British Resident at the court of *Nawab* Mubarak Ali Khan (1759-1793) - D'Oyly would be educated in

[23] For example, Sarah Burnage has argued that Calcutta's statue of Lord Cornwallis provided 'a voice and identity to the citizenry of Calcutta distinct from that of the Royal Academy or the East India Company'. See: Burnage, Sarah, 'Commemorating Cornwallis: Sculpture in India 1792–1813', in *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol.11, Issue 2, (2010), pp.173-194. Burnage's claims are problematic - the vast majority of Europeans in India were directly employed by the Company, whilst private trade only opened in 1813 (two decades after the first meeting to commission the statue), with strict limits on official European settlement until 1833. Indeed, across the entire subcontinent between 1815 and 1828 the European private community was thought to have increased by no more than 515 residents. Peter Marshall's oeuvre is a useful resource for understanding the peculiar nature of colonial society in India, and particularly the corporate nature of the civil establishment. See: Marshall, Peter J., 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?' in *The International History Review,* 12, No.1 (1990), pp.26-44; and *Ibid.*, 'British Society in India under the East India Company', in *Modern Asian Studies,* 31, No.1 (1997), pp.89-108.

[24] I use Peter Marshall's term *esprit de corps* as the best way to define the collective identity of the Company's civil service. See *Ibid.*, (1997), p.105.

[25] Finn, (2006), p.229.

[26] *Ibid.*, (2006), p.205.

England between the ages of four and sixteen, before then returning to the country of his birth in 1797.[27] His father, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1745-1818), had been a close companion of Warren Hastings (1732-1818), who, as detailed in the Prologue, became a loving godfather and a frequent correspondent to his friend's son. By 1801 the young civil servant had entered the household of the Governor-General Lord Wellesley (1760-1842), first as a member of his Political Department, and then in 1803 as head of his Lordship's Personal Office.[28] D'Oyly had consolidated his family networks the preceding year, marrying his elder cousin Marian Greer against his father's initial disapproval,[29] and, in an interesting expression of political allegiance, moving his marital home to the grounds of Hastings' old Indian residence at Alipore, a remote southern suburb of Calcutta.[30] D'Oyly's father, who had been struggling to regain a squandered Indian fortune by serving as a colonial administrator in Ireland, returned to India with his daughters in 1804 - although this brief family reunion was interrupted just four years later, when, in February of 1808, Charles was awarded the prestigious Collectorship of Dacca.[31] This tenure proved equally fleeting, however - in 1812 he was forced to return to Calcutta and tend to his father's ailing health. Tragically, Marian died first - in 1814 - and was buried in an elegant neoclassical tomb in Park Street Cemetery (*fig.*1:12). Sir John survived for another four years before suffering a stroke in January of 1818. He was interred below a grand obelisk just metres away from his daughter-in-law (*fig.*1:13). The year 1818 proved particularly bleak for D'Oyly - just months after his father's death, he received news that his beloved 'second parent', Warren Hastings, had also passed away.[32]

Hastings had formed a crucial political connection during D'Oyly's first years in the civil service. The former Governor-General had cultivated a political faction which continued to influence Company affairs long after his official retirement from office in 1784, whilst his attention

[27] Sir John's correspondence is held in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Like his son, the Baronet also maintained an extensive correspondence with Warren Hastings, held now at the British Library. Although this archive is outside the scope of this chapter, these materials not only frequently refer to Sir Charles D'Oyly, but shed fascinating light on the social networks involved in the burgeoning decades of Indian Orientalism.

[28] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 7th May 1801, (Add MS 29178), f.38; and Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 18th March 1803, (Add MS 29179), f.47.

[29] For Sir John's disapproval of D'Oyly's choice of a considerably-older first cousin, see: Letter from John Hadley D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, dated 1st October 1802, (Add MS 29178), f.271. 'Few propositions could have been more disagreeable to me - various were my objections to it'. D'Oyly's father only consented to the match after Hastings personally calmed him down (largely by citing the lack of eligible women in India).

[30] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th September 1804, (Add MS 29179), f.383.

[31] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 9th February 1808, (Add MS 29183), f.172. On his return, Sir John had spent a huge sum on a close competition for the Parliamentary seat of Ipswich, which he won. He also purchased two estates in Hampshire - the traditional county of 'nabobs'. First, he acquired Newlands, near Lymington (*fig.1:9*), then subsequently 'D'Oyly Park' in Portmore, now called Newtown Park (*figs.1:10&1:11*). Both are currently private residences.

[32] D'Oyly calls Hastings this in a letter dated 9th March 1805. See: (Add MS 29180), f.152.

to D'Oyly cemented a patrilineal legacy that emphasised the young civil servant's identity as the progenitor of an 'established' Anglo-Indian dynasty. The pair's intimacy had proven useful during the new recruit's time in Lord Wellesley's household, with the Governor-General using him as an efficient conduit for gauging Hastings' opinion.[33] Moreover, on the appointment in 1813 of the Earl of Moira (1754-1826) to the Governor-Generalship, Hastings had been asked to 'recommend to him any special friends under his immediate Gov.t a privilege'.[34] D'Oyly and his father were chosen, and the younger man wrote gushingly to praise his godfather for 'the undeviating regard you feel for our interests'.[35] Despite being politically advantageous, however, the pair's affection seems to have been real enough. Hastings wrote several long letters of advice to his godson, qualifying his actions by explaining how 'advice is hateful...I ventured upon it with that general prepossession against it: but, my Charles, I know that it is both useful and necessary, and of easy practice, and that it is offered to you by one who has loved you from the hour of your birth'.[36] D'Oyly's corresponding reply reassured his godfather that he had 'received them as the partial admonitions of a fond parent, for believe my affection for you & my dear godmother is scarce inferior to that I bear for my real parents'.[37] The pair's extensive correspondence, stretching between 1795 and Hastings' death in 1818, is littered with similarly affectionate remarks. And, just as with the Macnabbs, this fondness was repeatedly mediated by the exchange of art objects.

Hastings was well aware of the social and political nuances of gift-giving.[38] As Natasha Eaton has shown, he made use of the compatibility between the European tradition of gifting portraiture and the prestation ceremonies that survived at the courts of the Mughal successor states, making images of himself central to the Company's diplomatic repertoire.[39] The former Governor-General also expressed to D'Oyly the appropriateness of using art as an aid to their personal affection, writing in a letter sent on the 11th April, 1808, that he was 'in hopes that an engraving would be made from the portrait...by Will. Beechey; but the approbation of that picture has

[33] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 27th November 1802, (Add MS 29178), f.306: 'At a large party given at the Government House at which I happened, after dinner to sit next his Lordship, he addressed me on the subject of you having written to me, and after expressing his hope that you enjoyed good health and ease in your retirement he asked me if you had not mentioned your sentiments respecting the college'.

[34] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 15th April 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.45.

[35] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

[36] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 16th March 1803, (Add MS 29179), unpaginated.

[37] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, dated 28th August 1803, (Add MS 29179), f.162.

[38] At the end of his lengthy impeachment trial, Hastings had gifted Sir John D'Oyly an oval box with a Persian seal that read 'this affliction has also passed away'. On the side of the gift a plaque detailed how the object had been given to commemorate Sir John's unceasing loyalty whilst sitting in the house as MP for Ipswich. To celebrate the 'not-guilty' verdict, Sir John had even hosted a large party in 1795. See: Lawson, Sir Charles, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings: First Governor-General of India*, (London: Swan, 1895), pp.201-202.

[39] Eaton, (2008).

precluded that use of it...[if] I should again...be engraved as well as painted, you may be assured that I shall take care living or dead, to provide that two of the prints shall be reserved as memorials for you and your father'.[40] Hastings' choice of the term 'memorials' calls attention to the use of portraiture as a focus for emotional practices during this period; his assurance to take care 'living or dead' to provide them something of their social significance. Indeed, D'Oyly was apparently unable to wait for his godfather's own initiatives, writing to him in October of 1814 to hurry the process along:

> 'My father once told me you had kindly promised to send him either a marble bust of yourself or a portrait. May I remind you of it my dearest Sir for a present more acceptable to our hearts you could not offer. If preference is allowed me I should solicit (with an earnestness I will not attempt to describe) a marble bust. I have a plaster of Paris head of you...but it is I am sorry to say in a dilapidated state & as I have always considered this as one of my dio penates [sic], I cannot but wish to replace it with one of more durable materials which shall be handed down to the latest posterity in a family which your friendship & affection has so honoured'.[41]

Beyond the customary epistolic hyperbole, the way D'Oyly described the materiality of art in this request is telling. The 'dilapidated' plaster of Paris bust powerfully signified Hastings' emotional negligence, whereas the durability of a marble bust could materially enshrine the pair's association in an object that, becoming a dynastic heirloom, might even work to actively ensure factional loyalty in future generations.[42] D'Oyly's description of his current bust as a *di penates*, an icon of a Roman household deity typically used in prayers to protect the home and family, certainly emphasised a connection between affective engagement, the bust's 'extra-inanimate powers', and household identity.

Nevertheless, D'Oyly was apparently unsatisfied with his impassioned request, for he penned another proposal just a few months later. I have included just one paragraph of this overwrought exercise in the language of sentiment:

> 'You will I am persuaded pardon me for again repeating an anxious desire, nay more an uncontestable longing for a portrait of you, or a marble or bronze bust. It has been a desideratum which my affection for you constantly brings to my mind, & as constantly refers me to persecute you with till my wish is accomplished. I have you in various shapes. 1st: deeply engraved on my heart. 2nd: engraved on plates of

[40] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 11th April 1808, (Add MS 29183), f.224.

[41] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 10th October 1814, (Add MS 29189), f.229.

[42] Indeed, the next three generations of D'Oyly Baronets (through Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, 8th Baronet) would all take Hastings' name as part of their own. D'Oyly's remarks also make sense in relation to the humid Indian climate.

> various descriptions & 3rd: in the shape of a plaster of Paris bust. The first is perhaps sufficient to satisfy the mind & would render all other remembrances superfluous, but the eye requires satisfaction which is not wholly produced by what I possess. There has been a picture I have been told painted of you by Sir Thoms. Lawrence, & if it possesses the excellence which I have heard it does, & the talent of such an artist promises, it would afford me infinite gratification to have a copy of it by the same hand...I have indeed so long led myself to hope for something of this nature that I cannot bare the feeling & beg you will gratify it at my expense'.[43]

D'Oyly's impassioned plea reveals further why he deemed an artistic representation of Hastings so important to solicit. His specific concern with the eye's 'satisfaction' and his metaphor of having Hastings 'deeply engraved' on his heart framed the way emotions were processed and stored within an explicitly artistic metaphorical language - unsurprising when associationist aesthetics provided a rich framework for discussing the relationship between visual stimuli, memory, and affective states. D'Oyly's request for a copy by Thomas Lawrence's exceptionally prestigious hand also emphasised his stress on aesthetic value as related to emotional value,[44] with D'Oyly's self-defined identity as a connoisseur even allowing him to 'feel more gratified by such a possession' than Hasings' other acquaintances.[45] On a primary level, then, the variability of medium and subject lent art a semantic capaciousness for mediating affectionate sociability, whilst as a material object, it could indexically signify a social exchange. Yet D'Oyly's blurring of familial affection with a more specific aesthetics nuanced this capaciousness further. The emotional resonance of material objects as defined by associationist theory allowed a receptive connoisseur like himself into a world of sentimentality, and a nuanced aesthetic language to articulate emotional states. Under the veneer of cultured civility, art allowed D'Oyly to feel or 'perform' emotions that might never be experienced interpersonally because of the great distances that separated individuals in the British Empire.[46]

This emotionally performative aspect of artistic exchange is more explicit if we turn to D'Oyly's domestic hang. It seems the desirous collector only managed to acquire a portrait of his godfather after 1818. In a letter sent in 1820, Hastings' widow Marian informed D'Oyly that 'I have written to you, a long letter by the ship called *Astill* and have trusted the letter, with the precious

[43] Undated letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, (Add MS 29192), f.265. It is possible to reconstruct a date of late 1814 or early 1815 from the subjects that are discussed.

[44] Hastings was painted twice by Sir Thomas Lawrence, first in 1786 (*fig.1:14*), then again in 1811 (*fig.1:15*). It seems more likely that D'Oyly was referring to the later oil on canvas portrait.

[45] Undated Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, (Add MS 29192), f.250. 'To me the possession of a bust ^or portrait^ would be an invaluable treasure to descend to posterity among my *dii penates* [sic], & who is there among your admiring friends who would feel more gratified by such a possession than myself?'

[46] Finn has even shown how gifts could cultivate ties between individuals who had never physically met each other. See: Finn, (2006), p.215.

picture of my adored, and ever lamented husband'.[47] This 'token of my esteem and affection for you' was presumably the portrait by Sir William Beechey that Hastings had previously ruled out giving to his godson, but which can nevertheless be found in an inventory of D'Oyly's collection drawn up in 1824.[48] A portrait that looks very similar to Beechey's can actually be made out in a watercolour of D'Oyly's 'winter room', hanging just above the northern entrance (the details of a white collar, greying hair on the sides of the sitter's head, and an earth-toned ground with light cast from the sitter's right all visually correlate *figs.*1:15&1:16). The domestic gallery was a semantically charged space in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - both inherently domestic, and thus tied personally to the owner, but also semi-public, carefully calculated to project specific identities and messages to its audiences.[49] Whilst the significance of placing his godfather's portrait in such a prominent location no doubt conveyed D'Oyly's factional allegiances - indexically signifying his privileged connection to the former Governor-General - it also would have enabled him to emotionally 'perform' this loyalty. An ekphrasis of his collection penned under the pseudonym Peregrine de la Tour, and included in the *Proceedings* manuscript, certainly details this sort of affective engagement. Coming across a portrait of Hastings included in what the narrator describes as the 'family department', D'Oyly's own narrative voice breaks through the literary conceit:

> 'I...saw the mild and benevolent features of one of the best as well as the greatest of human beings, features which must be recognised by the grateful hearts of Indians over whom he ruled so long & whose esteem and admiration followed him, when he returned to his native shores...Hastings that venerable nobleman whose public career abroad and at home has been so conspicuously marked *tho'* so shamefully neglected by those who ought to appreciate it the most. A tear stole from my eye as the ingratitude of the world crossed my mind, and some very unloyal wishes to those who had injured him were spinning from my heart'.[50]

Seeing Hastings' portrait instantly conjures up support for the former Governor-General's political career - his so-called 'benevolent' rule over 'grateful' Indians, and a 'shameful neglect' that presumably refers to his notorious impeachment trial between 1788 and 1795.[51] In politicising the portrait, the narrator's affective response becomes political as well - he wishes ill on Hastings' enemies from his 'heart', and his loyalty is expressed performatively through tears of sympathy (a

[47] Letter from Marian Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 10th February 1820, (Add MS 29191), f.239.
[48] The inventory is included in: *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.15.
[49] A good account of the social significances encoded in the domestic hang is included in: Pointon, (1993).
[50] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.20.
[51] For the substantial literature dealing with Hastings' impeachment trial, see: The Introduction, note 77.

powerful moral emotion in the contemporaneously popular works of Adam Smith).[52] D'Oyly's 'family department' therefore not only materialised his familial and political allegiance to his godfather, but provided a context in which he could perform this allegiance as an emotional response triggered by art's capacity to evoke affective 'associations'.

Importantly, when D'Oyly was not sending overwrought requests to his godfather he was busy providing art instead. His correspondence frequently references gifted drawings, the positive reception of which served as a means for Hastings to express his affection for the budding amateur. The first set of images that D'Oyly gifted were four 'Asiatic' landscapes, a particularly suitable gift for a former Governor-General: 'I have first finished...views I have taken of the river towards Calcutta & downwards of the large baunian [sic] tree at Alipor an old acquaintance of yours & a mosque near our grounds...*as these four are Asiatic & the scenes they describe must please you* I am going to [make] about four drawings on a small scale which I intend sending to you under the charge of Captain Swinton'.[53] As scenes evocative of their shared experience of living in Calcutta, D'Oyly's landscapes were able to engage with a facet of Hastings' identity to which they could both relate. Indeed, the former Governor-General had lost both his children at a tragically young age, and, to some extent, D'Oyly had become the closest thing to an heir in Company India that he now possessed.[54] The pair's close connection certainly informed Hastings' happy inclusion of the drawings in the extensive hang that he had amassed at Daylesford, which, like his godson's, curated an identity premised on his career in the subcontinent and the social connections that he had acquired there. One of Hastings' letters detailed how he had 'carried [the drawings] with me not a little delighted to Daylesford...there they hang in very good company, and form, with exceptions which my loyalty exacts from me, the best ornaments of our mansion'.[55] Hanging in 'good company' was only the first of several metaphors associated with amicability that Hastings used to describe these gifts, additionally calling the banyan tree an 'old acquaintance' that he deemed 'both as a composition, and as a *portrait*, most excellent'.[56] 'Vitalising' the landscape as a former social relation, Hastings' comments reveal how associationist aesthetics developed a conceptual permeability between emotions, people, and objects. His remarks encourage us to see D'Oyly's 'invaluable presents' as joining a metaphoric 'conversation' about the former Governor-General's identity,

[52] Smith, Adam, *Theory of Moral Sentiments,* (Edinburgh: J. Bell, 1759). On 'sympathy' in artistic culture, see: Solkin, (1993), especially chapter five.

[53] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 17th May 1806, (Add MS 29181), f.147. My italics.

[54] Hastings was bereaved of a daughter at nineteen days, and a son who died shortly after being sent for his education in England. See: Lawson, (1895), p.35.

[55] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly, dated 11th April 1808, (Add MS 29183), f.224.

[56] *Ibid.* My italics.

played out across a domestic hang comprised of objects that 'exacted loyalty', and were charged with sentimental attachments. Across oceans, the exchange of art objects thus mediated relationships and identity, strengthening D'Oyly's real career prospects in a country that, through visual representation, Hastings could still engage with emotionally.

When both his father and his beloved 'second parent' passed away in 1818, D'Oyly lost key connections to a political faction that had provided both emotional support and real political advantage during his first years in the Company's civil administration. Fortuitously, D'Oyly married for the second time on the 3rd April 1815, and into rather favourable circumstances. His second bride was Elizabeth Jane Ross (1789-1875), daughter of the military officer Thomas Ross and Isabella Rose Macleod.[57] Known informally as Eliza, D'Oyly's new spouse brought him into the ambit of an extensive network of imperial Scots. Her parents had both died in 1794 - her father from a wound suffered at the Siege of Seringapatam in 1792, and her mother in all probability on the return voyage from Madras, where just months prior she had given birth to Eliza's younger sister Isabella Rose. Once back in Britain, both siblings were placed under the care of their uncle James Macleod (1761-1823), a clan chief and Laird of the Hebridean Isle of Raasay, a mountainous sliver of land nestled between Skye and the Scottish mainland. Macleod owned a grand Georgian mansion on this remote island, rebuilt after its destruction in the 1745 Jacobite Rising, and both Eliza and Isabella were incorporated into a household with a significant 'Highlands' identity.[58] In 1813 the siblings followed the example of numerous other Highland families and set sail to India, intent on securing suitors. As a precaution, the pair were placed under the guardianship of Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754-1826), the aristocratic husband of their cousin Flora, who was travelling to the subcontinent to take up the position of Governor-General. Whilst Rawdon-Hastings was at first dissatisfied with his cousin-in-law's choice of husband, as far more wealthy suitors were desirous of her attentions, Eliza's mind was made up, and D'Oyly was brought into an intimate acquaintance with the faction that surrounded the new Governor-General.[59] Crucially, and just as we saw with his godfather, the

[57] The couple were wed at Cawnpore, although I cannot decipher why they were at this location in 1815.

[58] The house is now a cosy hotel called Raasay House.

[59] As an interesting aside regarding this match, Elizabeth Fenton, a guest of the D'Oylys in June 1826, recorded that 'I *have heard* that when [Marian D'Oyly was] dying, she pointed out the present Lady D'Oyly as the person most likely to make him happy, and after a short time he married the beautiful Miss Ross'. See: Fenton, Elizabeth, *The Journal of Mrs Fenton: A Narrative of Her Life in India, the Isle of France and Tasmania During the Years 1826-1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.105.

amateur painter attempted to consolidate these kinship networks through the exchange and display of art.

He wasted no time lavishing his new family with a series of artistic gifts. By 1824 Eliza's sister had been gifted two paintings of the Raasay estate where she and her sibling had grown up, whilst her husband, the increasingly decorated Major Walter Raleigh Gilbert (1785-1853), received six oil paintings by D'Oyly and had his portrait incorporated into the amateur's collection at Bankipore.[60] Likewise, the household inventory of Eliza's cousin, Jane Mary Macnabb - taken on the 4th April, 1820 - lists '7 oil paintings by Sir C. & Lady D'Oyly' in the 'Western Bow Room'.[61] The most extensive evidence of D'Oyly's artistic sociability can be traced, however, in an unusual set of scrapbooks now stored in the British Library's India Office Collections.[62] These tattered volumes contain images of disparate lands made by artists from around the world. One album opens with a map of Scotland followed by a faded portrait-print of an old Highland ancestor. Penned overleaf is a translation of a Sanskrit love song. A few pages later and the viewer finds a picturesque cottage in Bengal; a little further, a delicate watercolour of Napoleon's grave on the remote Isle of Saint Helena. Another album contains a sweeping panorama of the Dominican shoreline, the Caribbean Sea teeming with merchant vessels; another, a fortified settlement nestled amongst the snow-capped Alps. Many of these works are signed, revealing the names of English artists, Italian artists, and artists from India. Moreover, some prints bear the provenance of their publication, providing the titles of presses in London, Edinburgh, Patna and Calcutta. Beyond a collection of global vistas, these albums contain the physical, materialised trace of nineteenth-century globalisation.

Brought back to England by Rawdon-Hastings and his wife, the Marchioness Flora Mure-Campbell (Eliza D'Oyly's cousin), these scrapbooks reveal that the Governor-General belonged to an extensive friendship network in which the creation and gifting of amateur art formed a key sociable practice. Individuals from right across the Bengal Presidency contributed drawings and prints to the albums, with D'Oyly by far the most prolific benefactor.[63] A letter included in the correspondence between Eliza D'Oyly and her Governor-General cousin-in-law reveals one of the ways in which the amateur's images ended up in these scrapbooks. On February 11th, 1822, Rawdon-Hastings requested whether 'Sir Charles would draw for me a rich, well dressed, fat *baboo*, stalking in

[60] See the 'Family Department' in *Diagram 1.i,* and a list of gifted paintings in the *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.196.
[61] 'Indian Inventory of J. M. M.', (BL IOR F206/77).
[62] These scrapbooks and watercolour albums are all held in the British Library's India Office Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection, and include: WD 4043; Add. Or. 4302-6; WD 4402; WD 4401; P2984; P2481.
[63] I have termed this large social group 'The Bengal Amateur Network', and will examine their scope and activities in the following chapter, particularly the section 'Amateur Art and Clubbability in Bengal'.

official pride; followed by a meagre, half-naked creature carrying the umbrella; and a native *ameedwan* of the better sort clinging to the magisterial personage...it is for Lady Hastings' memorandum book'.[64] I have discovered the resulting sketch in an unattributed album in the India Office Collections, which can now safely be connected to Rawdon-Hastings and his wife (*fig.*1:18).[65] D'Oyly's watercolour relies heavily on the conventions of Regency-era caricature, stereotyping indigenous Indians in the same way that the 'lower' social groups were categorised in costume albums such as the 'Cries of London', which drew on theories of physiognomy and pathognomy to impose a rationalised visual order on the social complexity of London's rapidly urbanising and globalising economy.[66] D'Oyly's amateur talents were essentially providing a means by which Regency practices of civility and class-distinction could be kept up in Bengal.

Yet these scrapbooks clearly formed more than just the material basis for 'civilised' practices of sociability. They served - and continue to serve - as physical testament to Rawdon-Hastings' and his wife's remarkably itinerant careers. Born in County Down, Hastings undertook a youthful Grand Tour before seeing military action in Revolutionary America and France. Serving as Governor-General between 1813 and 1823, he then took up the Governorship of Malta, before dying at sea off the coast of Naples in 1826.[67] Married to the Marquess in 1804, Lady Flora loyally accompanied her husband on these distant postings, even in death fulfilling his final request to be buried clasping his severed hand. The scrapbooks serve as a visual summation of this global career, and a prompt for its remembrance. After all, such objects were extremely intimate - particularly as images were believed to interact psychologically with associated ideas and sensations stored in the memory. By collating together images of the distant lands in which Rawdon-Hastings and his wife had lived, they not only served as a material record of the couple's travels, but as a means to emotionally come to terms with this life - as a way for the couple to reflect on their shared history, and, in doing so, to consolidate a sense of identity shaped and defined by their time spent in imperial service. As such, contributing art to these scrapbooks not only helped to consolidate friendships as part of a shared practice of civility, but subsequently presented such friendships as a significant component of the couple's past, and therefore as part of their identity. D'Oyly's work

[64] Letter from Francis Rawdon-Hastings to Elizabeth D'Oyly dated 11th February 1822, (BL IOR F206/94).

[65] See: BL IOR WD 4401. I thank John McAleer for pointing out that D'Oyly's *baboo* looks remarkably similar to Shuja-ud-Daula, famously painted by the British artist Tilly Kettle.

[66] For these themes, see: Shesgreen, Sean, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); and Barringer, Forrester, and Ruiz (*eds.*), (2007). I treat the topic of costume albums at length in Part II, and particularly Chapter III.

[67] For a more extensive biography, see: Nelson, Paul David, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquess of Hastings: Soldier, Peer of the Realm, Governor-General of India*, (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005).

was therefore included in an album used to consolidate a social network surrounding the new Governor-General, and through which a certain form of factional belonging was cultivated. The 'social biography' inherent in the art object - and capable of being evoked by it - made artistic gifts a supremely useful tool in forging the familial and social ties that D'Oyly had so badly needed after the death of his two 'paternal' supports.

The amateur also made sure to represent these new factional allegiances within his domestic hang. A portrait of Rawdon-Hastings was displayed above the mantelpiece in his winter room, crowning in oil on canvas a collection of watercolours that he described as 'the family department'.[68] He had painted this portrait himself, using an original by the professional artist George Chinnery as a model, and it depicted the Marquess in the 'flowing robes of nobility and knighthood', or, as he considered it, the 'senatorial habiliment' of Rome - 'the most elevated and dignified for the public forum of a great state'.[69] D'Oyly's portrait of the Governor-General thus not only took an important spatial position within the overall hang, but through stylistic associations invoked the sitter's suitability as a statesman. A second portrait of the Marquess hung in the summer room, where it was incorporated into a more complex arrangement that generated associations between places, dynastic history, and Scottish culture shared by both Eliza D'Oyly and the Marchioness. The arrangement was displayed over the two panels that formed the apex of the summer room's elegant curve, and is depicted in *Diagrams 1.iv* and *1.v* of my recreation. At the top of the first panel (*Diagram 1.iv*) hung a large landscape depicting the House of the Lairds of Raasay, Eliza's childhood home and the ancestral estate of Clan Macleod of Raasay - to whom both D'Oyly's and Rawdon-Hastings' wives belonged. Below this were two scenes taken from *The Fortunes of Nigel*, a novel about a Scotsman at the English court written in 1822 by the prolific and hugely-popular Edinburgensian author Walter Scott, whilst under this were two views of the Highlands that D'Oyly had copied from William Daniell's illustrations for Richard Ayton's *Voyage round Great Britain* (1814-1825).[70] Finally, a coloured chalk portrait of Rawdon-Hastings sat below these scenes of Scotland and its literature. In the subsequent panel (*Diagram 1.v*), a further view from the window of the House of Raasay capped two more scenes from *The Adventures of Nigel*, whilst on the bottom tier hung landscapes featuring the fortified seats of Skye's two most important clans: Clan MacDonald's Armadale Castle, and Clan Macleod's Dunvegan Castle.[71] D'Oyly's hang therefore underscored not

[68] See: *Diagram 1.i.*

[69] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.22.

[70] See: Scott, Walter, *The Fortunes of Nigel,* (Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1822); and Ayton, Richard, and William Daniell, *A Voyage round Great Britain: Undertaken in the Summer of 1813*, (London: Longman, 1814-1825).

[71] These were also copied from William Daniel's illustrations for *A Voyage round Great Britain,* (1814-1825).

only the shared familial connections that tied himself, through his wife, to the Governor-General, but also the shared culture and close connection to the dynastic landscape that was so pivotal to the construction of Scottish diasporic identity. Through his display strategy D'Oyly thus represented his allegiance to this new familial and political faction through a series of sentimental 'associations', and, in displaying them within his domestic interior, self-fashioned his identity as determined within these social bonds.

A glimpsed anecdote in the *Proceedings* manuscript demonstrates one way in which this hang was engaged with performatively, as with Warren Hastings' portrait. During a visit to Bankipore by 'Major General Nicolls & family & Capt. & Mrs Taylor of the engineers' - at which those present 'were gratified by a renewal of a valued intimacy' - the largely Scottish party began to sing the Rabbie Burns poem *My Heart is in the Highlands*.[72] This superlative expression of diasporic nostalgia was described as 'sung with much feeling & beauty & reiterated at the anxious request of those whose absence from their native hills made the words peculiarly applicable to their feelings'.[73] Highland musical traditions had certainly formed a crucial component of Lady D'Oyly's sense of identity. Whilst at Raasay in 1812 she had transcribed the earliest-known manuscript collection of Hebridean music, and would continue to publish Gaelic poems and melodies right up until her death in 1875.[74] Like her husband, she also relied on these interests to create sentimentally-charged gifts, commissioning a set of bagpipes for John Mackay, the official piper to Clan Macleod of Raasay.[75] As the *Journal of Mrs. Fenton* put it humorously, both Eliza and her cousin were 'genuine Highlanders, with grandfathers removed as far back as Noah'.[76] Crucially, however, it was not only the 'genuine Highlanders' in the room who engaged emotionally with this performance - the *Proceedings* records that the tune 'even excited minds unconnected with *tho'* nearly associated to the land of the kilt & plumed bonnet'.[77] The reference was clear - through his wife, D'Oyly was 'nearly associated' with the landscape he had used to decorate the room in which this performance was staged, and could thus legitimately partake in the song's emotional appeal.

Eliza's Highlands heritage thus appears to have impacted D'Oyly's life on a number of different levels: it brought him into the Governor-General's extended family; her links to clan

[72] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.299.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] For more information, see: Cooke, Peter, Morag MacLeod and Colm Ó Baoill (*eds.*), *The Elizabeth Ross Manuscript,* (The University of Edinburgh School of Celtic and Scottish Studies on-line publications series, 2011). Lady D'Oyly composed four poems in Sinclair's *Oranaiche* and a small pamphlet of ten songs called *Orain Ghaidhlig,* published in 1785 under the name Baintighearna D'Oyly.

[75] Incidentally, John Mackay's son Angus became piper to Queen Victoria. See: Cooke, *et. al.*, (2011), p.10.

[76] Fenton, (2010), p.68.

[77] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.299.

nobility reinforced his own pretensions to elite gentility; and he was given partial access to a constellation of emotional practices that fostered affective bonds within the considerable Scottish community in Company employ.[78] By repeatedly painting scenes of the Highlands and clan history, D'Oyly engaged with the emphasis placed on the dynastic landscape in so many of the performative displays of diasporic longing that worked to define 'Scottish' identity across the Empire. Equally, incorporating these cultural references into his domestic hang not only conveyed their importance to his own self-image, but created a space in which such performances would be particularly resonant.[79] Nuancing the growing literature that credits imperial service as a key mechanism through which a collective 'British' identity was constructed - particularly in relation to Highland Scots - D'Oyly's emotional engagement with his wife's heritage shows instead how practices and symbols associated with more localised identities could be used and adopted performatively as mechanisms for gaining access to the kinship groups and patronage networks that determined colonial politics in South Asia.[80] In this instance, D'Oyly's identity seems less 'British', and more 'corporate' - determined according to the familial bonds and social loyalties that he had created or found advantageous whilst forging a career in the Company's civil administration.

It is interesting to examine as a counterpoint to the present narrative the way in which D'Oyly presented his professional difficulties as correlating with the artistic apathy of Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound (1751-1814), better known as Lord Minto, and Governor-General between 1807 and 1813. When D'Oyly returned to Calcutta in 1812 to nurse his father's ailing health, the lack of favour he curried with Lord Minto made it particularly difficult to gain emolument commensurate with his experience, or equivalent to the position he had given up in Dacca. As he bemoaned in a letter sent to his godfather on the 7th June, 'I have no interest at headquarters & everything is now obtained by interest alone...his Lordship is very friendly towards me in common

[78] We see these pretensions in D'Oyly's absolute fascination with heraldry. See, for example: *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.4. 'A herald's college be instituted, presided over by the President, where the members of the society may apply for fanciful delineations of heraldic blazoning'.

[79] There is a growing field of scholarship dealing with the 'Scottish connection' to the East India Company. See, for instance: Devine, T. M., and Angela McCarthy (*eds.*), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c.1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners,* (London: Springer, 2016); McGilvary, George K., 'The Scottish Connection with India 1725–1833', in *Études écossaises,* 14, (2011), pp.13-31; and, from a more art-historical perspective, Buddle, Anne, Pauline Rohatgi, and Iain Brown, *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India, 1760-1800,* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1999).

[80] The principal proponents of this argument are Linda Colley and Christopher Bayly. See: Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837,* (London: BCA, 1992); and Bayly, Christopher, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830,* (London: Longman, 1989).

intercourse, but I calculate not on any patronage'.[81] D'Oyly was, of course, talking about political patronage, but the same seems to be true of his artistic talents. For despite continuing the forms of sociability that he had developed with the first Governor-General, and sending Lord Minto several oil paintings, it appears that D'Oyly's attempts to foster intimacy through gifting were constantly frustrated. In a series of letters sent to William Stratchey, an old acquaintance and part of an extensive East India family, D'Oyly fulminated on Lord Minto's lack of interest in his art, and, in particular, his attempt to dedicate the illustrations in *The Antiquities of Dacca* to the Governor-General:

> 'Lord Minto's obstinate disregard of my letter annoys me - but I ought rather to say cool indifference or forgetfulness - for such a trifle could not create the first *tho'* it might the last. His not answering that letter places me in an awkward predicament. I do not like to publish the proposals lest he should imagine me careless of his patronage to the work & if they are not soon published no money will be forthcoming from home. I believe I must wait till his Lord does condescend to think about it. I accused him of ineptitude (added to negligence) for not acknowledging my present of the two oil pictures'.[82]

For D'Oyly, the Governor-General's apathy revealed general character flaws - 'forgetfulness', 'ineptitude', and, most revealingly in relation to D'Oyly's professional career, 'negligence'. Art had been a key mechanism through which he had fostered an affectionate relationship with Warren Hastings. Now, with a new political faction in power, D'Oyly's use of artistic gifts was more important than ever in fostering the intimacy which won career prospects within the Company's patronage system. Yet D'Oyly would have to wait until 1813, and the appointment of the Marquess of Hastings, to find a favourable Governor-General - both in relation to political patronage *and* artistic approbation. In 1815, after exposing extensive frauds at the Calcutta Custom House, D'Oyly took charge of the establishment, before then being offered the position of Patna's Opium Agent in 1820 - where we began this brief biography.[83] The fact that artistic patronage went hand-in-hand with D'Oyly's very real access to the arteries of colonial capital complements my argument that art materialised key social relationships in Company India, consolidating patron-client bonds and strengthening key factional loyalties. Whilst other forms of material culture were certainly used to the same effect, it is clear that the semantic capaciousness of art in both gift exchanges and domestic display, alongside the potency of portraiture and landscape within associationist aesthetics, made it

[81] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 7th June 1812, (Add MS 29187), f.149.

[82] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to William Strachey, dated 18th February 1811, (Mss Eur F127/465).

[83] On the interesting subject of D'Oyly's discovery of frauds and his subsequent promotion, see: Undated letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, (Add MS 29192), f.265.

a superlative tool in this regard. Nevertheless, in the following section I will propose that artistic gifts often went beyond generating these personal, sentimental values, and became embedded instead within public systems of critical reception. Art objects frequently occupied a dual position in systems of exchange - both signifying private affection, alongside inviting broader recognition - and therefore transposed the social networks that I have been tracing into the realm of *representation*.

11. An Artist's Biography? Gifts and their Audiences

It is not possible to draw the boundary of the private from within; it has to be envisaged from the outside, although the way in which it is imagined or represented will vary'

- *John Brewer*, 1995 [84]

D'Oyly's engagement with art began early. As a teenager he was already purchasing works at London's summer exhibitions, whilst some time before moving back to India in 1797 he received twelve lessons with the popular tutor William Payne (1760-1830) - a pupil of Paul Sandby who specialised in watercolour genre scenes, and whose fame rests on his invention of the pigment Payne's Grey.[85] These lessons have never previously been acknowledged, but Payne's stylistic influence is evident throughout D'Oyly's oeuvre (compare *figs.*1:19&1:20, for example). In the *Proceedings* manuscript D'Oyly even credited himself with inventing one of the techniques that historians have traditionally associated with Payne - the process of 'rubbing out', or applying layers of pigment onto the page before then wiping them away to develop highlights.[86] During this period D'Oyly also seems to have had some interaction with Sir Joshua Reynolds, as he recorded in the *Proceedings* how he had 'myself heard his Joshua Reynolds say'.[87] Perhaps this occurred in 1788, when

[84] Brewer, (1995), p.10.

[85] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.43. The best account of Payne's biography is still: Long, Basil S., *William Payne, Water-Colour Painter Working 1776-1830,* (London: Walker's Galleries, 1922). See also: Hunt, Peter, *Payne's Devon: A Portrait of the County from 1790 to 1830 through the Watercolours of William Payne*, (Exeter: Devon Books, 1986).

[86] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), ff.43-44. 'You Sir, I believe, had the credit of introducing (at least into their country) a very admirable system, by which, water color drawings were wonderfully deepened & assumed a higher character for tone than they generally professed. The system I allude to was "rubbing up", that is, the colours were laid on in the first instance and the lights extracted by means of water and a handkerchief, tinted and picked out, & ultimately washed with gum'. Whether this is true or not is another matter, of course.

[87] *Ibid.*, f.52.

Reynolds was working on a portrait of Sir John D'Oyly, although the painter equally enjoyed a lasting relationship with Warren Hastings.[88]

As detailed in his correspondence with his godfather, the keen amateur continued to sketch and paint following his return to the subcontinent. D'Oyly's virtual fanaticism with amateur art began in earnest in 1807, however, with the arrival in Calcutta of the professional artist George Chinnery.[89] The pair quickly struck up a close friendship, and on his appointment to the Collectorship of Dacca the following year D'Oyly offered Chinnery a timely opportunity to escape Calcutta, where one of the artist's relationships with a patron had turned particularly sour (D'Oyly's correspondence records that the patron was taking 'every malicious measure adopted to ruin him').[90] In a letter sent to Hastings, D'Oyly explained that he had extended the invitation due to 'liking him as a gentleman & an artist', a twin motivation that nicely demonstrates how his artistic and social interests dovetailed.[91] Indeed, with Chinnery 'conceiving himself under peculiar obligations' the artist provided D'Oyly and his household with a series of private lessons.[92] This artistic partnership would remain close until 1825, when the painter's renowned profligacy forced him to flee to Canton and escape his numerous debtors.

Just as D'Oyly's domestic hang incorporated images that resonated with important social and political affiliations, the collection also referenced these formative artistic influences, which appear to have consolidated a specifically 'artistic' identity. His earliest training was referenced in an oil painting copied after one of Payne's watercolours of the Isle of Wight, whilst Chinnery's hand not only featured repeatedly in the collection, but many of the amateur's own performances were copies after the professional's originals, demonstrating a clear artistic allegiance through emulation.[93] The collection also referenced D'Oyly's brief experience of the metropolitan art world - a point that the *Proceedings* manuscript laboured at some length. The descriptions of D'Oyly's

[88] Listed in: Armstrong, Sir Walter, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: First President of the Royal Academy*, (London: William Heinemann, 1900).

[89] A good literature has developed around the eccentric life and extensive talents of George Chinnery. I found particularly useful: Conner, Patrick, *George Chinnery 1774-1852: Artist of India and the China Coast*, (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1993). See also: Hutcheon, Robin, *Chinnery: The Man and Legend*, (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1975); Berry-Hill, Henry and Sidney, with a foreword by Alice Winchester, *George Chinnery 1774-1852: Artist of the China Coast*, (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis Publishers, 1963); Tillotson, Giles, *Fan Kwae Pictures: Paintings and Drawings by George Chinnery and other Artists in the Collection of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, (London: Spink & Son, 1987).

[90] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 25th January 1811, (Add MS 29186), f.13. This patron was probably Sir Henry Russell, Chief Justice of Bengal, whose portrait commission had enticed Chinnery to leave Madras in the first place.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] See: *Diagrams 1.i-1.vii.*

collection took great pains to explain how several of the paintings - including two original William Westall canvases - were purchased at the Royal Academy's Summer Exhibitions at Somerset House, and before prints could be taken of them, thus making them rare examples of contemporary art in Patna. Further remarks stating that two marine scenes in the winter room were copies of originals by Willem van de Velde 'in the Dulwich Galleries' equally emphasised D'Oyly's cognizance of the metropolitan art world.[94] Interestingly, a number of the canvases in the collection were copies by Lady D'Oyly after her husband, whilst work by another of Chinnery's pupils, Maria Browne, was also displayed. A portrait by an artist in the Patna *Qalam* (school) named Seodial, who D'Oyly closely patronised, was also incorporated into the 'Great South Panel' (the life and work of this artist will be examined at greater length in the following chapter).[95] D'Oyly's hang therefore appears to have established a network of artistic experience and pedagogy: situating the amateur through stylistic allegiances to his professional tutors; referencing his time in the metropolitan art world; and demonstrating his own influence on family and peers in India. The collection not only fashioned D'Oyly's identity as determined by important familial and political connections, but equally articulated an identity situated within the 'art world' and its own forms of sociability and allegiance.

This artistic identity had significant ramifications on how D'Oyly used artistic gifts to forge his personal relationships. By physically creating his gifts, the amateur imbued them with an 'inalienable' character, blurring the semantic boundaries between giver and gift.[96] Equally, the ability to paint afforded D'Oyly the capacity to fill his household with semantically charged objects that nevertheless conformed to tasteful norms of interior decoration - thereby making the project of self-fashioning far easier. Most significantly, by adopting an artistic persona within gift exchanges, D'Oyly effectively grouped his private network of social and political connections as members of his critical public. The implications of this conceit are referenced quite extensively in the correspondence between the young amateur and his godfather. We find that even before 1813, and the appearance 'before the public' that made D'Oyly so anxious to prove himself 'a good amateur artist', he had already begun devising plans to exhibit his work to a wider audience.[97] The pair's correspondence reveals that the drawings Hastings ended up carrying 'not a little delighted to Daylesford' were originally the subjects of far more extensive plans:

[94] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.181.

[95] See: *Diagram 1.vii.*

[96] I use the term in same way as it is defined in: Weiner, Annette B., *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[97] See the Prologue for more about this 'first appearance'. Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

> 'They are very much admired, so much so that I have been induced to send them in the first instance to Mr Partington to have engraved in aquatint by Mr Eddy a person who has been strongly recommended to me as an able artist...when he has finished I shall direct the originals to be sent to you. I am confident you will be pleased with them for the views & for the style which I flatter myself as good'.[98]

Interestingly, Hastings' reply to D'Oyly expressed polite doubts over such ambitions:

> 'I am pleased, to find that you have such a resource against positive idleness, and that you have attained to such a degree of excellence in the practice of it, as to venture on exhibiting copies of your performances to the public; and I thank you for your kind intention of making me the proquisitor of the originals. I am afraid they will come to my hands in an impaired state from the engravers; which will be a pity; for whatever may be their worth, it will stand much lower in the estimation of the public than in mine'.[99]

Unlike the additional attraction that Thomas Lawrence's portrait had held for D'Oyly, Hastings' letter emphasised that his interest in his godson's art lay not in the value placed on it by a consensus of connoisseurs, but on its structural position within an intimate gift exchange. In a letter sent shortly after the first, largely attempting to justify his comments, Hastings explained in more detail how he had been 'mortified in an extreme degree with the reflection that the process to which they were destined would prevent them becoming my property, but in a state that would render them totally unfit for the best purpose to which my affection for their artist, and my estimation of their intrinsic worth, would naturally make me eager to apply them'.[100] Hastings' choice of language clearly emphasised the functionality of the gift - D'Oyly's drawings contained an 'intrinsic worth' unrelated to their artistic quality, but premised on their 'purpose' in mediating 'affection'. For him, the works possessed greater value as the 'private property' of a loving family member than the object of a critical public unconnected by such bonds.

D'Oyly was clearly not so convinced, however, as a letter sent in 1812 to accompany a further bequest of drawings asserted exactly the opposite - emphasising that a public audience for his art could render private gifts more valuable. Offering his godfather the original sketches that John Landseer would use to engrave *The Antiquities of Dacca*, D'Oyly stated:

> 'I am afraid you will think me very vain but without assuming myself any very great merit & only [repeating] the general sentiment excited by the drawings they are very excellent & I am sure you will do

[98] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 9th June 1806, (Add MS 29181), f.185.

[99] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 9th January 1807, (Add MS 29182), f.9. Hastings' remarks refer to the potential damage that the print process could inflict on the original drawings, demonstrating how the physical, material processes of printing were closely entwined with notions of privacy and publicity.

[100] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 11th April 1808, (Add MS 29183), f.224.

> me the favor to accept the originals as a testimony of my regard. I have desired Landseer to send them to you when the engravings are completed & they will I hope prove acceptable not only as the work of my hand but the originals of a public work'.[101]

D'Oyly's letter was, in effect, entwining two very different registers of value. The 'work of my hand' referred directly to the personal, 'inalienable' investment that Hastings' letters had privileged (with D'Oyly's choice of synecdoche even emphasising his corporeal connection to the drawing), whilst their position as 'originals of a public work' situated their value as generated by the interplay between public dissemination and private ownership. This was not totally dissimilar to how luxury goods like spices or precious stones generated value within more typical Anglo-Indian gift-exchanges: on the one hand, these objects signified the gifter and therefore connoted an affective or biographical association with India; on the other, they produced value through their position within a system of established market values. The consensus exterior to the gift exchange that established the value of gifted spices or precious stones was clearly markedly different to the consensus that acknowledged the value of D'Oyly's drawings, however. Essentially, the amateur was asserting that the value of his gifts was determined by a combination of their inalienable relationship to himself, *and* their positive evaluation by a collective group of reasoning individuals making qualitative judgements - a 'critical public' with shared tastes, interests, and cultural imperatives.

Whilst 'beauty' during this period was almost exclusively defined through appeals to a 'universal' standard of taste, D'Oyly never conceived this critical public as constituting the type of 'public' that has been defined by theorists such as Jürgen Habermas, in which particularised social identities had to be abandoned in order to claim the 'universality' of rational debate.[102] In direct contrast, and as detailed in the Prologue, D'Oyly defined the ideal audience for *The Antiquities of Dacca* as 'Indian', whilst the work's reviewers privileged its particular appeal to 'the tasteful and liberal among our Countrymen in the East'.[103] Equally, by funding the publication through subscription and soliciting funds by leveraging social connections - exemplified by D'Oyly's request that his godfather 'bespeak it favourably to [his] Indian friends' - it is evident that the publication was brought into existence through, and largely for, D'Oyly's social network.[104] It is particularly notable that each image was accompanied by a smaller dedication to both members of

[101] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 7th June 1812, (Add MS 29187), f.149.
[102] Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (New York: Polity Press, 1992).
[103] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 25th January 1811, (Add MS 29186), f.13; and Buckingham, James, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Antiquities of Dacca', in *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, Vol.XI, (1826), p.316.
[104] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 25th January 1811, (Add MS 29186), f.13.

his family and important acquaintances, including his father Sir John, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Flora Rawdon-Hastings, Sir John Malcolm (Governor of Bombay), and Edward Strachey (head of another extensive East India family). The amateur's letter may have cast Hastings as the privileged recipient of a work 'critically acclaimed' by a disinterested general public, but in reality the former Governor-General seems to have functioned as the symbolic patriarch to a social identity - 'Indian' - that conceptually overlay D'Oyly's factional affiliations. Through its multiple dedications the publication thus invoked the language of gift exchange as a way to maintain and curate social allegiances to the patronage networks surrounding figures like Hastings and Rawdon-Hastings, yet simultaneously presented these private obligations as the sinews of a 'public'.

A further example highlights how these overlapping notions of private affection, collective identity, and art's 'public' qualities interwove in D'Oyly's thought. On the 29th November, 1823, the amateur wrote a letter from Patna to his godmother Marian Hastings, now five years a widow. The letter detailed the progress made in establishing a statue in Bengal dedicated to the memory of Warren Hastings, a scheme devised three years earlier at a 'meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta for the sole purpose of testifying their esteem, and veneration in which the deceased was held'.[105] D'Oyly had been placed on the committee for this venture, and, along with the chairman John Pascal Larkins, the treasurer Samuel Palmer, and Major Jeremiah Bryant, had personally visited and requested permission for the monument from Rawdon-Hastings.[106] Both D'Oyly and his godmother were preoccupied with the accessibility and public nature of the statue. D'Oyly strongly advocated designing it in bronze, so that it could be displayed outside in some 'conspicuous part of the Esplanade...giving more scope to observance among all ranks, and from its unconfined position more capable of inviting attention'.[107] Marian Hastings concurred with her godson's recommendations, writing that the statute should be made 'more accessible to the eye of the public'.[108] Indeed, it was only appropriate that this 'accessibility' was mirrored stylistically - between two paragraphs D'Oyly squeezed a rough sketch of his proposed design (*fig.*1:21), writing that he favoured 'the dress of a Roman senator' and a 'classic simplicity', as 'emblematic figures' might

[105] Letter from Marian Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 10th February 1820, (Add MS 29191), f.239. John McAleer has provided an excellent account of the valances that statues could possess in the imperial context. See: McAleer, (2009). On imperial sculpture more generally, see: Coutu, Joan, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire*, (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); and Groseclose, Barbara, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995).

[106] 'Statue to Warren Hastings', in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, Vol.11, (1821).

[107] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Marian Hastings dated 29th Nov 1823, (Add MS 39873), f.54.

[108] Letter from Marian Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 23rd November 1823, (Add MS 39873), f.69.

'distract' viewers.[109] A statue in this style, he argued, 'would have more attractions and lead to other improvements'.[110]

By stressing the benefits conferred by the conceptual legibility of the work, as well as its physical availability to 'all ranks', D'Oyly couched the commission within the language of 'civic improvement' - or what the historian Peter Borsay has famously called the 'urban renaissance'.[111] We know that D'Oyly was certainly interested in 'beautifying' the built environment, as in a letter to his godfather he had proudly detailed his central role in the conception and construction of Calcutta's new Customs House.[112] Equally, D'Oyly's advocacy of a 'Roman' style conformed to the classical metaphors on which the language of civic improvement frequently depended.[113] The period's faith in the 'civilising' effects of urban development relied on ubiquitously popular notions of 'politeness' - aesthetic excellence not only 'polished' the taste and refinement of a local public, but civic sculpture provided 'noble' role models capable of guiding this public's improved conduct.[114] D'Oyly himself included a vindication of this paradigm's effectiveness in his final publication, *Views of Calcutta and its Environs* (1848), which essentially formed a visual ode to the urban civility that the

[109] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Marian Hastings dated 29th Nov 1823, (Add MS 39873), f.54. D'Oyly's statement that he was 'not an advocate for emblematical figures of the cardinal virtues about the principal figure' seems a direct reference to John Bacon Junior's statue of Lord Cornwallis, which displayed Justice and Prudence flanking the former Governor-General.

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] This is a quite extensive field of scholarship. See Borsay, Peter, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Girouard, Marc, *The English Town*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Estabrook, Carl B., *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and the Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Sweet, Rosemary, *The English Town, 1660–1840*, (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp.219–255; Reed, Michael, 'The Transformation of Urban Space, 1700–1840', in Clark, Peter (*ed.*), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1540-1840, Vol.II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Griffin, Emma, 'The "Urban Renaissance" and the Mob: Rethinking Civic Improvement over the Long Eighteenth Century', in Feldman and Lawrence, (2011), pp.54-73.

[112] Undated letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, (Add MS 29192), f.250. 'One of the proudest reflections of my mind arises from my having persuaded government to build a new customs house & to make extensive accommodations for the immense trade of this port'. Similar praise is given to Captain George Lindsay in the *Proceedings,* (c.1824-26), f.185. 'In his professional duties Capt. Lindsay displayed much ability & his taste in architectural building has been testified by some public buildings in the metropolis'.

[113] A good account of this 'civic historicism' is included in: Sweet, Rosemary, (1999); and Ellis, Joyce M., '"For the Honour of the Town": Comparison, Competition and Civic Identity in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Urban History,* Vol.30, Issue 3, (December, 2003), pp.325-337.

[114] Good introductory accounts to the extensive literature surrounding the idea of 'politeness' are: Klein, Lawrence E., 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', in *Historical Journal*, 45, 4, (2002), pp.869-898; and Langford, Paul, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12, (2002), pp.311-331. In relation to the history of art more specifically, see: Barrell, (1995).

'city of palaces' had attained over the first half of the nineteenth century.[115] One of the prints in this publication depicted three pedestrians stood amidst the bustling traffic of Tank Square, pausing to admire Sir Francis Chantrey's 1824 statue of Francis Rawdon-Hastings (*fig.*1:22). In D'Oyly's original sketch these figures were indistinct, but appear to be wearing European overcoats (*fig.*1:23); in the final publication all three were presented in 'traditional' Indian clothing (*fig.*1:24). Surrounded on all sides by the neoclassical splendour of Calcutta's urban development, and shown staring up at a monument that combined the classical order of Greece with the imperial grandeur of Rome, D'Oyly's print affirmed the supposed superiority of European civilisation and the 'civilising' effects that it afforded the indigenous population.[116] Statues like the memorial to Hastings were thus understood to 'improve' the public spaces of Company India both ethically and aesthetically, providing 'noble' examples that might raise the taste, manners, and morals of the city's urban populace.

Despite both D'Oyly and his godmother actively stressing such 'public' functions, however, the commissioning of Hastings' sculpture was still heavily couched in the language of private affection that mediated gift exchanges. Writing to his godmother, D'Oyly explained that his devotion to Hastings had led him to ardently desire an 'active lead' in the project, and he industriously communicated his sentiments on styles, artists, and requested that the committee explicitly refer to his expertise before making final decisions.[117] Attempting to exemplify his sound judgement on such matters, his letter to Marian even included an extensive critique of Lord Cornwallis' statue - poorly installed in the basement of Calcutta's Town Hall in 1813.[118] Critically, the donations for the statue, though made privately, were published in detail in Calcutta's leading gazettes, transforming a private gift into a public demonstration of loyalty.[119] The largest donations were presented by a combination of Indian nobility and Calcutta's *nouveau riche* - individuals like the Raja of Benares (1770-1835), who donated a handsome Rupees 5000. These generous public donations mirrored similar attempts by Calcutta's indigenous elite to highlight their 'civic character' and political responsibility. In 1822, for instance, 'native inhabitants' had raised

[115] D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *Views of Calcutta and its Environs,* (London: Dickinson & Co., 1848). It is possible that some of the original sketches for this publication were made by George F. White. The work was published three years after D'Oyly's death, and a decade after his departure from India. See: Losty, (1995).

[116] The later date of the final publication reveals the possible influence of an increasingly common belief in Britain's 'civilising mission', which differed from the notions of 'improvement' that D'Oyly had developed early in his career. The following chapter deals with this subject at some length.

[117] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Marian Hastings dated 29th Nov 1823, (Add MS 39873), f.54.

[118] For the history of this statue, see: Burnage, (2010).

[119] 'Statue to Warren Hastings', in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, Vol.11, (1821).

substantially more for Irish poor relief than their European counterparts.[120] Such civic engagement was subversive, as it challenged the Company's ideological justifications for autocratic rule by vindicating indigenous claims that Calcutta's 'native' elite constituted a responsible public who deserved political representation.[121] The European benefactors to the scheme constituted a clique of Company officials - Rawdon-Hastings offered the largest sum (Rupees 1000), whilst an assortment of civil servants with personal connections to Hastings and his faction, D'Oyly included, each supplied Rupees 500. The competitive character that resulted from publicising these donations in detail was also mirrored in the format of the public meeting at which the commission was conceived, where individuals took it in turns to deliver increasingly impassioned speeches about their deep, *personal* affection for the deceased.[122]

Instead of operating to 'civilise' an anonymous public, I would thus argue that Hastings' statue served as the focal point around which corporate interests were 'publicly' articulated. D'Oyly's domestic hang had created a microcosm of the social and political networks that structured his identity within the Company's service; the publication of donations and the performative quality of the commissioning process enabled Hastings' statue to materialise this network of obligations within the urban fabric of Calcutta. Moreover, if the built environment served as both the physical *and* conceptual space within which civic identity and behaviour were publicly defined, then I would argue that the extended social network to which D'Oyly belonged was essentially using the figure of their former colonial patriarch as a way to shape their specific patronage network into an image of a 'polite' and 'civil' body politic, thus figuring their personal interests as the values or sentiments of a wider Calcuttan public. However, despite the commissioning process embodying certain qualities of the private gift, the public nature of Hastings' statue equally transformed the work of art into a site of ideological contestation, with Calcutta's indigenous elite challenging its potentially limited conception of civic identity by demonstrating their own financial heft. Whether a clique of civil servants passing off a corporate patronage network as a 'civil society', or an indigenous alliance of old and new money aspiring to political agency, art therefore enabled corporate bodies in South Asia to publicly represent their interests - crystallizing these concerns into political identities, and consequently consolidating the *esprit de corps* within certain communities.

[120] Bayly, (2012), p.78.

[121] See, in particular: Bayly, (2012), especially p.78. On the concept of an Anglo-Indian public and its ideological rebuttal to the Company's logic of autocratic rule, see: Marshall, (1990); Travers, (2010), pp.191-219; and Taylor, (2007), pp.285-308.

[122] 'Statue to Warren Hastings', in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, Vol.11, (1821).

The 'public' qualities of art - or the means by which art objects could represent or materialise certain collective interests in a way distinct from other categories of material objects such as gifted spices or precious stones - thus enabled members of the Company's 'familial proto-state' to avail themselves of various shared 'imaginings' and cultural languages associated with civil society. However, art equally permitted the opposite dynamic. For rather than represent or crystallise private networks of obligation within objects associated with 'public' understandings of community, art could also generate a 'public space' within which the colonial self and the nature of the private sphere could be defined or 'imagined'.[123] It is useful here to reference John Brewer's insights into how historians should use and conceptualise the categories of public and private.[124] Brewer has argued that at any given time notions of privacy or intimacy have to be formulated in the public imagination, as the conceptual boundaries between what society deems private and public are only defined (and thus policed) through representation. Brewer's own remarks chime with Habermas' original understanding of the culture of sentiment developing an 'audience-oriented privacy', whereby the social recognition of the individual *as an individual* necessitated public performances of the 'interiority' and 'subjectivity' that individuality denotes, each made using a shared repertoire of codes and modes of affect.[125] As Brewer stressed, the question of who defines the representation of privacy is, of course, deeply political, and I want to briefly demonstrate how D'Oyly specifically used his published work to corroborate the polite and genteel image of the Company's civil administration that had been realised in Hastings' statue. D'Oyly's work adopted ideas about the 'autonomous', consumerist individual to vindicate a 'reformed' bureaucracy against the 'nabob' stereotypes that had beleaguered the preceding generation of colonial civil servants, demonstrating instead how the Company's bureaucracy exemplified - as he himself boasted to his godfather - 'that vigor & activity which for some years back has not been experienced'.[126]

The most explicit portrayal of an Anglo-Indian private sphere can be found in one of D'Oyly's earliest projects - a series of illustrations contributed to a description of subcontinental domesticity entitled *The European in India*, written by a former military officer named Thomas

[123] The importance of the domestic sphere as both an indication of, and formative influence on, identity (and particularly on the formation of national identities) has been connected to the meta-history of 'modernity'. See: Wilson, (2007). Also useful is the monumental five-volume series *A History of Private Life*: Ariès, Philippe, and Georges Duby (*eds.*), *Histoire de la vie privée*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987-1991).

[124] Brewer, (1995).

[125] See: Habermas, (1989). On this subject see also: Luhmann, Niklas, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); and Russell, Gillian, and Clara Tuite (*eds.*), *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), particularly the introduction, and pp.9-10.

[126] Undated letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings, (Add MS 29192), f.250.

Williamson.[127] In contrast to the 'Indian' public that D'Oyly had sought for his *Antiquities of Dacca*, this work was specifically conceived as defining Anglo-Indian society for a metropolitan audience, and was published in the same year - 1813 - that the contentious 'India Question' occupied Parliament. Using D'Oyly's domestic vignettes as a structural framework for detailing a colonial official's 'everyday life', it effectively positioned the private household as the locus of a Company employee's character, as well as the interface of European and Indian interaction. By presenting Anglo-Indian domestic life in this way, the author aspired to 'soften' the prejudices with which the metropolitan audience characterised the Company's employees, teaching them instead to:

> 'Admire their general character; and to view them, as individuals, as being by no means unworthy of imitation. With regard to education, morality, and liberal principles, the gentlemen of the Honorable East India Company's Civil and Military Establishments are second to none!!!'[128]

Effectively, *The European in India* maintained that knowledge of the Anglo-Indian private sphere would not only vindicate the moral character of the male, colonial 'individual' - conceptualised as constituted through the social relationships and practices that structured his household - but, by extension, the 'general character' of the Company's employees. In 1813, with extensive Company reforms on the horizon, Williamson's and D'Oyly's representation of an Anglo-Indian private sphere that was regulated, as in Britain, by strict social practices and boundaries, could well be considered a calculated defence of corporate interest.

D'Oyly's further publications certainly cast the material practices that occurred within the domestic interior, such as household decoration or the accumulation of 'refined' objects, as a means to erase the peculiarities of subcontinental life, invoking the same constellation of ideas about urbanity, commercialism, and 'politeness' that had underscored his belief in the ameliorative powers of Hastings' sculpture. In 1830, the amateur published a depiction of the *mofussil's* rural charms entitled *The Costumes of India*,[129] which portrayed even the domestic interior of an 'up-country' residence as conforming meticulously to the polite fashions of Regency household decorum.[130] Despite his own admission that India was 'famous as a country of empty white walls', the

[127] Williamson, Thomas and Sir Charles D'Oyly, *The European in India* (London: Edward Orme, 1813). Williamson had actually been expelled from India due to his public defence of the privileges enjoyed by the Company's military establishment. See: Edwards, Owain, 'Captain Thomas Williamson of India', in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.14, No.4 (1980), pp. 673-682.

[128] Williamson and D'Oyly, (1813), 'Preface', unpaginated.

[129] *Mofussil*, a term found in Persian and Urdu, was adopted by the British to describe territory beyond the Presidency towns. This definition gradually transformed the term into an adjective for rural, 'up-country' India.

[130] D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *The Costumes of India*, (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, 1830).

illustrations barely contain a blank stretch of plaster (*figs.*1:25-1:27).[131] Similarly, in a watercolour originally intended for publication in *Tom Raw, The Griffin*, D'Oyly depicted the inhabitants of Calcutta engaged in the 'polite' and commercial activity of shopping at Taylor & Co.'s fashionable public emporium (*fig.*1:28).[132] By the Regency-era shopping had developed into a 'pleasurable pursuit, associated with sociability, display and the exercise of discerning taste - in sum, the performance of the Addisonian model of politeness'.[133] Of course, D'Oyly was not only representing Calcutta's provision of spaces for this polite, improving activity, but was directly contributing refined objects to the city's circuits of consumption. When D'Oyly wrote to his godfather explaining his 'anxiety to prove myself a good amateur artist', it thus seems that this desire for publicity complemented a wider anxiety to represent Anglo-Indian society *as* a tasteful public for his art.[134]

As detailed in the introduction, Margot Finn has convincingly argued that the model of the autonomous, Romantic, or 'modern' individual that scholars have suggested emerged out of the Georgian-era 'consumer revolution' is insufficient for capturing the ways in which material goods occupied multiple positions as both commodities *and* as the means to effect or curate social relationships within the kin and clientage networks that structured the Company's polity. But whilst D'Oyly's domestic hang amply demonstrates Finn's contention that material objects could be used to mediate the social obligations that structured this 'familial proto-state', I think the picture is significantly complicated by D'Oyly's self-conscious representation of consumer practices and the acquisition of material goods as a vindication of Anglo-Indian 'civil society' against accusations of 'nabobbery'. In essence, D'Oyly was not only using art objects as a mechanism for fostering the social connections that won patronage within the East India Company's civil service, but as a means to open a conceptual space within which this social body could be defined or imagined using languages and practices associated with various discourses about polite society. Even if these publications were financed and distributed within D'Oyly's specific social networks, and largely defended the 'public image' of these corporate groups, the discourses that D'Oyly adopted were thus precisely those premised on a Romantic conception of the autonomous individual, and were articulated as part of an egocentric artist's aspirations for self-expression and consequent publicity.

I thus want to conclude this section by suggesting that D'Oyly's archive allows us to frame the preceding section's focus on the twin processes of imperial self-fashioning and social

[131] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.183.
[132] Atkinson, and D'Oyly, (1828).
[133] Berry, (2002), p.377.
[134] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

determination within a broader account of the relationship between the Company's peculiar polity and the 'public' formed by its employees - a public that by necessity could only develop within a society almost entirely composed of either the military or the professional bureaucracy (or what Habermas originally defined as the objectivisation of the institutions of public power). Indeed, whilst in Habermas' account this might well disqualify this public's status as such, it is worth noting the work of recent historians who have framed the European public sphere not as the State's antagonistic rival, but rather as an 'extension of the state', a key site within which national identities were constructed through both visual representation and cultural practices.[135] We might, therefore, consider a circumscribed public sphere in British India as an extension of the Company's peculiar 'proto-state', and as a critical space for defining the meaning of community within the limited white society that colonial administration had produced. For on the one hand, art gave individuals like D'Oyly an expression of subjectivity that could be couched within transnational notions of civility and 'universal' precepts of taste, and which could consequently present Anglo-Indians as a modern community of autonomous, discerning consumers operating within a civil society that provided spaces for the necessary public display of this selfhood. On the other hand, we have seen how the real limitations of an Anglo-Indian public manifested themselves in the work of art, and sometimes deliberately so as a strategy for promoting or defining corporate interests. As art could represent the Company's private networks publicly, it enabled the identities produced and embedded within the Company's matrix of kinship and clientage bonds to be publicly represented as the model for a collective Anglo-Indian identity. Moreover, as these bonds continued to function as the key channels through which individuals in India could gain political influence - even after restrictions on the immigration of private individuals were lifted following the 1813 Charter Act - it is worth noting that this image of the public deliberately excluded (or at least sought to exclude) non-official whites and indigenous Indians from garnering political agency. Whilst the superlative capacity of art and associationist aesthetics to regulate the Anglo-Indian 'emotional economy' therefore allowed individuals to cultivate and curate the sinews of the 'familial proto-state' through gift-giving and domestic display, I thus believe that the 'public' qualities that distinguished art from various other categories of material culture also allowed individuals to defend the interests of this corporate network: be it through discourses that presented the colonial individual as a modern and polite member of civil society, or through the representation of the Company's employees *as* a civil society. To conclude, I therefore want to turn to the question with which this chapter began, and

[135] Blanning, (2002), p.13.

suggest that colonial identity was defined through the interplay between the public and private spaces and practices that art objects worked to mediate.

iii. A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Personal Politics and 'Corporate' Identity

'If by almost any definition the whites of British India had not evolved into a colonial society, they had formed themselves into powerful corporations with distinct interests of their own'

- *Peter J. Marshall,* 1990 [136]

Whilst journeying through D'Oyly's collection, the amateur's literary avatar, Peregrine de la Tour, stumbled upon a rather remarkable painting, 'a small portrait, the countenance of which I immediately recognised & experienced much satisfaction in looking at the features of a man so justly celebrated for his literary talents & for the martyrdom he suffered in his manly support of the liberty of the Indian press & the independency of public opinion in Asia'.[137] This portrait was a gift, presented to D'Oyly by the Radical journalist James 'Silk' Buckingham, who had actually been forcibly deported from India in 1823 by the acting Governor-General John Adam (1779-1825).[138] In the years leading up to this ignominious dismissal, Buckingham and the Bengali intellectual Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) had been proprietors of the reform-oriented *Calcutta Journal* (1818-23); fiercely championing the freedom of the press in India, whilst also criticising British expansionism, the Company's implication in a clandestine slave trade, and the miseries of Calcutta's urban squalor.[139] On the 1st September, 1819, the *Journal* ran an article entitled 'The Paper of the Public', and reiterated its frequent contention that only through the cultivation of an educated, reading public could the dire social issues plaguing Anglo-Indian society be addressed.[140] Of course, and just as we saw with Hastings' statue, the notion of a civically-engaged public in India contradicted the Company's refusal to countenance constitutional or representational rule. Buckingham was ideologically dangerous, and swiftly removed.

The portrait that remained in India inspired D'Oyly to reflect on his friend's politically charged career. 'It is very strange', he remarked, 'that the man should have met with such

[136] Marshal, (1990), p.44.
[137] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.42.
[138] For more details about Buckingham's role in India's Constitutional Liberal 'moment', see: Bayly, (2012), especially chapters two and three. Buckingham and the issue of a colonial public is also discussed in: Marshall, (1990).
[139] Bayly, (2012), especially p.74.
[140] 'Paper of the Public', in *Calcutta Journal* (1st September, 1819).

persecution, not only from prejudiced individuals, but a liberal & dignified government, who to preserve that character should have smiled at all the errors of his judgement'.[141] However, conforming to the broad political neutrality cultivated in the Company's civil service, and explaining that he 'never was a party man', D'Oyly's ekphrasis turned from these more contentious issues to an evocative description of Buckingham's physiognomy: 'his open brow is illustrative of deep thought and perspicuous reasoning & his eye looks as if in one moment it could penetrate into the inmost recesses of the character it perused'.[142] If D'Oyly was hesitant to engage with politics, the physiognomy of Buckingham's portrait clearly proved the man's intellectual worth to any visitors at Bankipore. Indeed, if D'Oyly's domestic hang structured important familial and clientage bonds, then how were guests to interpret the fact that one of Calcutta's preeminent Radicals, and the principal European spokesperson for an Anglo-Indian public, hung just inches away from his self-defined 'family department' (*Diagram 1.1*)?

Deciphering whether D'Oyly harboured political sympathies for Buckingham is confounded by the absence of any real evidence detailing clear political convictions. In contrast to Buckingham's Utilitarianism, and following instead the Orientalist ideals of his godfather, he strongly supported increased education in South Asian languages, arguing that the Company's judiciary be 'intimately acquainted with the manners & customs, habits & prejudices of the natives'.[143] On the other hand, he advocated centralisation of the Company's political structure and increased meritocracy in appointments to the civil service.[144] This latter issue appears to have been a particular grievance for the young recruit, leading him to advocate a more explicit division between domestic and colonial government. Bemoaning Lord Minto's subservience to 'a vote in Roxburghshire or a letter from a powerful man at home', he even informed his godfather that 'we had once some independence of spirit but it is all gone & we tacitly submit to indignities which we should formerly have boldly *tho'* respectfully resisted'.[145] Of course, this language would have placed

[141] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.42.

[142] *Ibid.* On the political neutrality that characterised Anglo-Indian society, see: Marshall, (1997), p.103.

[143] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 6th November 1811, (Add MS 29186), f.208.

[144] For D'Oyly's support of greater centralisation in the training of civil servants, see: Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 27th November 1802, (Add MS 29178), f.36. 'Another great inducement exists in favour of an united institution, which is the emulation that must be excited in the minds of the students & the idea that their individual merits are placed under the immediate eye of the Governor-General who will reward those deserving young men of either Presidency by public marks of attention & pecuniary benefits. In the plan laid down by the Ct. of Dr. [Court of Directors] a most serious inconvenience would arise from the triple establishment which does not now exist, a want of discipline & subordination without which the students, left to their own inclinations would not only neglect their studies, but enter into every species of extravagance, dissipation and licentiousness for which this country in particular offers so many temptations'.

[145] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 31st July 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.185.

D'Oyly firmly in line with the rhetoric of the reform movement leading up to 1832, which also portrayed the East India Company as severely corrupted by rotten boroughs. Yet D'Oyly's unusual solution appears to have been investing greater political autonomy in the Company, rather than increased parliamentary oversight (or its total abolition, as many Radicals proposed). Certainly the most remarkable aspect of D'Oyly's defence of the Company's political independence is his frequent use of the collective pronoun. His letters repeatedly use similar language that emphasises a sense of community - describing Calcutta's gazettes as communicating 'our opinion', for instance, or keeping his godfather up-to-date with the 'general opinion' or 'sentiments of the greater proportion of the service'.[146] Of course, this collective identity did not equate to the self-determining Anglo-Indian public that Buckingham had aspired to forge, but it did constitute the political expression of a social body who saw its approbation or discontent as a possible influence on executive policy decision.

Importantly, and in direct contrast to Buckingham, D'Oyly only ever seems to have presented this public opinion as originating in, and never seeking to dismantle, the Company's corporate structure.[147] Discussing the debates on either side of the Company's 1813 charter renewal, he conceded that the 'general wish' in Calcutta was the opening of trade, but countered that this was only natural in a community who largely stood to benefit privately from the relaxation of the Company's monopoly.[148] Employing instead the aesthetic metaphors associated with the Civic Humanist ideals so influential during Hastings' administration, he claimed instead that the issue should be dealt with not on this 'narrow scale' but with a 'large view' - the 'public' view of the state - thus making sure not to damage an idiosyncratic political structure 'so admirably calculated for the government of the country'.[149] Over the first decades of his career in India, D'Oyly therefore developed a political position that was loyal to the Company's corporate structure, yet equally supportive of 'public opinion' and the growth of a collective identity amongst the predominantly Company-employed community. In the following chapter, I will show how this support of an Anglo-Indian public ironically placed D'Oyly in conflict with the Directors of the very institution to which he was so loyal.

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[146] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 7th October 1805, (Add MS 29180), f.320; and Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 24th August 1805, (Add MS 29180), f.292.

[147] In the following chapter, I will suggest that this places D'Oyly closer politically to several other reformers who were also 'old Indians', such as Joseph Hume.

[148] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 30th August 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.234.

[149] *Ibid.* On the relationship between scale in landscape paintings and the ability to view the 'public' issues of state, see: Barrell, John, 'The Public Prospect and the Private View: The Politics of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Ibid.*, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 1991).

What I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter, however, is several ways in which art and cultural practices shaped and defined this unusual political identity. Art and its implication in Anglo-India's 'emotional economy' enabled the young civil servant to form crucial social connections and self-fashion his identity as determined in relation to these attachments. Moreover, such loyalties led to real emolument in the colonial cash nexus, emphasising that art was a key mechanism for mediating the kinship and clientage networks that constituted the Company's 'familial proto-state'. Nevertheless, art's inherently public qualities also allowed these private relationships to be represented and negotiated within the public sphere, and for individuals like D'Oyly to publicly imagine this network of obligations as a polite society. Art essentially generated discursive spaces within which the Company's corporate structure could be collectively defined or imagined as a community. The biography of Sir Charles D'Oyly, this amusingly egotistical amateur artist, therefore demonstrates how art objects connected the overlapping forces of self-fashioning, social determination, and the pressures exerted by the idiosyncratic character of the colonial polity in formulating a distinct sense of *esprit de corps* in the Company's civil service. Rather than citing the increasingly bureaucratic nature of the colonial administration as an *explanation* for why fine art patronage declined during the first half of the nineteenth century, D'Oyly's oeuvre thus demonstrates how art objects both affiliated and publicly represented this bureaucracy as a corporate body with distinct social and political interests.

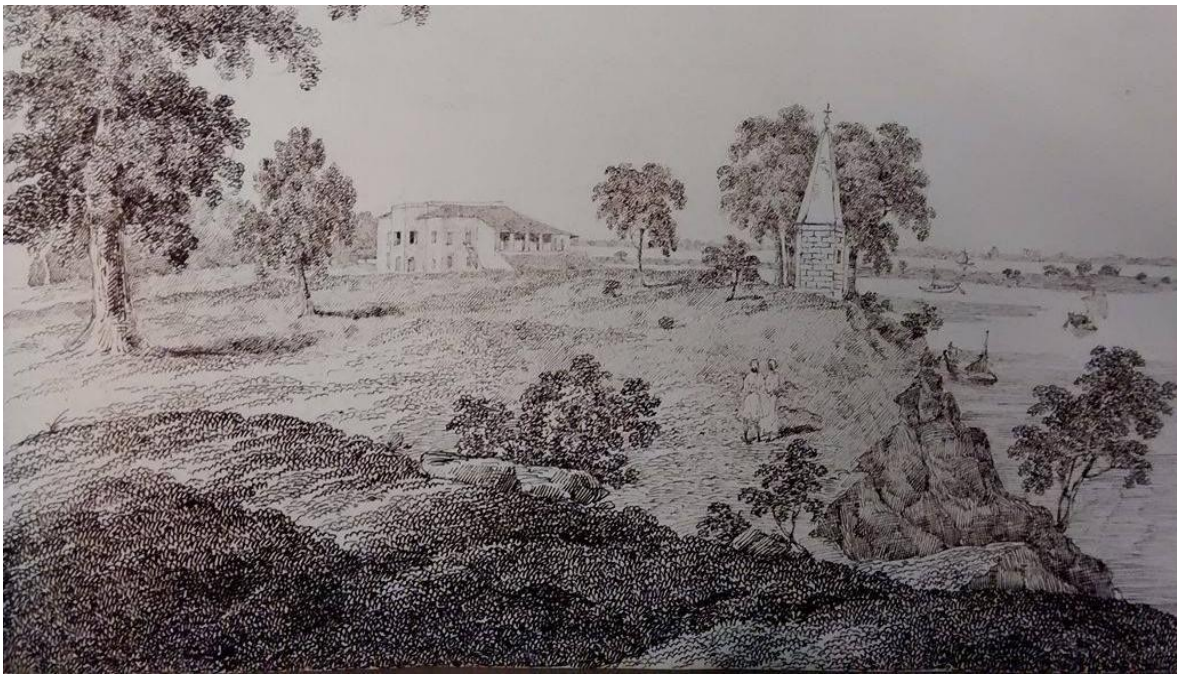
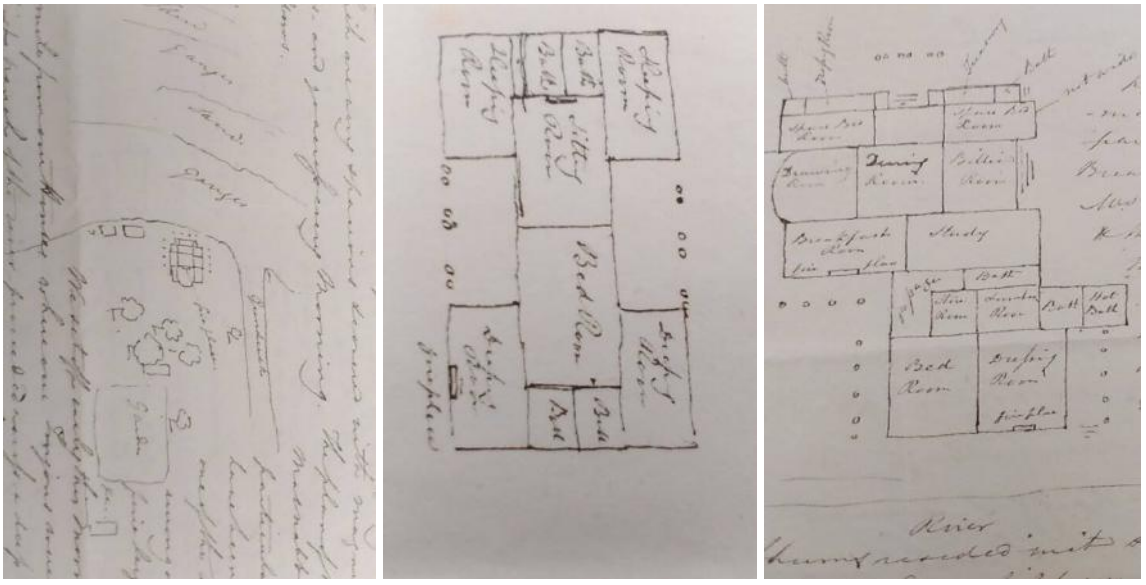


Figure 1:1: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's House and Grounds at Hajipur*', c.1820-1824, pen and ink sketch, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London (WD 2060).

Figure 1:2: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Self-Portrait of Sir Charles D'Oyly Sketching*', c.1820-1824, pen and ink sketch, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London (WD 2060).



Figures 1:3-1:5: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sketched Ground Plans for the D'Oylys' House at Hajipur*', c.1820, pen on paper, included in: Letter from Sir Charles and Elizabeth D'Oyly to Jane Mary Macnabb dated 8th December 1820, (BL IOR F206/19).

Figure 1:6: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's Summer Drawing Room*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, included in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 1:7: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's Winter Drawing Room*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, included in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 1:8: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Portico of the D'Oylys' House at Bankipore*', c.1824-6, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, included in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 1:9: '*Newlands Manor', 2018*.

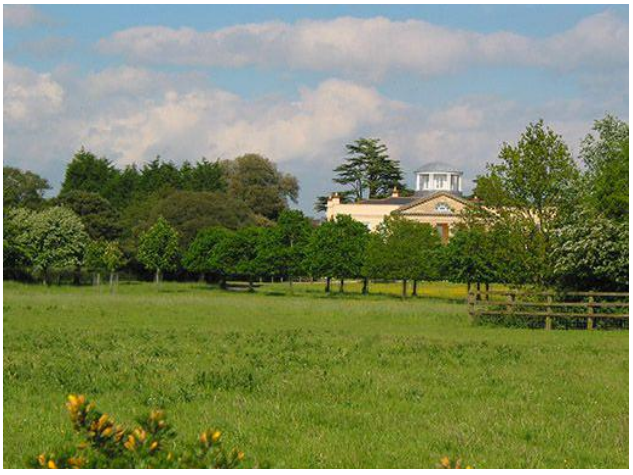


Figure 1:10&1:11: '*D'Oyly Park'*, 2018, and John Bellamy, '*A William IV Cut-Card Model of Newtown Park (formerly D'Oyly Park)*', cut-card, 1831, private collection.

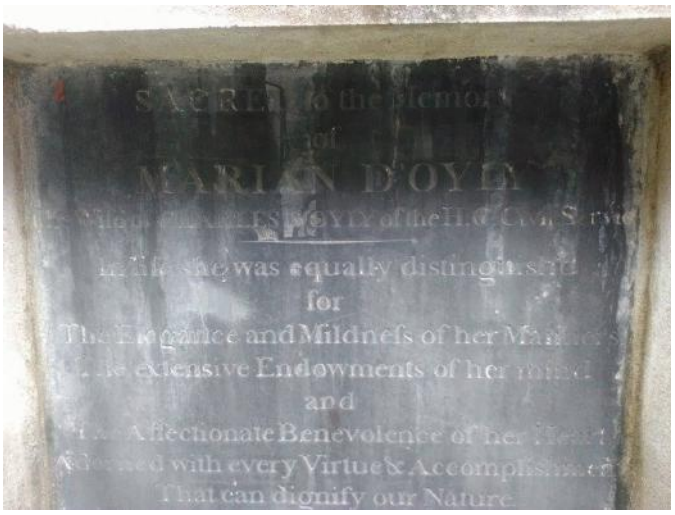


Figure 1:12: '*Grave of Marian D'Oyly*', c.1814, author's own photographs, in Park Street Cemetery, Kolkata, 2016.

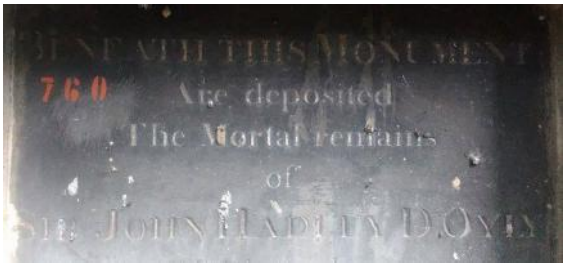


Figure 1:13: '*Grave of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly*', c.1818, author's own photographs, in Park Street Cemetery, Kolkata, 2016.

Figure 1:14: Sir Thomas Lawrence RA, '*Portrait of Warren Hastings*', 1786, pastel on vellum, in the possession of the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 3823).

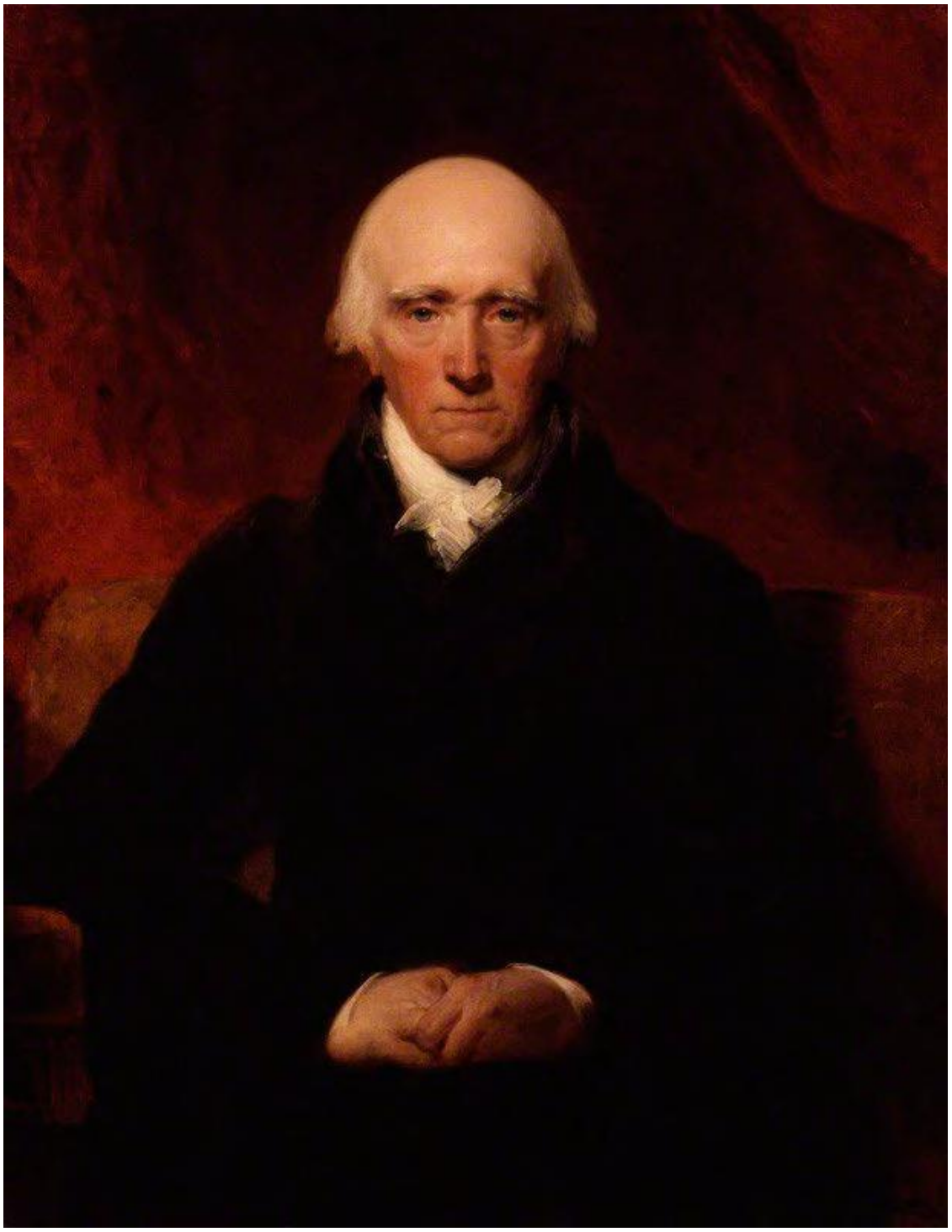


Figure 1:15: Sir Thomas Lawrence RA, '*Portrait of Warren Hastings*', 1811, oil on canvas, in the possession of the Nation Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 390).

Figures 1:16-1:17: Comparison between: Sir William Beechey RA, '*Portrait of Warren Hastings*', c.1808, oil on canvas, private collection; and Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Detail of (fig.7), Sir Charles D'Oyly's Winter Drawing Room*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, included in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens*, (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 1:18: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Native Types*', c.1822, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, in the British Library India Office Collections, London (WD 4401).

Figure 1:19: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Near Hajipur*', c.1828-30, lithographic print, published in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook*, (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-30), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection.

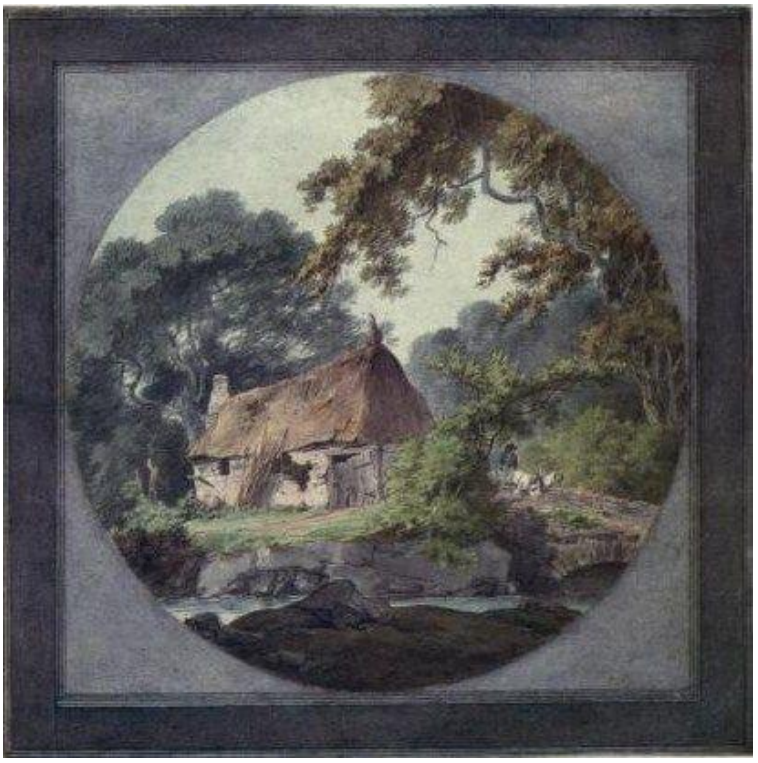


Figure 1:20: William Payne, '*Hovel near Yalmton, Devon*', date unknown, watercolour on paper, published in: Long, Basil S. *William Payne, Water-Colour Painter Working 1776-1830*, (London: Walker's Galleries, 1922).

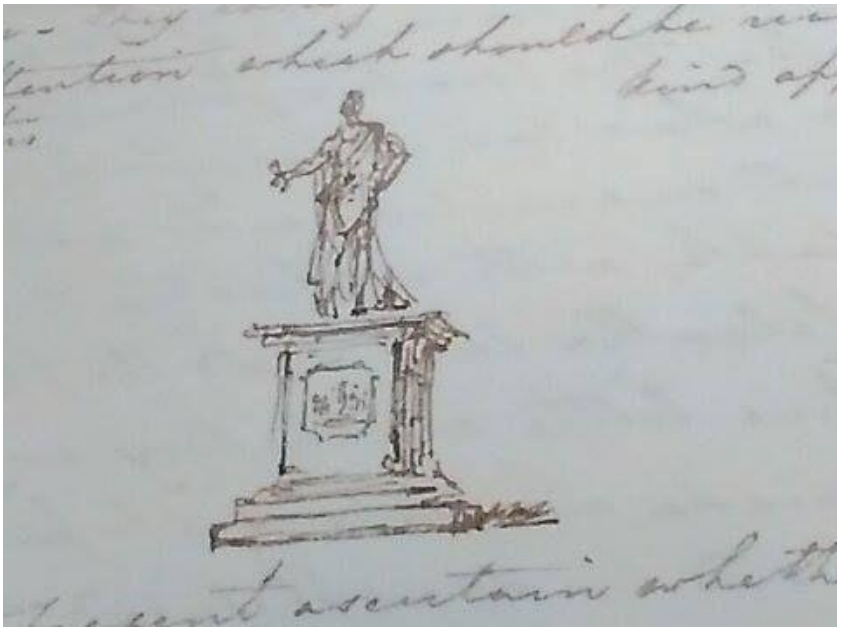


Figure 1:21: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sketch of a Statue of Warren Hastings*', 1823, pen on paper, included in: Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Marian Hastings dated 29th November 1823, (Add MS 39873), f.54.

Figure 1:22: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Statue of the Marquess of Hastings in Tank Square*', 1848, lithographic print, published in: *Views of Calcutta and its Environs*, (London: Dickinson & Co., 1848).

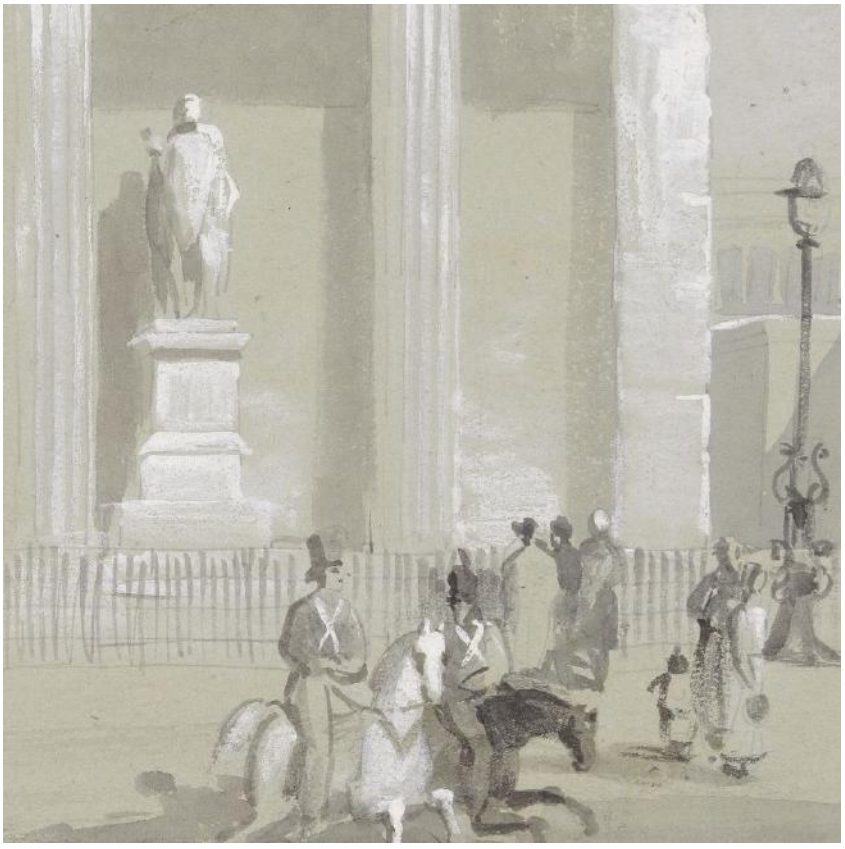


Figure 1:23: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Statue of the Marquis of Hastings in Tank Square*', c.1832-1838, white gouache, gray wash, and graphite on wove paper, detail of original sketch for: *Views of Calcutta and its Environs*, (London: Dickinson & Co., 1848), in the possession of YCBA, New Haven, prints and drawings (B1977.18.8).

Figure 1:24: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Detail of (fig.2:1), Statue of the Marquis of Hastings in Tank Square*', 1848, lithographic print, published in: *Views of Calcutta and its Environs*, (London: Dickinson & Co., 1848).

Figures 1:25-1:27: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Domestic Scenes*', 1830, hand-coloured lithographic prints, published in: *The Costumes of India*, (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, 1830).

Figure 1:28: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Tom Raw Visits Taylor & Co.'s Emporium in Calcutta (containing a self-portrait of Sir Charles, and portraits of his father Sir John and his wife Marian)*', c.1812-1828, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, originally to be included in: Atkinson, James, and Sir Charles D'Oyly, *Tom Raw, The Griffin: A Burlesque Poem,* (London: R. Ackermann, 1828), in the possession of the V&A, London, South & South-East Asia Collection (IS.1-1980).

The Bengal Amateur Network:

Family Trees and Diagram 2.i.

The Familial Relationship of Sir Charles D'Oyly *and* Christopher Webb Smith

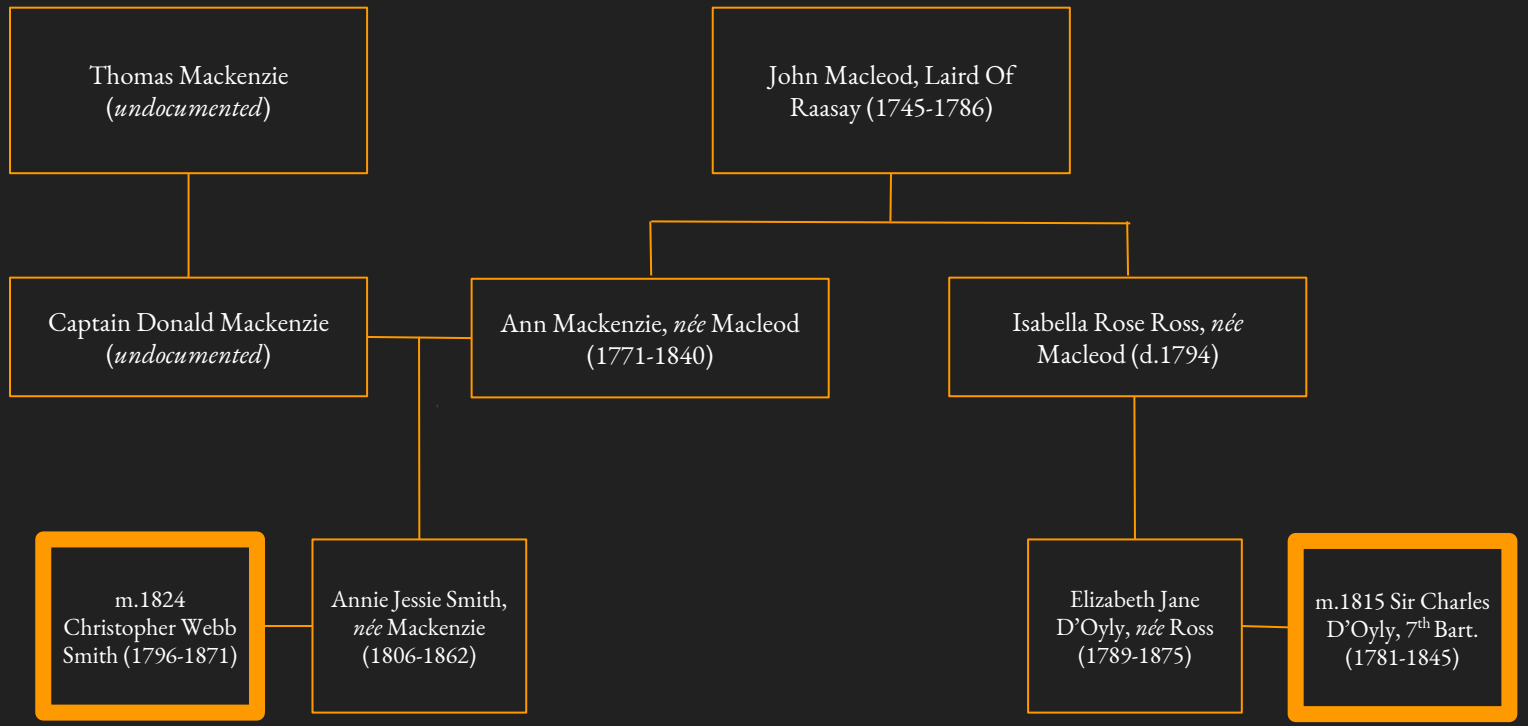
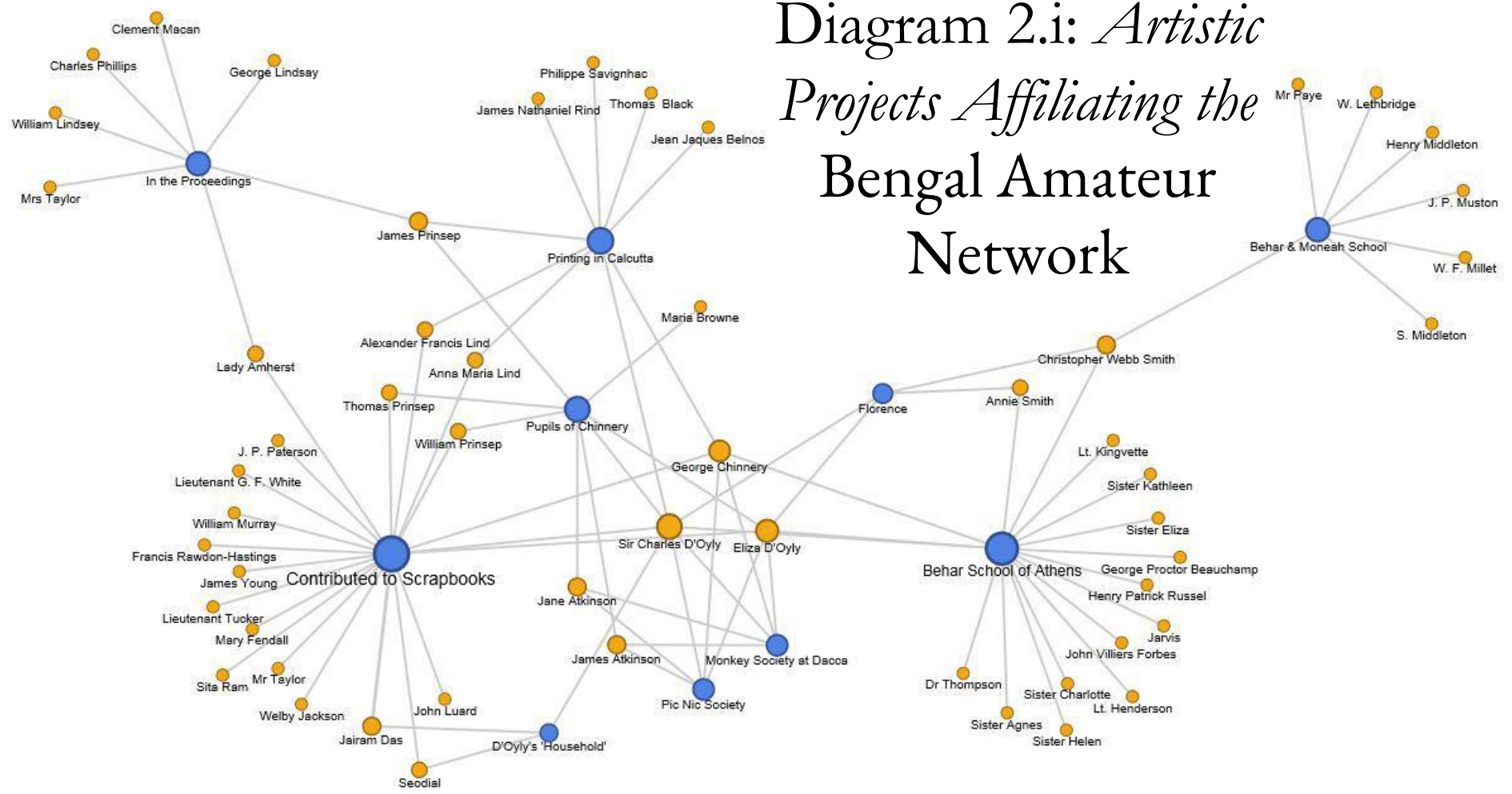


Diagram 2.i: *Artistic Projects Affiliating the* Bengal Amateur Network



- *Chapter II* -

The Behar School of Athens: Amateur Art in India's Constitutional Liberal 'Moment'

1. 'A Day to Celebrate in the Annals of the Academy'[1]

I open with a sketch depicting five members of the 'Behar School of Athens', an amateur art society founded in Patna on the 1st July, 1824 (*fig.2:1*).[2] On the far-left of the scene sits the society's President, Sir Charles D'Oyly, surrounded by three of his life's great loves: his wife Eliza, his amateur art, and his ever-present *hookah* pipe. At easels on D'Oyly's right are busied the society's Vice President, Christopher Webb Smith (1796-1871) and his wife Annie (1806-1862), whilst further along sits John Villiers Forbes, Secretary to the society and the scribe of the *Proceedings* manuscript in which this image was pasted. The charming scene accompanied a description of a successful day of painting at the society's 'academy', which detailed how 'the President at the suggestion of his colleague had sketched its interior animate and inanimate, thus embodying...this memorable day to be handed down to remotest posterity'.[3] The academy's members - presumably the scene's 'animate contents' - are arranged so as to highlight the sociability of the group's activities, conveying the intimacy between husband and wife, friend and colleague. The *Proceedings* frequently referred to the ways in which communal artistic practice kept the severe 'boredom' of colonial life in abeyance, and the description of the day accompanying D'Oyly's sketch recounted how 'the arts proceeding hand in hand with friendly converse' left 'every fleeting moment...hugged with delight...the members duly felt the reality of happiness'.[4]

If the figures in D'Oyly's sketch spoke to the sociability they enjoyed on the day of the image's creation, however, then the room's 'inanimate contents' conveyed a much more rigorous engagement with artistic practice. The society's 'cultural resources' are conspicuously on display,

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[1] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.193.

[2] The society was also called The United Patna and Gyah Society, but as its members almost exclusively referred to it as The Behar School of Athens, I have decided to stick to this appellation.

[3] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.194.

[4] *Ibid.*, f.193. I deal more extensively with the concept of 'colonial boredom' in Section ii of this chapter.

and include an impressively large Italianate nude, a series of portraits, and the appropriate tools for oil painting - not the 'amateur' pursuit of watercolour. Engaged in copying other images, the group also demonstrate their adherence to the pedagogic methods traditionally practiced in European academies. Most strikingly, by working together in a room crammed with artistic paraphernalia - a scene evocative of countless group portraits of artistic institutions in Britain (*figs.*2:2&2:3) - the image emphasised the group's activity as both grounded in, and given meaning by, a specific space and the practices that occurred within it. The Athenians' practice was effectively 'institutionalised'.[5]

D'Oyly's depiction of both a leisurely sociability and a more rigorous engagement with artistic practice actually reflects the very first line of the *Proceedings* manuscript, which declared that the Behar School of Athens had been established 'for the promotion of the Arts and Sciences, and for the circulation of fun and merriment of all descriptions'.[6] This twin ambition relied on a popular and formulaic conception of *utile et dulce* (work and play), that had most (in)famously underscored the activities of the Society of Dilettanti, whose own 'promotion of Arts' had been counterbalanced by their 'first great object' - 'friendly and social intercourse'.[7] Founded in 1734 by aristocrats returned from the Grand Tour, the Dilettanti took Horaces' *seria ludo* as their motto, and inscribed their own book of minutes with the epigraph 'may these trifles lead to serious matters'.[8] Besides providing a crucial model for numerous later artistic societies, the Dilettanti's ethos had also characterised the emergence of Indian Orientalism in Bengal during the last decades of the eighteenth century: in 1784 D'Oyly's godfather Warren Hastings had described writing his introduction to Charles Wilkins' translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* as 'business, though begun in play'; whilst in 1787 the first President of the Asiatic Society, William Jones, had detailed the 'exquisite pleasure' he took in learning India's supposedly 'antique' languages.[9] By the time the Athenians adopted their title, the discourses of erudition and Spectatorian sociability associated with the classical past had long been employed to define elite sociability in India.

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[5] The importance of institutionalisation as a discourse in the history of art and Georgian society more broadly has been traced by scholars such as Douglas Fordham and Holger Hoock. See: Fordham, (2010); and Hoock, (2003).

[6] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.1.

[7] Wood, Robert, 'Preface', in *Ibid., et. al., Ionian Antiquities, Vol.1.*, (London: T. Spilsbury and W. Haskell, 1769), pp.1-11. For a good account of the Dilettanti, see: Redford, Bruce, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England,* (California: Getty Publications, 2008).

[8] The Dillentanti's motto derives from a line in Horace's first satire, 'jesting aside, let us turn to serious thoughts' ('*sed tamen amoto quaeramu seria ludo*'). The epigraph originally used the Latin, '*hae nugae in seria ducant*'. See: Redford, (2008), p.3.

[9] Cited in: Franklin, Michael, '*Orientalist Jones': Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.215, p.237.

In the first section of this chapter, I am going to contextualise the 'fun and merriment' of the Behar School of Athens in relation to the notions of clubbability and forms of Spectatorian association that metropolitan societies like the Dilettanti had promoted, and on which the intellectual milieu of Indian Orientalism had flourished. I will use social network analysis to map out an extensive web of amateur artists working in the Presidency, who I refer to as the Bengal Amateur Network (*Diagram 2.1*). Drawing on a long tradition of scholarship that charts the emergence of an associational world of clubs and societies in early modern Britain,[10] alongside recent scholarship about the 'networked' nature of Britain's Georgian-era public sphere, I am going to argue that both the sociability of amateur practice and the social affordances of art objects allowed the Company's civil and military establishments to effectively network themselves into a 'colonial public sphere' in early nineteenth-century India.[11] Whilst any claims to community were certainly circumscribed by the peculiar social contingencies I traced over the previous chapter, I will contend that amateur art provided a discourse about politeness and sociability that transcended claims of affiliation based solely on relations of blood or political clientage. Ideas about the 'improving' nature of the arts and the polite sociability of amateur practice essentially reinforced the image of the Company's 'reformed' civil establishment that D'Oyly had advanced in his printed oeuvre, lending cultural legitimacy to the emergence of colonial civil society during this period.

In the spirit of the *seria-ludo*-inspired ambitions proclaimed in the society's *Proceedings*, the following section subsequently turns from the group's 'fun and merriment' to the specific classical reference contained in the School's title, arguing that the Raphaelite connotation is indicative of how we should interpret the Athenians' more rigorous engagement with artistic practice. For though Sir Joshua Reynolds had lauded Michelangelo (1475-1564) as the pinnacle of artistic excellence in his influential *Discourses*, Raphael (1483-1520) had continued to form the preeminent influence on European Academicism throughout the long eighteenth century.[12] Displayed at Hampton Court, the artist's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel tapestries developed into a symbol of England's cultural prestige, and a material basis on which a glorious English School of art might

[10] The classic account is: Clark, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000). An interesting 'colonial' comparison is: Kelly, James, and Martyn Powell (*eds.*), *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).

[11] I rely in particular on the seminal edited volume *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century*, which contains an excellent overview of the literature on Britain's 'public sphere' - an oeuvre that has been rapidly developing since the English translation of Habermas' *Structural Transformations* in 1987. See: Baird, Ileana (*ed.*), *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[12] For a particularly good overview of Raphael's legacies in England, see: Meyer, Arline, *Apostles in England: Sir James Thornhill & the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons*, (New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, distributed by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1997).

emerge. Reynold's successor, the 'American Raphael' Benjamin West (1738-1820), even ordered new copies of the Renaissance master's cartoons to be painted by British artists, making the 'ideal' of Raphael an important constituent in arguments about the importance of institutionalising the country's national 'promotion of the arts'.

The second section of this chapter proposes that the Athenians explicitly modelled themselves on metropolitan artistic institutions like the Royal Academy, cultivating a professionalised self-image that aggrandised their amateur sociability through the same discourses that had lauded both the public benefits of a national school of art, and the essential role of institutions in its 'promotion'. These discourses had been developing in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, and centred on the idea that the quality of a nation's school of art reflected in the public sphere its prestige and power, as well as operated within that sphere to cultivate a more moral and civilised society.[13] This section therefore contends that by styling themselves as an institution involved in 'the promotion of the arts' in colonial Patna, the Athenians effectively developed an institutional rationale that brought into question the very nature of the public sphere that their social activities had fostered. In a country where the prospect of a nascent public proved exceptionally contentious, I will emphasise how the Athenians' belief in the public function of art institutions thus took on highly problematic valences, potentially even contradicting one of the fundamental bases on which the ideology of British colonialism was legitimised.

In the third and final section, I will contextualise this disjuncture between the Company's official policy and the ideologies that an upper-Gangetic friendship group developed to aggrandise their sociability. Historians such as Christopher Bayly have described the decades in which the Athenians were working as India's Constitutional Liberal 'moment', a period in which a political public and its attendant institutions (such as a free press and debating societies) rapidly consolidated in the subcontinent, leading both indigenous Indians and Anglo-Indians to demand greater civil liberties and advocate modernising projects like judicial and economic reform.[14] If the first section of this chapter details how amateur art was one of the fundamental cultural bases on which the Company's civil establishment networked itself into a 'colonial public sphere', and the second highlights the contradictions evident in the Athenians' engagement with ideas about the public function of art institutions, then this final section will demonstrate how discourses like the

[13] Research on the national and 'public' functions of art has dominated research on British art history over the last two decades. See, for example: Barrell, (1986); Solkin, (1993); Kriz, (1997); Hemingway, Andrew, *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[14] For more information about this context, see: Section iv. For Bayly's phrase, see: Bayly, Christopher, 'Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-30', in *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 1, (2007), pp.25-41. For a more extensive account, see: Bayly, (2012).

'promotion of the arts' helped Anglo-Indians make sense of the rapid emergence and expansion of colonial civil society.

In particular, I will be examining a series of lithographic scrapbooks that the society produced between 1828 and 1830, arguing that these albums contain a range of discourses related to 'improvement' and the 'promotion of the arts' that allowed the Athenians to lend greater significance to their lives and social activities. The group's use of lithographic scrapbooks emphasises the impact that new forms of Regency print culture played on their artistic activities, whilst discourses about amateurism and landscape aesthetics associated with this media allowed the Athenians to engage with a constellation of ideas about class and national identity. Like many of his contemporaries, D'Oyly was totally besotted by the figure of Lord Byron - copying out his poetry in commonplace albums, and ordering coats from Stultze, 'the dandy's cherished tailor'.[15] The Athenians' classicism was thus tied intimately to the focus on Greece exemplified in the work and lives of the second generation Romantic poets, and whose preoccupations with self-expression, personal authenticity, and creative liberty produced curious political outcomes when translated to the subcontinent. By highlighting the impact that these eclectic artistic practices and aesthetic discourses made on the Athenians, I thus seek to demonstrate not only how art networked individuals into a 'colonial public sphere' in Bengal, but how it shaped the various ways individuals responded to this 'distinct "moment" in the history of Indian ideas'.[16] My intention is to show how ideas and affect were translated between lived experience, material culture, and political discourse, exemplifying both colonial art's importance to a transnational history of Liberalism's visual cultures, alongside the ways in which the artistic cultures that defined a 'reformed' civil establishment in India came to determine the character of the Company's state over the first decades of the nineteenth century.

11. Amateur Art and Clubbability in Bengal

'To prop the graphic art, & shower

[15] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.167. 'Sir Charles, too, dressed out in his new dandy coat...From Stultz__who makes coats for the king'. See: Nixon, Nicola, 'Men and Coats; or the Politics of the Dandiacal Body in Melville's Benito Ceren', in *PMLA*, 114, (May, 1999), pp.359-72, p.364. A commonplace book in which D'Oyly transcribed Byron's poetry is in the British Library's India Office Collections, see: (WD 4118).

[16] Bayly, (2007), p.40.

Mirth's innocent and lively power
O'er academic toils, and twine
Around time's glass the eglantine'

- *Sir Charles D'Oyly*, 1826 [17]

'He bet us that, using no more than five *individuals, one of whom is a personal acquaintance, he could contact the selected individual using nothing except the network of personal acquaintances...I am embarrassed to admit - since it would look foolish - that I often catch myself playing our well-connected game not only with human beings, but with objects as well'*

- *Frigyes Karinthy*, 1929 [18]

D'Oyly's doggerel verse ably introduces this section's focus on the interwoven character of art objects, artistic culture, and sociability in the Athenians' lives. 'Academic toils' provided the members of the Behar School of Athens with both a communal social practice and a cultural framework through which they could formulate (or self-fashion) their identities. Twining around the hourglass a symbol of poetry, D'Oyly also emphasised how the sociability of amateur art could keep at bay the perils of what Jeffrey Auerbach has termed 'imperial boredom' - the sheer mundanity of administering a remote colonial province.[19] Indeed, by transforming this potential boredom into something beautiful, amateur practice embedded the Athenians' activities within a broader discourse about politeness, clubbability, and civil society - emphasising Patna's place within a global network of British civility. The Athenians certainly cultivated broader social ties, developing relationships with a number of societies in the Bengal Presidency, and casting themselves as key players on an Anglo-Indian cultural scene. The second epigraph, Frigyes Karinthy's provocative first formulation of what we now call 'six degrees of separation', introduces the manner in which I want to examine the position of physical objects within these social networks: as causal (potentially agentive) structural components that determined both the nature and configuration of the group's sociability.[20] In doing so, I will propose that amateur art, imbricated in

[17] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.306.

[18] Karinthy, Frigyes, *translated by* Adam Makkai, 'Chain Links', in *Ibid.*, *Everything is Different*, (online publication of 1929 translation).

[19] Auerbach, Jeffrey, 'Imperial Boredom', in *Common Knowledge*, Vol.11, Issue 2, (Spring, 2005), pp.283-305.

[20] Across the Humanities and Social Sciences, 'agency' is most frequently conceived or applied analytically in three ways: as the agency associated with 'natural' forces; with the social actors and forces that operate within or work to structure society; or semiotically as the forces that construct meaning. Within the discipline of art history, the second approach has enjoyed a recent methodological prominence, influenced primarily by the posthumous publication of Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory*, which sought to avoid appealing to cultural meanings or systems of cultural convention when interpreting art objects, and to achieve instead an understanding of art 'as a system of action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it'. See: Gell, Alfred, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.6. On the importance of objects within social networks, see

several public forms of sociability, actively structured the emergence of an associational world that fulfilled many of the social and political functions that scholars have typically associated with the emergence of a post-courtly, Enlightenment public sphere in Europe.[21]

The Behar School of Athens united a friendship group of public servants dispersed across the state of Bihar. The founding members were split between two branches: Sir Charles D'Oyly, Eliza D'Oyly, Annie Mackenzie, and the Secretary John Villiers Forbes were based in Patna, whilst a secondary branch in the nearby city of Gyah was superintended by Charles Webb Smith and included George Proctor Beauchamp, Branch Secretary and 'Commodore' of the society's fleet.[22] George Chinnery, D'Oyly's close friend and his 'master his guide and leader *thro'* all the intricate mazes of graphic art', was appointed patron, and presented with 'the freedom of the society...in one of Newman's colour boxes'.[23] Additionally, a member named 'Jarvis' was appointed to attend Calcutta's notorious probate auctions and communicate news about any art that had arrived on the subcontinental market.[24] These founding members all occupied typical careers in provincial colonial administration. D'Oyly worked as the Opium Agent for Patna from 1820 to 1831, after which he became the city's Commercial Resident.[25] Charles Webb Smith was a member of Gyah's judiciary, John Villiers Forbes was employed in the Company's military establishment, and George Proctor-Beauchamp was the Collector of the 'pilgrim tax' on the road between Patna and Gyah. At a meeting held on the 3rd July, 1824, the society welcomed two new members - Henry Patrick Russell, Gyah's Registrar, and Lieutenant Kingvette, a military officer included for his prodigious musical talents.[26] By the 19th August these ranks had swollen to fourteen, with additional members listed as Lt. Henderson, Dr Thompson, and 'Sisters' Charlotte, Eliza, Helen, Agnes and Kathleen.[27] Despite being dispersed across two cities, the Athenians endeavoured to meet at least twice a year, or more

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also: Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). For a critique of Actor-Network-Theory, see: Baird, (2014).

[21] The term 'colonial public sphere' has also been used in: Sinha, Mrinalini, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', in *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.40, Issue 4 (At Home in the Empire), (October, 2001), pp.489-521. Similar themes have also been treated in: White, Daniel E., *From London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print, and Modernity in Early British India, 1793-1835,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[22] Presumably this second branch came to include Annie Mackenzie following her marriage to Christopher Webb Smith on the 19th August 1824. See below for further details.

[23] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.4.

[24] *Ibid.*, f.8.

[25] D'Oyly took leave at the Cape of Good Hope between 1832 and 1833, after which the Society seems to have dispersed. For details, see: Section v.

[26] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.9, f.7.

[27] These individuals are listed as 'Members' rather than 'Guests' at the 'Meeting of the Society' that details Smith and Mackenzie's wedding. See: *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.163.

frequently if possible.[28] On these merry occasions the members consumed large quantities of food and alcohol (*fig.*2:4), whilst also collaborating on paintings and mutually advising each other on technique - the *Proceedings* details the 'mutual inspection of each other's progress; hints kindly given and as kindly received'.[29]

Amateur practice was not just a pretence for the Athenians' sociability, but comprehensively permeated their associational lives. Once together, the members predominantly engaged in sketching trips, communal painting sessions, or aesthetic appreciation. Art thus constituted the material basis on which their sociability was conducted, and affected this sociability through its material logic. For instance, the Athenians' painting was frequently collaborative - D'Oyly worked with Smith on several 'joint pictures' that were later hung on the Vice President's walls, and it is difficult to ascertain the exact extent to which Eliza's hand is present in her husband's work.[30] We know that she could certainly paint in oils, as one of her performances was hung in the couple's drawing rooms, whilst the 1820 inventory of Jane Mary Macnabb simply lists '7 oil paintings by Sir C. & Lady D'Oyly', suggesting that images like D'Oyly's sketch of the society may show the couple actively working together (*fig.*2:1).[31] Art therefore functioned as a physical site for cooperation, and, once displayed, as a visible index of time spent engaged in collaboration or partnership - 'the deposit of a social relationship', as Michael Baxandall famously phrased it.[32] The circulation of art objects - both amongst members of the society and beyond - also cultivated bonds of association, much in the same way that D'Oyly's use of artistic gifting had strengthened his familial and political relationships. Each member of the School owned a scrapbook in which they 'collected' images from their friends and acquaintances, left 'ready to receive any contributions which friendship may be inclined to ship within...[their] pages'.[33] When the Vice President proposed that Henry Patrick Russell should be accepted into the society, for example, he was 'interrupted by her ladyship calling loudly on the Vice President for one of Mr Russell's drawings for her book of specimens of amateur graphic talent & Miss Mackenzie [Annie] added "oh d.e.a.r I should like to have one too for my book"'.[34] As I discussed in relation to the scrapbooks of Francis Rawdon-Hastings and his wife Flora, such albums worked to develop a sense of personal identity, gathering together scenes of important places in their owner's lives, and embedding this imagery within a social network

[28] *Ibid.*, f.5.
[29] *Ibid.*, f.193.
[30] *Ibid.*, f.194.
[31] 'Indian Inventory of J. M. M.', (BL IOR F206/77).
[32] Baxandall, Michael, *Painting and Experience in 15th Century Italy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.1.
[33] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.192.
[34] *Ibid.*, f.9.

materialised through the physical evidence of gift exchange. Art thus constituted both a locus for social engagement, as in the case of collaboration, and a potent material practice for representing personal identity as determined by an individual's social connections.

Equally, the *Proceedings* contain an astonishing quantity of evidence documenting the ways in which the Behar School of Athens structured a framework within which its members could conceptualise their identities *in relation* to the society.[35] For instance, the Athenians' 'fun and merriment' was frequently recorded using artistic or institutional metaphors. Christmas celebrations were described in the *Proceedings* as 'Grand Days of Convocation', at which members proudly adopted badges distributed by a 'herald's college', each representing their institutional rank.[36] The marriage of two of the society's members - Vice President Smith and Annie Mackenzie, held on the 19th August, 1824 - was similarly recorded in the manuscript as 'a very special meeting' of the society, marking 'the first [marriage] which had sprung from the Behar School of Athens' (*fig.2:5*).[37] Such statements essentially cast the School as the chronological ground on which its members' lives occurred, and the *Proceedings* as the material tool through which they could be narrated: 'a dinner succeeded by music and dancing ended the festivities of the 19th of August, a day which will ever be remembered by the society as one of the happiest that has occurred since its institution'.[38] Moreover, such events were registered using an explicitly artistic dialect. The *Proceedings* detailed how the bride 'looked like Venus attended by the Graces while the bridegroom's animated countenance expressed the highest rapture at carrying off from the Behar School of Athens its finest prize - what were, he said, the Berchems, Ostades, Booths, Sir Peter Lelys - compared to sister Anne', who had presented 'a form for Canova to carve'.[39] Narrating their lives using connoisseurial language effectively foregrounded the society and its relevant artistic dialect as the social and conceptual framework through which major life events were lent significance.[40] Equally, not all the events recorded in the *Proceedings* were so merry. A pencil sketch of a temple by Captain George Lindsay accompanied a brief obituary of the amateur's untimely death at the hands of the *Ganga's* merciless currents, with the attached image serving as a 'good specimen of his sketching'

[35] In discussing 'frameworks' that lend significance to lived experience, my work approaches the conceptual apparatus developed by Erving Goffman, whose ideas I found useful. See: Goffman, Erving, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, (London: Harper and Row, 1974).
[36] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.2, f.4.
[37] *Ibid.*, f.163, f.166.
[38] *Ibid.*, f.167.
[39] *Ibid.*, f.163, f.166.
[40] On language as a framework of significance, see: Goffman, (1974).

(*fig.2:6*).[41] Oddly, the majority of this obituary detailed the Athenians' influence on Lindsay's progressive artistic improvement, essentially framing the amateur's life within the wider project of the society, and allowing the sketch to serve as a sort of ossification of - and memorial to - his 'productive' interaction with the society's members. The pages of the *Proceedings* thus seem to have anchored and contextualised the ebb and flow of colonial life, providing a framework of significance through which the group's sociability could be transformed into a collective identity premised on more than just the alleviation of 'imperial boredom'. The society's ambition to 'promote the arts' essentially lent an importance to the 'fun and merriment' recorded in the manuscript's pages, developing a social world within which the Athenians could fashion their identities in relation to a more significant set of cultural values.

Indeed, by foregrounding the social nature of art and detailing activities like communal dining, the Athenians self-consciously adopted various discourses about clubbability and politeness that had undergirded the extraordinary growth of Britain's associational world over the course of the eighteenth century.[42] These discourses relied on the ubiquitous notion of the 'polite and sociable man' that had received countless iterations following the idea's first English-language crystallisation in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Spectator* (1711-12).[43] In the previous chapter, we saw how D'Oyly had incorporated similar ideas into his published illustrations so as to present the Company's civil establishment as a polite and genteel body. The Behar School of Athens essentially manifested these ambitions *in practice* - their clubbability was presented as the ground on which artistic talent, the physical evidence of refinement, could emerge. The *Proceedings* includes an allegory of this dynamic, transcribed as a play in February of 1825. The work opens with a sketch of D'Oyly's drawing room in total disorder, its inhabitants depicted in deep slumber (*fig.2:7*). A figure called 'Suspense' opens the narrative, explaining how the Vice President had been called to Calcutta's defence during the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26), and, with this important member of the society absent, the 'graphic art - her votary away, droops, as fair nature the sun's decay'.[44] With the School's equipment cast into ruin, Suspense describes using an 'opiate wand' to place D'Oyly's household into a mindless stupor - a potent metaphor for the President's professional duties at the opium *godown* benumbing the 'potent might' of the academy's 'genius', or its 'spirit' in

[41] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.185.
[42] Baird, (2014); Clark, (2000); Kelly and Powell, (2010).
[43] Ross, Angus (*ed.*), *Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).
[44] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.137.

the Romantic sense.[45] This malaise is interrupted, however, by a *peon* (messenger), who carries a newspaper containing word of Smith's safe return. As Suspense narrates it:

'To war the School of Athens for a while
And made the teardrop substitute the smile,
I waved my opiate wand, for well I knew
That Smith away, t'would not be much to do;
But now, again Smith's genius rears her head
And lively hope o'er all Behar is spread' [46]

The poem essentially cast the academy and the promotion of artistic talent that it fostered as a symptom of the Athenians' sociability, with 'genius' dependent on their social harmony:

'Wake! Wake! My Worthies - all the mists are fled
That with damp vapour o'er thy senses spread
The life of genius is upon the move,
Friendship revives and smiles the God of love!' [47]

More strikingly, the only 'vigorous' figure in the sketch's near-total depiction of decline is the sparsely-clad (and therefore 'uncivilised') figure of the *peon*. This character is even shown placing his foot on the prone body of the President, seemingly able to transgress the social hierarchies of colonial rule due to D'Oyly's incapacitation at the hands of opium. The image suggests that left to administer a colonial province without the joys of clubbability, the 'genius' or 'spirit' of British society *itself* would diminish, gradually divesting itself of the polite trappings and civilisational achievements that 'distinguished' it in the colonial context. Instead of this 'dissipation' at the hands of 'imperial boredom', amateur art thus channelled social interaction into material proof of European civility, invoking a discourse of 'improvement' and 'social polishing' that reinforced the cultural 'superiority' of the colonial elite. As the travel-writer Emma Roberts put it whilst visiting Patna:

> 'Such pursuits must necessarily tend to improve the taste of those who are so fortunate as to be thrown into the society at Bankipore: a talent for drawing, one of the most useful accomplishments in India, may be cultivated to the greatest advantage under the auspices of the directors of the [Behar Amateur

[45] *Ibid.*, f.139.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*, f.138.

> Lithographic] press, and there can be no more effectual preservative from the *ennui* of some stations, and the dissipation of others, than the direction of the mind towards useful studies'.[48]

Of course, D'Oyly had been told as much by his godfather two decades earlier, who had encouraged the youthful amateur to pursue his 'useful employment of the mind' as a 'recourse against positive idleness'.[49] In the wake of Hastings' vicious impeachment trial, it is quite possible to understand the emphatic clubbability of the Behar School of Athens as a direct accentuation of the members' *British* sociability over the potential *nabobery* that cultural isolation in a colonial province had engendered so frequently over the course of the eighteenth century.[50]

The School's activities certainly embedded Patna within a broader network of 'civil' society in British India, with D'Oyly's residence garnering renown as an 'oasis of refinement' in the *mofussil*. The published accounts of Gangetic travellers never failed to include a brief visit to Bankipore, with *The Journal of Mrs Fenton* even remarking how 'there are numbers of visitors always with the family'.[51] These visits typically involved a display of the School's talents. Reginald Heber, ordained as the Bishop of Calcutta just a year previous to the extensive tour that brought him to Patna in 1824, recorded his 'great amusement and interest' at being shown D'Oyly's 'drawing-books', describing the amateur as 'the best gentleman-artist I ever met with'.[52] If sociability was presented as the ground on which the arts could blossom, then it seems that the physical evidence of this improvement attracted further public attention, bringing a stream of Gangetic tourists to D'Oyly's residence in Patna, and thus positioning the Athenians' activities within a wider network of polite association.

The members of the Behar School of Athens actively cultivated such connections, weaving themselves into an extensive culture of amateur practice dispersed across the Bengal Presidency, but with connections that overlaid the global reach of Britain's Empire.[53] The sheer extent of this associational world can be exposed by mapping the contributions to scrapbooks such as those

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[48] Roberts, Emma, *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society*, (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1835), pp.174-175.

[49] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 9th January 1807, (Add MS 29182), f.9.

[50] On D'Oyly's evident engagement with these ideas, see: Chapter I, especially Section iii.

[51] Fenton, (2010), p.101.

[52] Heber, Reginald, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India: From Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825*, (London: John Murray, 1843), p.140. Reginald Heber arrived in Calcutta on the 10th October, 1823. His bishopric included most of the subcontinent, as well as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Australia, and parts of southern Africa. He set out on a tour of his North Indian territories on the 15th June, 1824, keeping a record of his travels which would later be published in a celebrated two-volume travel account. On the 3rd April, 1826, the Bishop suffered an untimely death almost immediately after giving a sermon in the south Indian city of Trichinopoly (Tiruchirappalli).

[53] As stated in the Prologue, I have termed this social group the Bengal Amateur Network.

discussed above - many of which are now held in the British Library's India Office Collections. Besides the extensive range of contributors listed in the Rawdon-Hastings' albums, four particularly informative scrapbooks were compiled by the Lind family in the mid-1820s, and reveal how individuals like Alexander Francis Lind (1797-1832), Anna Maria Lind, and her sister Catherine Macan used amateur art as the framework to foster relationships with several Athenians.[54] Alexander Lind served in Gyah as the Deputy Collector of Behar from 1824, and as the Collector of Fatehpur from 1826. The D'Oylys visited Gyah during December 1824 and January 1825 - presumably visiting Christopher Webb Smith, Annie, and George Proctor-Beauchamp for Christmas. The majority of images in the Lind family's albums date from a period of intense collaboration with the Gyah Branch of the Behar School of Athens over the course of these two months.[55] Interestingly, a number of the albums' entries are lithographs, produced several years before D'Oyly established the Athenians' own press in Patna. Clearly either D'Oyly or Lind had connections to printers in Calcutta, the most likely being the French artist Philippe Savignhac, whom D'Oyly would later collaborate with on the *Amateurs Repository of Indian Sketches* (1828) - a lithographic scrapbook that also featured work by Chinnery.[56] A survey of subcontinental lithography taken in 1828 by the founder of the Government's lithographic press, Nathaniel Rind, listed Savignhac as running 'a single press without establishment and which Mr Savignhac intends, I believe, chiefly if not solely for chalk drawings'.[57] Established in conjunction with the French miniaturist Jean Jacques Belnos, whose wife Sophie Charlotte Belnos was an important amateur artist in her own right, Savignhac even named this press the Amateur Lithographic Press.[58] It thus seems undeniable that this connection with Savignhac anticipated the Athenians' Behar Amateur Lithographic Press in Patna, and that this period of collaboration with the Lind family on the production of lithographs was informative in what would later become the society's principal artistic output.

Indeed, lithography appears to have been a crucial artistic technology for shaping the way material objects mediated sociability. Whilst the scrapbooks of Flora and Francis Rawdon-Hastings contained personally-commissioned images like D'Oyly's caricature of Indian stereotypes, they also included a number of the exact same lithographic prints that would be later incorporated into

[54] See: BL India Office Collections, (P2984).

[55] George Proctor Beauchamp discusses gifting art to the scrapbooks of 'Mrs Lind', for instance. *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.196.

[56] Sir Charles D'Oyly, Philippe Savignhac, George Chinnery, James Prinsep, *et. al.*, *Amateurs Repository of Indian Sketches. Pt.1.*, (Calcutta: Printed at the Asiatic Lith. Compys. Press, 1828).

[57] For this survey, see: (IOR F/4/928: Board's Collection No.51650), pp.74-86.

[58] Graham Shaw noted this in: Shaw, Graham, 'Calcutta: Birthplace of the Indian Lithographed Book', in Orsini, Francesca (*ed.*), *The History of the Book in South Asia*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp.157-181.

the Lind family's albums. The technical ease, accessibility to beginners, and relatively minor cost of lithographic reproduction appears to have afforded the greater circulation of amateur imagery amongst the extensive network of artistically-inclined Company officials that I have termed the Bengal Amateur Network, extending the social reach of the scrapbook as a tool for cultivating and representing friendships.[59] The Lind family's albums thus reveal how artistic developments in India emerged out of the activities of social networks dispersed across the Presidency, alongside the specific desires of actors within these networks to use art as the material basis for fostering a broader community of polite association.

Equally, the Linds' relationship with the Athenians highlights the important ways in which the Behar School of Athens developed out of an already-existing world of artistic clubbability, with several of the members harbouring connections to previous artistic societies across Bengal. D'Oyly had established at least two amateur groups whilst in Dacca (1808-1812), the activities of which were recorded, as with the Patna society, in large, illustrated volumes of 'proceedings'. D'Oyly had described one of these manuscripts, entitled the *Pic Nic Proceedings*, as a 'celebrated performance' that included 'hunting parties recorded in its pages &...spirited sketches which served to illustrate it', whilst a further album, *The Proceedings of the Monkey Society at Dacca*, listed its members as comprising 'the Duke of Monkeys' (D'Oyly), the 'Physician General to the Society' (the renowned Orientalist and Company Surgeon James Atkinson), and the 'hero of it that renowned limner of Calcutta George Chinnery'.[60] Sadly, *The Proceedings of the Monkey Society at Dacca* were lost in 1820 when the boat carrying D'Oyly's belongings to Patna sank, and only fragments retrieved from the *Ganga* and subsequently copied into the *Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens* now survive.[61] Similarly, this latter manuscript records that the *Pic Nic Proceedings* were taken by a 'young man' to the Isle of Mauritius (perhaps D'Oyly's younger brother, who accompanied Sir John's convalescence there in 1814), although I have been unable to trace the volume farther than this reference.[62] Even so, the information contained in the surviving *Proceedings* manuscript suggests that both societies bore a strong resemblance to the Behar School of Athens - both were premised on light-hearted sociability and communal sketching trips in the *mofussil*.

In Patna, too, an amateur society preceded the Behar School of Athens. The *Proceedings* contains a letter submitted by the Vice President, 'enumerating the existence of a society of arts in

[59] I will discuss the ideological valances associated with lithography in: Section iv.
[60] *Proceedings*, f.214, f.220.
[61] *Ibid.*, f.215.
[62] *Ibid.*

Behar, as long ago as the year 1816'.[63] Less-imaginatively entitled the Behar and Moneah School,[64] this group was presided over by 'Mr Paye a Royal Academician' - although no mention of this artist can be traced in the Royal Academy's membership records.[65] Smith's letter includes a telling account of the motives that led to the group's formation:

> 'In the year *anno dominini* 1816 it happened that some humble disciples of St. Luke formed a portion of a party assembled at the house of a worthy gentlemen at Patna, who, finding the conversation flag, and *ennui* fast spreading his benumbing influence over the guests, retired to a remote corner of the apartment (this appears to be a true Indian fashion) and began to commence on the beauties of the divine art among other topics. They deplored the non-existence of any association which, by creating a more social and regular communication between amateurs and artists, might so highly tend to raise the fine arts from their present dormant state, and they, forthwith, resolved to attempt such a plan'.[66]

Just like the first line of the *Proceedings* manuscript, Smith's description coupled the 'noble' intention of 'raising the fine arts' with the more prosaic need to dull the 'benumbing influence' of 'imperial boredom'. Equally, this artistic promotion was cast as polite sociability, the product of a 'more social and regular communication'. Even before its inception, the principal members of the Behar School of Athens were thus accustomed to using artistic practice to both structure their associational networks and alleviate the prosaic nature of colonial administration. More importantly, these experiences connected the Behar School of Athens to a network of amateur artists formerly (and in some cases currently) engaged in institutionalised practice - an associational world of artistic clubbability.

One figure who provides further insight into the nature of this world is James Prinsep (1799-1840). His interactions with the society reveal that the Athenians' position within this wider artistic clubbability inflected the ways in which they thought about themselves - much in the same way that the more limited sociability of the Behar School of Athens had provided a framework for experience within which they conceptualised and self-fashioned their identities. The society's connections to Prinsep originated in D'Oyly's friendship with James Atkinson, a pupil of Chinnery and the 'Physician General' of the Monkey Society at Dacca. Atkinson returned to Calcutta in the same year

[63] *Ibid.*, f.102. The members of this society included: Henry Middleton, W. Lethbridge, J. P. Muston, W. F. Millet, S. Middleton, and 'Mr Paye'.

[64] *Ibid.*, ff.102-3. The name derives from the fact that the society held meetings 'alternatively at Azimabad [old Patna], and the Mahamodan mosque at Moneah'.

[65] The online database can be found at: http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?_IXACTION_=file&_IXFILE_=templates/pages/member_choice.html.

[66] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.102.

as D'Oyly (1812), entering a circle of Orientalists working at the Calcutta mint and reporting directly to the renowned scholar and Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal between 1811 and 1832, Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860). Atkinson's early collaboration with D'Oyly on the *Antiquities of Dacca* foreshadowed his later reputation as one of the leading cultural figures in British India: he later published a string of literary translations, and, from 1815, edited the new *Government Gazette*.[67] In addition, it is likely that he provided the verse that D'Oyly illustrated in *Tom Raw, The Griffin*. In 1819, a newly-landed and 'irrepressibly enthusiastic' James Prinsep joined Atkinson as a colleague at the Calcutta mint, laying the foundations for a lasting, but amicable, intellectual and professional rivalry.[68] Prinsep belonged to an extensive imperial family with numerous artistic connections. He and a number of his seven brothers took lessons with Chinnery in Calcutta (with himself, Thomas, and Henry Thoby becoming particularly noted for their amateur abilities), whilst his nephew was none other than Val Prinsep, whose own subcontinental voyage opened this PhD. These connections tied the new Calcuttan into the same social circles that D'Oyly enjoyed during the year prior to his appointment in Patna, and the pair would later collaborate with both Chinnery and Philippe Savignhac on the *Amateurs Repository of Indian Sketches* (1828).

In 1820, Wilson promoted the young Prinsep to the position of Assay Master at the newly-established mint in Benares (Varanasi), where he began to cultivate a cultural and intellectual milieu much in the same way as D'Oyly would in Patna. By 1826 he had been appointed secretary to the Benares Literary Society,[69] and, on behalf of this society, penned a letter addressed to D'Oyly and the Athenians, describing how he had 'been optically & visibly gratified with the sight of your academic archives [presumably the *Proceedings* manuscript] borne hither by your zealous secretary & admirable penman John Villiers Forbes'.[70] Explaining that 'we cannot but feel a kind of masonic paternity with your Patna institution', he enclosed a 'laudatory epic dedicated to the Benares Literary Society', alongside a small caricature taken after Thomas Rowlandson, intended for inclusion in the *Proceedings*.[71] This image was duly affixed, and an accompanying exposition on the interaction records that Prinsep's letter was 'so complementary to the academy that an appropriate

[67] He also became known for his amateur artistic talents, producing several canvases now held in the NPG and BL, and publishing a popular series of lithographic sketches that detailed his time with the Army of the Indus. See: Atkinson, James, *Sketches in Afghaunistan*, (London: H. Graves & Co., 1842).

[68] Prinsep would take over the Calcutta mint despite Wilson recommending Atkinson, and he also became the founding editor of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1832.

[69] The Benares Literary Society was predominantly orientated towards scientific investigation, but its members also wrote treatises on religious events and customs in the city. These writings achieved public acclaim, and were printed in *The Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review and Register*, and *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*.

[70] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.302.

[71] *Ibid.*

answer was deemed absolutely necessary'.[72] Formulating an 'appropriate answer' apparently threw D'Oyly into a great panic, however, and only 'after some days of deep meditation & labour' - or a Romantic struggle towards 'Genius' - did he produce a poem sufficiently accomplished to send in reply.[73] D'Oyly clearly felt that his reputation as a leading figure on the Anglo-Indian cultural scene hung in the balance, highlighting how the significance of the pair's exchange was understood as exceeding the private interaction of two friends. By embedding themselves within the social frameworks of their 'institutions', D'Oyly and Prinsep explicitly staged their private relationship within a language of clubbability, emphasising the 'public' nature of their sociability in relation to an Anglo-Indian associational world.

The following two sections deal more explicitly with what the Athenians thought about the emergence of an Anglo Indian 'public' and the role of art within it, focusing on their use of lithography as a technology that afforded greater public engagement. Yet even in this minor exchange, Prinsep's description of being 'visibly gratified' by the *Proceedings* reveals how the society's 'academic archives' were being carried around North India garnering broader recognition. D'Oyly even cautioned that a particularly celebrated drawing by a Mrs Taylor should be excluded from the manuscript to prevent any damage from 'the frequent turning or thumbing of the leaves by various inspectors'.[74] Not all potential contributions were so protected, however, and the *Proceedings* includes a large quantity of art gifted by amateurs from across the Presidency. Prinsep's description of the manuscript as the society's 'academic archives' thus appears enormously appropriate, as the manuscript effectively functioned as the record and *materialisation* of the Athenians' sociability, publicising their activities farther afield, and providing a means through which other amateurs could engage with the society. Of course, whilst the manuscript was exposed to a wider audience, this in no way encompassed an Anglo-Indian public in the same way as Bengal's burgeoning press. A fictional author named Samuel Sable, functioning in the *Proceedings* as a humorous eponym for D'Oyly, even stated that he prefered to submit his work to the manuscript instead of the local newspapers, as these had apparently 'become so stupid that nobody of any taste unfolds them or are ever guilty of glancing at their poets' corner'.[75] At root, then, the sociability of the Bengal Amateur Network was

[72] *Ibid.*, f.303. Unfortunately, the image has since fallen out of the manuscript and Rowlandson produced several caricatures featuring apothecaries.

[73] *Ibid.*, f.304. 'The President got up from his easel...severed the stump of a *banian* tree with his mahl stick; stamped so heavily on the floor that the academy shook & the *sepoys* the cups of oil turpentine & varnish lost their equilibrium & destained the mat with their oleaginous - spiritus & viscous streams__at length he became composed & was heard to hum "philosophy calls! & I'll come"'.

[74] *Ibid.*, f.301.

[75] *Ibid.*, f.69.

exclusionary, based on the public demonstration of cultural capital in the forms of artistic talent, 'taste', and connoisseurial knowledge.

Equally, this formulation still offered a more inclusive, and certainly more palatable basis for community than the contours of the 'familial proto-state', even if it is clear that this social identity effectively overlay the company's corporate structure (all of the Athenians belonged either to the Company's civil or military establishments). It would thus appear that amateur art constituted one of the key social practices through which the Company's corporate body networked itself into the *semblance* of a civil society, producing in the process a material world of polite civility in which this semblance was legitimised. Not only has amateur art never previously been posited in this relationship, however, but historical accounts of the manner in which social clubs structured what might be defined as a 'colonial public sphere' in India have exclusively focused on the second half of the nineteenth century, as it was not until these later decades that a clubland proper developed in India.[76] Nevertheless, the feasting, epistolary practices, and debates over topics such as aesthetics all demonstrate that the Behar School of Athens (and the Bengal Amateur Network more broadly) conformed to the institutional practices typical of the eighteenth-century artistic societies and clubs that historians have traditionally implicated in the emergence of a post-courtly, Enlightenment public sphere - 'a social space sustained by networks of private individuals exploring ideas on supposedly equal terms'.[77] Before the formal consolidation of clubland in the Victorian Raj, amateur art thus wove Company employees into a social network associated with specific institutional spaces and material practices that were themselves the basis of broader discourses about civic identity and civil society in Europe.

As discussed in the previous chapter, and contrary to Habermas' influential conception of the Enlightenment public sphere as divesting power from the state, recent scholarship has connected the British public sphere to the 'extension of the state', alongside the consolidation of certain 'national' forms of identity.[78] For instance, whilst contending that artists' dinners connected 'politics, high and low, with the public sphere', historians such as Holger Hoock have stressed how such practices structured 'a new framework to link art and patriotism' within the 'cultural state that began to take form at the turn of the century'.[79] George Lambert's 'Sublime Society of Beefsteaks' featured William Hogarth and Francis Hayman knocking back English roast beef with whiskey

[76] See, in particular: Sinha, (October, 2001).

[77] Hoock, Holger, 'From Beefsteak to Turtle: Artists' Dinner Culture in Eighteenth-Century London', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.66, No.1, 2, (2003), pp.27-54, p.27.

[78] See: Blanning, (2002), especially the introduction; and Sharpe, (2009), especially the introduction.

[79] Hoock, (2003), p.28, p.30, p.54.

toddy, all to the tune of 'beef and liberty'; whilst the Royal Academy's dinners included 'West Indian turtle that signified the heights of polite entertaining in the imperial capital' - an extravagance that 'testified to the improvement of the national arts'.[80] In light of this, it is particularly interesting that the Behar School of Athens' communal dinners were accompanied by 'the agreeable vapours of fat Patna Mutton and Diggah beef', sourced presumably from the famous 'Diggah Farm' near the military cantonment at Dinapore, just east of Patna. If amateur art was a social practice that both networked and vindicated a 'colonial public sphere' in India, then I think it is crucial to question whether this public sphere related to the Company's proto-state rather than a centralising British one, and whether the forms of identity this sociability generated were based on corporate or national forms of belonging. After all, the previous chapter has already established the material bases of D'Oyly's peculiar sense of corporate identity. The Athenians' refinement may have legitimised their supposed cultural superiority within the language of 'British clubbability' and 'politeness', but it is unclear whether the School's attempts to promote the 'cultivation of the arts in the East' entailed - like their culinary preferences - an assertion of patriotism cast within a specifically Anglo-Indian cultural framework. To investigate this issue further, the following section turns to examine the discourses that the Athenians used to articulate their 'promotion of the arts' in colonial India.

iii. The 'Cultivation of the Art in the East': an Anglo-Indian School of Art?[81]

On the 4th of July, 1824, the aptly named Monsieur Peregrine de la Tour - a fictional character created by D'Oyly - 'got up from my armchair and having taken precisely five steps and a half reached the frontiers of a territory which my vivid imagination panted to describe'.[82] So began a journey that would take Tour around the interior of his author's 'drawing rooms', detailed over the course of a six-part series of satirical letters appended to the society's *Proceedings*. A watercolour of Tour affixed to the first letter depicts a haughty, comically corpulent character painted in the manner of Thomas Rowlandson, whose drawings had actually illustrated a likely literary inspiration

[80] *Ibid.*, pp.32-33, p.54.
[81] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.18.
[82] *Ibid.*, f.17.

behind D'Oyly's letters: William Combe's *The Tour of Doctor Syntax* (1812) (*compare figs.*2:8&2:9).[83] Indeed, just as Combe's narrative traced the eponymous character's farcical misadventures in search of picturesque views, and a countless number of similar caricatures of connoisseurs or grand tourists highlighted the crude sexual enthusiasms or pseudo-intellectualism of Georgian England's cultural elite during this period (*figs.*2:10&2:11), Tour's account similarly relayed a number of preposterous incidents. D'Oyly's ineffectual aesthete finds himself threatened by a suspected magician, menaced by aggressive local fauna, and develops a problematic infatuation with a portrait miniature (*figs.*2:12&2:13). Yet despite such farce, the account only ever satirises the ridiculousness of Tour himself in these scenes, never explicitly referring to the greater absurdity that underpinned D'Oyly's use of the 'comic tourist' trope in the first place - that his 'drawing rooms' in Patna could somehow be 'toured' like Italy or the British countryside. Indeed, Tour's misfortunes serve largely as light relief within a rather tedious and extensive description of his inventor's private collection - which he informs us included works by such prestigious artists as Sir Peter Lely, Richard Wilson, George Romney, and William Beechey.[84] The letters thus serve almost to naturalise the humorous conceit on which their satire was premised - that D'Oyly's drawing rooms offered a space for cultural education and aesthetic gratification, accessible to a 'traveller' journeying beyond the metropolitan art world. At certain points in the letters D'Oyly even asserted precisely this, speaking through Tour to stress how his home 'boasted of more than most could do in this country so famous for empty white walls', and, in reference to the painting by Sir Peter Lely, congratulating himself on 'the possession of so fine a picture, in a country, too, where we but seldom see the works of ancient or middle schools, and which, consequently, are prizes to those who pursue the graphic art, remote from its finest specimens'.[85] Accompanied by two beautifully detailed watercolours depicting the rooms through which he journeyed (*figs.*2:14&2:15), Tour's letters almost achieved the opposite of satire - the reader is left *believing* the benefits of a 'grand tour' through D'Oyly's drawing

[83] William Combe's *The Tour of Doctor Syntax, in Search of the Picturesque* originally appeared in Rudolph Ackermann's *Poetical Magazine* between 1809 and 1811. Ackermann published the work as a book in 1812, and oversaw Combe and Rowlandson's collaboration. The second and third editions to the trilogy were published subsequently in 1820 and 1821 respectively. See: Combe, William, *The Tour of Dr Syntax, in Search of the Picturesque,* (London: R. Ackerman, 1812). Combe, born in Bristol in 1741 and died in London in 1823, was a prolific author and 'hack', also famous for his *Letters of the Late Lord Lyttleton.* Another possible influence on D'Oyly may have been the character Peregrine Pickle, included in an illustrated picaresque novel by Scottish author Tobias Smollett (1721–1771), and first published in 1751 before being revised in 1758.

[84] These artists were contemporaneously understood to belong to the canon of the English School. See: *Diagrams: 1.i-1.vii.*

[85] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.183, f.47. D'Oyly's reference to 'empty white walls' was not necessarily unfair. Natasha Eaton has shown how often only poor quality prints were available to decorate houses, and even these quickly succumbed to the Indian climate. See: Eaton, Natasha, 'Excess in the City? The Consumption of Imported Prints in Colonial Calcutta, c.1780–c.1795' In *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol.8, Issue 1, (2016), pp.45-74.

rooms.[86]

Staging the President's house like this - as a resource for cultural education - was crucial if the Athenians' wanted to lend credibility to their laudable claim to 'promote the arts' in Patna. For in the metropolitan context, the meteoric rise of Britain's own 'national school' had become associated with the recent establishment of institutions like the Royal Academy (*est.*1768) and the British Institution (*est.*1805).[87] The notion that these organisations were fundamental for the promotion of a nascent English School had validated their prestige and funding, as it was widely believed that the quality of a national school of art reflected a country's international standing, as well as determined the morality and civility of its public. Fundamentally, these ideas derived from the Civic Humanist framework that had dominated British art theory in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although even those who opposed the fundamental tenets of Civic Humanism (such as a growing number of writers who praised the increasingly commercialised state of the British art world), spoke similarly of art's 'improving effects' as being of both public and national benefit.[88] As noted in the Introduction, Sir Joshua Reynolds - the first president of the Royal Academy - had established this correlation from the Institute's outset, stating in the very first lines of his initial *Discourse* (1769) that it was 'difficult to give any other reason why an Empire like that of Britain should so long have wanted an ornament so suitable to its greatness than that slow progression of things which naturally makes elegance and refinement the last effect of opulence and power'.[89]

By correlating the improvement of a national school of art with Britain's international prestige, advocates of artistic institutions effectively formulated a superbly patriotic language through which amateur societies could also aggrandise their own artistic 'promotion'. *Credibly* emulating such institutions was not so easy, however. The European academic system had established copying from old masters as the basis of artistic training, and so a reputable repository of masterpieces became the preliminary and essential foundation for any serious institution.[90] Seen in this light, Tour's farcical misadventures around D'Oyly's 'drawing rooms' begin to appear more

[86] Emphasising the institutional nature of D'Oyly's collection (and its importance to the society), James Prinsep's letter to the Athenians had similarly congratulated D'Oyly on 'the talented & most affable ornament of your society the wonders & attractions of your own small museum'. *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.302. There are also copies of these images in the YCBA.

[87] Holger Hoock's institutional history of the Royal Academy deals with this discourse in depth. See: Hoock, (2003), especially chapter two, 'Promoting a National School', pp.52-79. Similar themes are touched upon in: Fordham, (2010).

[88] See: Kriz, (1997), particularly chapter two.

[89] Reynolds, (1888). See the Introduction for more information on the importance of this quote.

[90] Potter, Matthew (*ed.*), *The Concept of the 'Master' in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.88.

like a *tour de force* in establishing the society's validity as a pedagogic institution. Comprehensively detailing the Athenians' cultural resources, they established the basis on which the society's members could compare themselves to metropolitan art institutions, and thereby stage their amateur artistic practice as both a beneficial and patriotic use of leisure time.

The further 339 pages of the *Proceedings* in which Tour's letters were pasted actually sought to systematically demonstrate the successful translation of these resources into the improvement of a local school of art. The manuscript's opening entry records that 'the President proposed that every graphic member should be called upon to illustrate the records of the society with drawings, at least once a month', in effect turning the manuscript into material proof of their progressive improvement.[91] Equally, a number of drawings submitted to the society by amateur artists desirous of affiliating themselves with the group were pasted into the manuscript in order to demonstrate the School's public impact, each accompanied by a statement on either the utility of D'Oyly's collection, or the benefits of their institutional organisation. A comment penned adjacent to the pencil sketch of a temple submitted by Captain George Lindsay (*fig.2:6*), for example, asserted that 'his drawing rapidly unfolded itself and improved as he contemplated & studied the works of ancient and modern art which hung around the President's walls', whilst a comment next to a drawing of a picturesque cottage by Henry Patrick Russell (*fig.2:16*) - later accepted as a member of the School - cast this amateur's 'discovery' and improvement as a direct consequence of the society's activities, asserting that 'under the auspices of the worthy Vice President the arts were fostered & encouraged...his example could not but be followed & the present is a proof that where the head directs the members will move'.[92] In less explicit terms, evidence of the Athenians' success also appears throughout Tour's letters. Imperilled even by the furniture, at one point the incompetent traveller describes tripping over a boudoir table, and, flailing wildly, bringing down a pile of books on top of himself. One of these, we are told, contained 'the drawings of 46 Indian amateur artists (or rather amateur artists in India) and forcibly shows the extension of intuitive talent and the cultivation of the Art in the East'.[93] If Tour's letters systematically detailed the Athenians' cultural resources, then the remainder of the *Proceedings* thus made clear that the society's activities could not help but 'call forth dormant abilities'.[94]

Revealingly, the benefits of cultivating this local school of art were cast as comparable to those that the promotion of an English School would effect in the metropole - focusing, perhaps

[91] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.15.
[92] *Ibid.*, f.185, f.188.
[93] *Ibid.*, f.18.
[94] *Ibid.*, f.69.

unsurprisingly for such a militarised society, on its influence in shaping cultural patriotism and consolidating the military strength of the Company's state. The connection between the English School and Britain's military prowess had deepened since the early years of the eighteenth century, and was associated with several more general discourses about professionalisation and its impact on British society.[95] These ideas would undoubtedly have held a particular appeal for a professionalising bureaucracy aware of the diminishing numbers of professional painters operating in the subcontinent. Moreover, whilst Reynolds had associated Britain's Empire and the founding of the Royal Academy in his very first *Discourse*, militarised analogies about the arts reached something of a crescendo during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars - the exact period in which the Athenians received their education in Britain. For example, Joseph Farrington's diary records how in 1811 at a Royal Academy Dinner, an annual event engineered specifically to wed old and new elites to a cultural patriotism focused on the progress of an English school of art, the Prince Regent had delivered a speech declaring that 'when he saw so much which manifested the great improvement in art he felt proud as an Englishman that he might with confidence expect that as this country had risen superior to all others in arms, in military & naval prowess, so would it in arts'.[96] Similarly, the capacity of art to shape cultural patriotism in the public sphere was a motif that featured frequently in the poetry of the sixth President of the Royal Academy, Martin Arthur Shee (1769-1850), who in his 1805 *Rhymes on Art* had lamented how:

'No patriotic acts adorn our public halls;
No gospel glories grace religion's walls;
No martial pomps in picture'd lore allure -
In taste alone is public spirit poor'.[97]

As Holger Hoock has explained, the promotion of a national school of art meant that 'Hanoverian art institutions like the Royal Academy claimed legitimacy as a result of their cultural patriotism'.[98] Great art and the institutions that promoted it demanded high public esteem, for they inspired men to a nationalistic devotion of country and made citizens 'prompt in its defence'.[99]

There are numerous instances in the *Proceedings* where the members' artistic activities were specifically cast as militaristic or patriotic acts in this manner. Whilst this is not altogether

[95] Fordham, (2010).
[96] Cited in Hoock, (2003), p.230.
[97] Shee, Martin Archer, *Rhymes on Art; Or, The Remonstrance of a Painter,* (London: Printed for John Murray and John Harding, 1805), p.79.
[98] Hoock, (2003), pp.3-4.
[99] Shee, (1805), preface, p.xxv.

surprising, as several of the Athenians were directly employed in the Company's military establishment, it is telling that the manuscript presented the members' military roles and their contributions to the Academy as analogous. A drawing submitted by William Lindsay, for instance, was accompanied by a note wishing for his 'speedy return from the shores of Anacan crowned with military laurels and a portfolio full of Romantic sketches that he may add graphic wealth to that which he will soon gain in warfare'.[100] An announcement on the 19th May, 1826, similarly recorded the safe return of the society's secretary John Villiers Forbes, who it explained had 'exercised his sword in defence of the state as well as he has brandished his quill in the cause of the Academy'.[101] D'Oyly himself was particularly fond of using militaristic metaphors to describe the process of painting - the length and frequency with which they occur suggesting that he thought the conceit a rather clever one. For example, half-way through describing a visit from 'Major General Nicolls & family & Capt. & Mrs. Taylor of the Engineers', who had been travelling up-country 'in charge of a celebrated trap gun' seized as a victory trophy from the Siege of Bhurtpore, D'Oyly digressed into an uncommonly long ekphrasis:

> 'The General's animated description of the assault of Bhurtpore, & Capt. Taylor's scientific observations on the minutiae of the operations fired the President - if not with military - certainly with graphic ardor & he was not satisfied till he brandished his academic weapon & worked on the attack of - an unsullied canvas of large dimensions (such thing his *forte*) which in a short time yielded to his powerful assault. Not only were the walls of the fortress raised but battered & breached & the standard of Britain made to wave triumphant over the captured battlements, in a second, as with a magical touch he created a whole King's regiment well officered & accounted & bade them lead the storming party. With as much facility he embodied legions of *Goorkas* and engendered a Company's European regiment with many battalions of brave *Sepoys*. Nothing was too difficult to his creative powers - the gallant General himself was transferred to the canvas surrounded by his staff waving their hats & encouraging the ardor of the participants. Guns were manufactured as well as powder & columns of smoke proclaimed that the President's talent could fire them with as much facility. Trenches were cut with a stroke of his brush & filled by another with troops hastening to the breach. Trees grew up with greater rapidity than the luxuriant growth of Indian vegetation & he had even the command of forming the sky that smiled evenly on the noble enterprise'.[102]

Whether it was the siege itself or D'Oyly's act of representing it that formed a 'noble enterprise' is deliberately ambivalent. More strikingly, the account even goes on to record how D'Oyly's

[100] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.155.
[101] *Ibid.*, f.298.
[102] *Ibid.*, ff.299-300.

commemoration of military valour in paint acquired a patriotic function, contributing in its own way to the defence of the Company's military security:

> '"My son", cried the General's lady "shall positively be in the church" - which proved that in the representation of such scenes of danger she wished to guard her dear boy from following the profession of his gallant father - "this picture hanging over our mantlepiece will make him a soldier!" replied the General. The President made a hundred awkward bows & his lady smiled as she heard her lord's efforts so flatteringly appreciated'.[103]

General Nicoll's statement was so complimentary to the humbled D'Oyly because it effectively proved the value of the amateur's work within contemporaneous discourses about the public function of 'modern' history painting.[104] Martin Archer Shee may have lamented how in Britain 'no patriotic acts adorn our public halls', but, in British India, D'Oyly had produced an image of 'martial pomps in picture'd lore' that both reflected a scene of national glory and apparently made future soldiers 'prompt in its defence'.[105]

The members of the Behar School of Athens strengthened this comparison to metropolitan art institutions in one final, and quite remarkable way. Over the course of the *Proceedings* they developed an extensive mythology around their patron George Chinnery, consistently stressing this artist's centrality to their 'improvement' project, and in one panegyric declaring that without him 'their walls would not have shone so brightly' (thus once again using the domestic hang as the basis of a metaphor that legitimised the society's artistic credentials).[106] Whilst largely disregarded in Britain, Chinnery was arguably the most talented painter to visit India during Company rule, and the society used this prestige as a means to further their own comparison to metropolitan art institutions.[107] The artist self-consciously situated himself within the artistic legacy of Sir Joshua Reynolds, frequently referring to the master's 'admirable, & never enough to be admired, *Lectures*' in his own teaching.[108] This self-fashioning was even humorously included in *Tom Raw, The Griffin,* where an 'adoring' Chinnery is described gazing at two Reynolds' paintings that he possessed:

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[103] *Ibid.*, f.300.

[104] The importance of the history painting genre must be one of the most well-rehearsed issues in the history of British art. For an elegant introduction, see: Barrell, (1995).

[105] It is important to note that Shee was describing specifically 'public' art, whereas D'Oyly's painting achieved comparable results from the General's 'mantelpiece', thus once again applying discourses associated with 'nationhood' in the metropole to domestic spaces and objects in Company India.

[106] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.255.

[107] D'Oyly certainly thought so, calling the artist 'the ablest limner in the land' in *Tom Raw, the Griffin.* See: Atkinson, and D'Oyly, (1828), line 2253.

[108] Undated letter from George Chinnery to Maria Browne, (Add MS 49355), f.49-51.

'And we have seen Sir Joshua there – a gem
Or two, within this store-room of bijoux.
The artist on his knees, adoring them.
And swallowing greedily his tints and hues –
Then starting back – then forward – loath to lose
A moment in the ardent meditation,
Then fancying that he stood in his great shoes.
Tracing between them great assimilation.
Except his knighthood merely, and – his reputation'.[109]

Importantly, during the decades surrounding 1800 Reynolds had single-handedly come to personify the notion of an English School of art, a conceptual assimilation that meant the Athenians' description of Chinnery as the 'Sir Joshua of the East' not only connoted uncommon artistic talent, but a broader national triumphalism associated with Reynolds' role in the improvement of artistic standards through their institutionalisation at the Royal Academy.[110] Several similar epithets certainly had the same effect, and included 'the Indian Apelles' (a foundational figure in the history of European art), and the interesting exaltation: 'the patron & *magnus apollo* of the society whose works whether in miniature, portrait painting or landscape equal a Sir Joshua or a Wilson'.[111] Richard Wilson was, of course, the father of an indigenous 'grand style' of British landscape painting, as well as a founding member of the Royal Academy, thus making a further comparison between Chinnery and an important progenitor of an institutionalised English School.

Similarly, a lengthy poem included in the *Proceedings* developed this connection between Chinnery and the artists who had institutionalised the 'progress of art' in Britain. Describing a dream in which an 'indignant Nature' is forced to kill Chinnery for becoming too great a 'rival', one stanza details the artist's ascent into 'painters' heaven', where the narrator witnesses:

'The glory of Britain__and Reynolds his name
All eagerly pressed towards Mic Angelo's side
Whose genius beloved and adored e'er he died

[109] Atkinson and D'Oyly, (1828), lines 2450-2458.
[110] Hoock, (2003), p.73, p.77. Postle, Martin, 'In Search of the "True Briton": Reynolds, Hogarth, and the British School', in Allen, Brian, *Towards a Modern Art World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
[111] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.255.

Whose name (Oh! How faithful his prophecies were)
Was the last word he spoke from the President's chair' [112]

In bringing Michelangelo to the 'President's Chair', the poem lauds Reynolds as the 'glory of Britain', and the triumphs of the Renaissance are passed to England's national academy. But the dream then continues:

'Close to Reynolds' elbow was Chinnery raised
From this world, where he long had been honored and praised
As Reynolds to Angelo fondly inclined' [113]

By inserting Chinnery within this artistic patrimony, the poem explicitly tied the society to a narrative of artistic progress that shifted from the Italian Renaissance, to a glorious 'British school' (as it was institutionalised through Reynolds' presidency at the Royal Academy), and then, in this poem, to India - where it was personified in the Patron of the Behar School of Athens. In jest, but rather fittingly, the society even cast Chinnery as their own comparable 'Royal figurehead', transforming their private *Proceedings* into 'public' proclamations: 'as loyal subjects to the King of Painting we will close our remarks [on Chinnery] by an exclamation similar to that which decorates the end of all public notifications and royal acts & ordinances...God save great George our King!'[114]

The society therefore possessed like the Royal Academy or the British Institution a large collection of works by reputable artists; the utility of this collection for artistic pedagogy had been proven within the *Proceedings*; the same manuscript alluded to the 'patriotic' benefits of this school; and a rather sycophantic mythology associated with Chinnery reinforced further the Athenians' claims that, as an art institution comparable to metropolitan examples, they too could 'promote' a successful school of art in India. Though fundamentally a sociable leisure activity, the Athenians thus aggrandised their ambitions to 'promote the arts' in Bihar by connecting their very real production of a 'colonial public sphere' through artistic sociability to a self-conscious discourse about the public role of art institutions within civil society. By adopting these discourses about the efficacy of institutions for the promotion of artistic talent, the society not only lent greater significance to their private sociability through a language of 'improvement', but effectively engaged with a whole range of ideological discourses about the ways in which artistic promotion

[112] *Ibid.*, ff.219-220.
[113] *Ibid.*, f.220.
[114] *Ibid.*, f.255.

could cultivate a more refined national public, reflect national glory, and instil in this public a greater sense of cultural patriotism.

Of course, to the modern historian this ideological posturing might appear a reasonably light-hearted conceit, at worst a vainglorious one. But to a contemporary, the Athenians' engagement with discourses about nationhood, publicity, and the patriotic function of the arts directly challenged official Company policy - recasting its corporate structure as a public divided from a state that they, in reality, constituted through their roles as bureaucrats and soldiers. Moreover, art's ability to 'civilise' society in India - potentially even to cultivate 'civilized' Indians - fundamentally compromised the supposed necessity of the East India Company's unrepresentative, 'despotic' rule. Sat at their dining table enjoying 'the agreeable vapours of fat Patna Mutton and Diggah beef', the question of the Athenians' *intentionality* is immediately foregrounded. Did the group accidently produce a politicised discourse simply through their attempts to aggrandise a solution to 'colonial boredom'? Might it have been the unintended result of their attempts to foreground a transnational British identity? Or did the society's 'promotion of the arts' in Patna constitute a cogent enterprise to raise the 'civility' of Anglo-Indian society in a way that cast British India not simply as 'a nation of placeholders', but as a responsible community that deserved the right to self-govern?[115] The following section seeks an answer to these questions by establishing a more thorough account of the political context of 1820s India, before then focusing specifically on the manner in which political and aesthetic discourses intersected within the society's most prolific artistic endeavour - a series of lithographic scrapbooks produced between 1828 and 1830.

IV. *THE BEHAR AMATEUR LITHOGRAPHIC SCRAPBOOKS:* LIBERALISM, LITHOGRAPHY AND LANDSCAPE

The Behar School of Athens were not the only group making controversial claims about an Anglo-Indian public during the 1820s. As I noted in the Prologue, from at least the second decade of the nineteenth century the official denial of an Anglo-Indian public had become harder to sustain, and those campaigning for its political recognition had grown more vociferous. The 1813 Charter Act had allowed 'non-official' Europeans to settle in India, increasing 'white' demand for the same civil liberties that 'free Englishmen' enjoyed at home, whilst restrictions on a free press had

[115] Burke, Edmund, 'Speech on Opening of Impeachment' (15th February, 1788), in Langford, Paul (*gen. ed.*), *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, 10 Vols.*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981-2015), pp.6:269-312, p.6:285.

also begun to be lifted incrementally from 1818 onwards (with a brief curtailment in 1824 under the direction of Acting Governor-General John Adams).[116] During the same period, Calcutta - and to a lesser extent Bombay and Madras - had witnessed an abundant flourishing of educational institutions, as well as various societies and voluntary associations that cut across racial boundaries. Indeed, a number of indigenous 'reform' movements in Bengal sought to redefine the character of Hindu society over the first decades of the nineteenth century, the most influential being Rammohan Roy's promotion of a Liberal Bengali intelligentsia.[117] However, 'reform' in the Hindu context did not simply equate to 'Liberal' politics, and a constellation of 'conservative', 'Orthodox', and more Radical views overlapped in attempts to shape the nature of indigenous society from within Bengal's emergent 'colonial public sphere'.[118]

The debate which developed over this nascent public was closely tied to the nature of the Company's political (or potentially India's 'national') sovereignty: reformers advocated political representation, constitutional rule, judicial modernisation, and, in exceptional cases, the 'separation' of India from British governance.[119] In particular, the reform agenda crystallised around the defence of press freedom, which was fiercely advocated in print by James 'Silk' Buckingham, who - as we saw in the previous chapter - worked with Rammohan as co-proprietor for the *Calcutta Journal,* before founding the London-based *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review* (1824-9) following his ignominious deportation from India in 1823. Buckingham's conviction that a well-informed public in India could keep the Company's 'despotism' in check was complemented by a group of metropolitan British reformers centred around Joseph Hume (1777-1855) in the Company's Court of Proprietors (investors), who pressed for India's direct representation in Parliament and the relaxation of restrictions on European ownership of private land.[120] Of course, limitations on private purchase of Indian land were premised on the logic of the Company's 'established' historical narrative, which maintained that the corporation simply constituted a mercantile trading body that had been forced

[116] The Marquess of Hastings relaxed regulations put in place by Lord Wellesley (one of the most authoritarian Governors-General) in 1818, and almost lifted them entirely the year after. In 1823, the acting Governor-General John Adam once again increased regulations, but his official replacement, Lord Amherst, was apathetic in enforcing these in practice. In 1828, with the assumption of the Liberal William Bentinck to the Governor-Generalship, the press regulations were relaxed further. See: Taylor, (2007).

[117] Rammohan moved to Calcutta in 1814 and established his Atmiya Sabha (friendly society) the following year. The Hindu College, which trained the next generation of Bengali intelligentsia, was opened through Rammohan's efforts in 1817. See: Bayly, (2007); and *Ibid.*, (2012). On voluntary associations, see: Taylor, (2007), p.295.

[118] See: White, (2013), pp.8-9.

[119] On the connection between civil society and potential 'nationhood' see: Travers, (2010), p.213.

[120] Taylor, (2007).

into territorial conquest so as to protect its economic interests.[121] Claims advocating 'official' European colonisation, judicial modernisation, a free press, constitutional rule, and political representation, instead conceptually transformed the Company into the historical engine through which civil society in India could be 'developed' within the same Enlightenment framework as Western nation-states. With a politically responsible public operating within Anglo-Indian 'civil' society, reformers argued that the country could achieve a more autonomous form of political sovereignty.

The Athenians not only established their own press in the same year that the avowedly Liberal Governor-General William Bentinck (1774-1839) assumed tenure (Bentinck was an advocate of press freedom and European ownership of private land), but D'Oyly enjoyed several personal connections to key reformers. As we saw, he had been friends with Buckingham in Calcutta, who in turn had written a glowing review of the amateur's *Antiquities of Dacca* in his Radical *Oriental Herald*, tellingly recommending it to a 'public' of 'the tasteful and liberal among our Countrymen in the East'.[122] Marrying Eliza had brought D'Oyly into the social ambit of the Liberal-leaning Governor-General Francis Rawdon-Hastings, whose scrapbooks reveal that the Bengal Amateur Network connected official policy-makers to key reformers such as Colonel James Young - a friend of Rammohan, the Radical head of the agency house Alexander & Co., and later a collaborator with Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) on the reform of parliament.[123] Equally, I have already shown in the previous chapter how D'Oyly himself had developed a complex political identity, at one point even lauding the Company's lost 'independence of spirit'.[124] In what follows, I am thus going to examine whether the Athenians' artistic output correlates with these personal connections to the reform context. My aim is to trace how a variety of artistic discourses or aesthetic predilections may have helped the group make sense of the contradiction created by their adoption of patriotic discourses to aggrandise their sociability in a country where, officially, they constituted nothing but 'a nation of placeholders'. More specifically, I will be examining the School's most prolific artistic endeavour - a series of lithographic scrapbooks that the group published between 1828 and 1830.

Time and circumstance have scattered these albums across the globe: they now lie hidden away in the storage rooms of Indian museums; in the British Library's India Office Collections; in the Yale Center for British Art; and, I suspect, in more private collections than those that I have so

[121] On the official 'narrative' of the company, see Metcalfe, (1997). Another interesting study of the 'idea' of the Company can be found in: Dirks, (2008).

[122] Buckingham, James, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Antiquities of Dacca', in *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, Vol.XI, (1826), p.316.

[123] See album in the BL India Office Collections: P2481.

[124] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 31st July 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.185.

far been able to discover.[125] Whilst uniformly entitled the *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook*, each album contains an idiosyncratic assortment of around thirty lithographs depicting picturesque fantasies of India. Ancient mosques and temples crumble under the tangled canopy of banyan trees (*figs.*2:17&2:18); portraits of proud, jewel-bedecked *Rajas* are bound beside coy 'native beauties' (*fig.*2:19); age-worn boats meander down the lush banks of the river *Ganga* (*fig.*2:20). One print sees an elephant and tiger locked in battle during a hunt, a silhouetted European looking on from the safety of another elephant's *howdah* (*fig.*2:21); in another, evening shadows lengthen over a pastoral scene of Bihari villagers, mud huts, and Gilpin-esque cattle (*fig.*2:22). These prints were published on a private press that D'Oyly had established at his house in Patna, and were clearly intended for at least some form of wider distribution, even if this was limited within certain social networks. Gifted amongst friends in the same manner that I previously argued helped forge an associational world rooted in amateur practice, the albums effectively publicised the society's activities and the 'improvement' ideology that underpinned them. By collating together examples of the members' work, they publicly asserted the concentration of amateur talent in Patna, highlighting the society's success in 'cultivating the arts of the East', and consequently exhibiting the polite and useful skills that they had fostered amongst the city's local public. In what follows, I will draw out three key ways in which artistic discourses and the period's political context intersected within these albums: first, in the choice of media; second, in a discourse on landscape and locality that had distinctive implications on how the Athenians constructed both class and national identities; and, finally, in the way that these scrapbooks materialised a broader demographic of sociability than is evident in the *Proceedings* manuscript.

Associated in the metropolitan context with various discourses about amateur improvement, lithography fundamentally reinforced the Athenians' ambitions to 'promote the arts' in Patna. As with most innovations in Regency artistic culture, lithography in Britain was closely associated with the schemes of the print-publisher, taste-setter, and all-round entrepreneur Rudolph Ackermann

[125] I have been able to trace several editions in the BL: five manuscripts with little provenance (X445/1; X445/2; W35/3; X445/3; and a manuscript entitled *Selection from the Early Experiments of the Bahar Amateur Lithographic Press*); several albums associated with James Munro Macnabb, husband of Lady D'Oyly's cousin Jane Mary, (X1168 A&B; X1169; W6938; and P.2481, a large manuscript with assorted prints); a collection associated with Lady D'Oyly (W.35); and a large manuscript entitled *Indian Scraps* with several prints associated with the Behar Lithographic Press (X.294). For these, see: Losty, Jeremiah, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Lithographic Press and his Indian Assistants', in Godrej and Rohatgi (*eds.*), (1989), pp.135-60. A loose collection of prints is also in the BL collection (P1819-1822). I have additionally located several albums in collections around the world: one in a private collection in England; another in a private collection in Patna; several editions at the Yale Center for British Art; a version in Patna Museum, Patna; and a copy in the Victoria Memorial, Kolkata.

(1764-1834).[126] Originally invented in 1796 by Alois Senefelder (1771-1834), a native of the Kingdom of Bavaria, Ackermann had established a press in London by 1817 and employed it in the production of illustrations for his popular magazine *The Repository of Arts* (1809-29).[127] The publisher had been accompanied on his initial information-gathering voyage to Munich by the second-generation German artist, Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789-1850), who would go on to study chemistry under Michael Faraday (1791-1867) so as to improve his lithographic technique, before then founding his own press at 49 Great Marlborough Street in 1818. By at least 1822 Hullmandel was producing a series of lithographic scrapbooks that Ackermann distributed from his *Repository* on the Strand, and which predominantly featured rural scenes sketched by the artist James Duffield Harding (1798-1863) (*figs.*2:23&2:24).[128] These scrapbooks were conceptualised within Ackermann's broader project to promote and commercialise middle-class amateurism in Britain. As Hullmandel wrote in a treatise on lithographic technique that he published in 1824, 'excellent drawing-books and models can now be given to the public at a cheap rate, [and] will induce many, nay, thousands of parents (as the sale of this nature well shews) to give to their children a knowledge of drawing; and it is evident that this circumstance must within a few years form a class of amateurs and collectors amongst our rich manufacturers, farmers, and tradesmen, who, but a few years back, never bestowed a thought on the subject...this will be one among the many benefits conferred by lithography'.[129] That Hullmandel's scrapbooks were certainly used by amateurs is substantiated by a series of albums in the Yale Center for British Art, in which pencil imitations of lithographs have been sketched on pages opposite the originals (*figs.*2:25&2:26).[130] Indeed, Hullmandel was explicit about the specific affordances that the medium provided such amateurs, stating that 'an imitation of an engraving can never be made, and the beginner, in despair, abandons all idea of attempting it; but lithographic prints offer singular

[126] Ackermann is frequently touched upon in scholarship about Regency-era art history, but has rarely been the focus of enquiry. A good account of the entrepreneur is included in: Bermingham, (2000). Amateur practice is also dealt with in: Kriz, (1997), particularly the chapter 'The Domestic Landscape as Contested Ground: Amateur Dabblers versus Native Geniuses'.

[127] The history of British lithography is equally in much need of critical scholarship. The exception is the work of Michael Twyman. See: Twyman, Michael, *Breaking the Mould: The First Hundred Years of Lithography*, (London: British Library, 2001). A more recent study that focuses to a much greater extent on France, is: Mainardi, Patricia, *Another World: Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Print Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

[128] Other artists included the renowned watercolourist Samuel Prout, Casimir Carbonnier, and, from 1827, Maxim Gauci and George Barnard (Harding's pupil).

[129] Hullmandel, Charles Joseph, *The Art of Drawing on Stone, Giving a Full Explanation of the Various Styles, of the Different Methods to be Employed to Ensure Success, and of the Modes of Correcting, as well as of the Several Causes of Failure*, (London: C. Hullmandel & R. Ackermann, 1824), p.xiv.

[130] See: YCBA NC660 A2 1824+ Oversize; YCBA NC790 .H37 1832+ Oversize; YCBA NC790 .H37 1835+ Oversize.

advantages to pupils, being, in the exact sense of the word, pencil drawings, and consequently, admirably and particularly well calculated for those who wish to learn to draw'.[131]

Hullmandel's choice of language explicitly mirrored contemporary debates about democratising access to the Nation's collections of art - the author even argued that lithography provided a 'comparatively moderate means of giving to the public, on a plan similar to the Munich Gallery, now publishing in Germany, some of those admirable collections of pictures, possessed by so many noblemen in England'.[132] *The Munich Gallery* was a lithographic catalogue that reproduced the royal collection of Maximilian Joseph, King of Bavaria, compiled by the Gallery's director M. Manlich. Like this work, Hullmandel asserted that his scrapbooks could effectively democratise the nation's cultural heritage, transforming private collections into a series of models for an aspiring middle class of amateurs to copy. In addition, these images could even reach further than a national institution based in London - the author's arguments about 'improvement' were made with specific reference to 'a large manufacturing city of Yorkshire' which, despite being 'rich and populous', was still comprised of citizens who saw prints as 'black lines on white paper'.[133] Lithography was thus conceptualised as democratising artistic 'improvement' across both class and spatial divides.

The Athenians' use of lithographic scrapbooks to publicise their amateur talents would therefore have acquired specific valences in relation to contemporary convictions about the medium's pedagogic utility. The society were producing their albums almost contemporaneously with the development of these politicised discourses in Britain, and D'Oyly excitedly wrote how he hoped to 'initiate all the members of the society with the lithographic mania'.[134] As we saw in relation to the Lind family scrapbooks, the amateur was in contact with printers in Calcutta from at least 1825, and quite possibly earlier. Despite the first instance of subcontinental lithography being customarily credited to James Nathaniel Rind, an assistant surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service who brought the technology back to India in August 1822,[135] Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal* recorded on the 26th September that from at least 1821 Philippe Savignhac and Jean Jacques Belnos had been producing lithographic illustrations, using a press modelled 'after a drawing and description in Senefelder's *History*'.[136] Personally connected with these artists, D'Oyly subsequently recorded that

[131] Hullmandel, (1824), p.xiv.
[132] *Ibid.*, p.xi.
[133] *Ibid.*, p.xiv.
[134] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.145.
[135] Rind's return followed a leave of absence spent in London and Edinburgh.
[136] Buckingham, James 'Silk', *The Calcutta Journal*, Vol.5, No.231, (26th September, 1822), p.349. For the reference to their use of Senefelder's *History*, see: 'On the Rise and Progress of the Lithographic Art in India', in *Collection of the Original Papers Published in the First Six Numbers of Gleanings in Science*, (January-June, 1829), p.26.

he had ordered his own press for the Athenians at least a year before an entry made on the 24th February 1825, although a later entry on the 5th September 1826 records the destruction of these hopes in a *squall* (localised storm) on the Ganga near Monghyr (Munger).[137] Nethertheless, the Athenians had received their own press by at least 1828 (the earliest recorded publication date in the *Scrapbooks*), and were therefore producing lithographic prints during the same period that Hullmandel's scrapbooks for amateur improvement achieved a broad popularity in Britain.

The stylistic similarities between the two series are evident, with both comprising predominantly rural scenes of dilapidated cottages and picturesque country tracks. The sketch of a picturesque cottage that Henry Patrick Russell submitted to the society's *Proceedings* even features a signature that appears modelled on James Harding's, whilst stylistically the scene appears remarkably close to those included in Hullmandel's albums (compare *figs.*2:16,2:23&2:24). In addition, the relationship between amateur improvement and the Athenians' albums is frequently underscored in the prints themselves, several of which feature a series of small, numbered vignettes that appear to have been the result of a game played to improve sketching, or alternatively formed a reference sheet for copying 'tricky' objects into other drawings (*figs.*2:27&2:28). If the *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbooks* publicised the Athenians' 'improvement', they thus did so through a medium that was understood as a uniquely useful tool in directly promoting artistic appreciation and amateur talent across both class and geographic divides. Whilst D'Oyly's private collection in Bankipore had provided lessons to amateurs in Patna, the Behar School of Athens' *Lithographic Scrapbooks* ensured - like *The Munich Gallery* - that 'excellent drawing-books and models can now be given to the public' more broadly.

Importantly, this issue of geography - or at least the spatial relationship between cultural centres and peripheries - appears a fundamental component of the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* contemporaneous significance. These portable objects not only allowed the Athenians to distribute the material evidence of their activities across the social networks that wove together the disparate spaces of the British Empire, but were themselves tied to discourses about 'improvement' in the cultural periphery - Hullmandel's 'rich and populous' city in Yorkshire where citizens still regarded prints as 'black lines on white paper' could just as well have been D'Oyly's 'country so famous for empty white walls'. Essentially, lithography offered a cheap and effective way to increase artistic consumption (and thus education and civility) in the cultural periphery, reinforcing the Athenians ambitions to promote the 'cultivation of the art in the East'.

[137] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.145.

Accordingly, it is crucial to note that over this exact period the 'promotion of the arts' discourse I traced in the previous section had begun to decentralise from its previous metropolitan basis. Whilst ideological proponents of the Royal Academy had cemented London (and specifically the Strand) as the epicentre of Britain's artistic rise to glory, the first decades of the nineteenth century saw the 'promotion of the arts' discourse modulated into a means of articulating regional pride at the same time as advocating national cultural unification.[138] Provincial artists and presses both made claims about the superior development of the arts within their region, which, despite being heavily informed by localism, did so by lauding the region's participation within a broader patriotic discourse about art's public benefit to the nation as a whole. For instance, the *Norwich Mercury* on the 17th August, 1816, stated that 'if the cultivation of the fine arts be a proof of civilisation, we know not any place in the King's realms that manifests a more buoyant spirit of improvement than our native city',[139] whilst its rival publication, the *Norfolk Chronicle*, stated in 1818 that the 'most consummate and final glory of a nation is to be found in the fine arts...without offering any idle panegyric to the County, we may say that Norfolk is not at least behind its competitors in the production of great talent'.[140] The Royal Academy still offered the superlative model for institutional organisation, but the 'progress of the arts' was thus no longer centred on England's metropolis.

The ethos of the Behar School of Athens sat comfortably within this discursive framework. The group's sumptuous dinners of 'fat Patna mutton and Diggah beef' emphasised their artistic activity as rooted in a specific local context, whilst the group's improvement of art could still be compared to the example set by artistic institutions in London. Moreover, the *Scrapbooks* amply reflect the thematic focus on the 'local' and 'particular' that accompanied this discursive shift. The majority of images incorporated within the albums were either scenes of 'singular' or 'curious' Indian customs (*figs.2:29&2:30*), or landscapes taken *ad vivum* around D'Oyly's house in Patna (*figs.2:31&2:32*). By consistently referencing an apparently indexical relationship to the regional context - with the prints frequently captioned 'C. D'Oyly *ad. nat. delt.*' - the albums acquired a peculiarly intimate character. For instance, a magnificent view of a gnarled and tangled *banian* tree provides a remarkable insight into the D'Oylys' private leisure time (*fig.2:33*). The lithograph is captioned 'View of a Banian Tree at Hadjepore. E. J. D'Oyly *ad. nat. delt.* C. D'Oyly *fect.*' Hadjepore was the small town on the opposite bank of the *Ganga* to Patna where the D'Oylys had established their first home and later bungalow retreat, allowing this simple caption to instantly evoke an image

[138] See: Hoock (2003), pp.94-6, pp.104-108.
[139] *The Norwich Mercury,* 17th August, (1816), cited in: *Ibid.*, (2003), p.94.
[140] *The Norfolk Chronicle,* 17th August, (1816), cited in: *Ibid.*, (2003), p.96.

of Lady D'Oyly leisurely sketching in her grounds, before then collaborating with her husband on the production of the finished print. Even when not captioned '*ad. nat.*' or '*ad. viv.*', however, scenes of D'Oyly riding an elephant through the town of 'Kagole' (Khagaul) near Patna (*fig.*2:34), or a group of Europeans riding elephants down an overgrown rural track near the city of Gyah (*fig.*2:35), where several of the Athenians lived and worked, equally produce an impression of the society's members sketching and *experiencing* the countryside with which they had developed a considerable intimacy. Bishop Heber did not record much of the conversation that he must have enjoyed during his leisurely stay at the D'Oylys' household in 1824, but the one comment that he did detail is certainly revealing in this regard: 'India is full of beautiful and picturesque country', urged his host, 'if people would but stir a little way from the banks of the Ganges'.[141] Deriding such 'tourism', and likely aiming a blow at the professional itinerant painters of the previous decades - the famous Hodges and the Daniells, for instance - D'Oyly and the Athenians instead valorised their lived intimacy with a specific locale, and expressed this intimacy clearly in the artistic content of the *Lithographic Scrapbooks*.[142] Whilst comparing their institutional organisation to state-sponsored metropolitan institutions in the *Proceedings*, the Athenians' artistic output thus cast their 'promotion of the arts' within a decentralised model used to articulate local pride.

Crucially, this interest in local life and landscapes - alongside a decentralised vision of artistic improvement - were concomitant with a shift in the way aesthetic principles related to both national character and the class interests that underpinned the production of this identity. Whereas writers in the eighteenth century had promoted a cosmopolitan, 'universalist' aesthetic that privileged history painting, the 'grand style', and a preference for Italianate landscape, the early nineteenth century saw the adoption of a broadly-based indigenous tradition premised on the 'naturalistic' depiction of English life and landscape, which drew support from contemporary novels about romance and manners, poetry focused on rural life, and local antiquarianism.[143] The privileging of naturalism over idealism entailed by this shift transformed the genre of landscape painting into a celebration of the particular and the local, producing a style which took as its subject matter the disparate landscapes of the United Kingdom, but which asserted formally a shared

[141] Heber, (1826), p.140.

[142] The famous 'itinerant' painters of the eighteenth century principally depicted North India by travelling up the *Ganga* and making day trips from their boats. By painting the same famous sites and monuments, these artists almost developed a 'grand tour' of the subcontinent, whereby new artists felt the need to depict the same monuments and views. I believe that the *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbooks* mark a departure from this tradition.

[143] This cultural shift has been a central focus of scholarship dealing with Regency-era artistic practice. See: Kriz, (1997), p.77; Barrel, (1995), pp.158-62; Hoock (2003), pp.94-6, pp.104-108; and Bermingham, Ann, 'System, Order, and Abstraction: The Politics of English Landscape Drawing around 1795, in Mitchell, W. J. T., *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

English disposition or latent character in the manner in which the country's nature had been observed and rendered - either 'truthfully', 'empirically', or 'naturally'. As Kay Dian Kriz has succinctly précised, 'following the French Revolution there was an increasingly vocal demand for a native school of painting which represented not simply commercial society but a particular ideal of English "character" which in its specificity could not be accommodated by the generalising aesthetic of history painting'.[144] Accordingly, scholars such as Holger Hoock have posited this aesthetic shift as establishing the cultural ground on which a post-Napoleonic Britain constructed a unified identity that was both sharply distinguished from the 'unnatural' French idealists across the Channel, yet which could still be accommodated within a Unionist political framework.[145]

The range of views and particular interests encapsulated within this broader aesthetic shift are extensive, and well beyond the scope of this chapter to detail comprehensively. Yet several trends, alongside the ways in which these related to the construction of both class and national identity, are crucial to understanding the complex nature of the Athenians' attempts to cast their 'promotion of the arts' within a decentralised understanding of 'national improvement'. First, aesthetic theories associated with this shift privileged two qualities of a work of art: an object's capacity to produce pleasure through effects of colour, tone, or the play of 'light and shade'; and the ability of images to set in motion 'trains of association' that stimulated pleasing mental and emotional states.[146] Both of these qualities involved a shift from the production of pleasure deriving objectively from the work of art - or from the 'perfect form' of Reynoldsian academic theory - to the mind's subjective response to external stimuli. Second, these changes were specifically championed by both professional critics and elite connoisseurs, who were able to gradually shift the emphasis of artistic discourse away from attempts by professional painters to promote their own social and economic interests through the presentation of painting as a 'liberal' art, to a focus on the reception of art by patrons and aesthetes.[147] From 1814 the British Institution began a series of exhibitions on the 'masters' of British painting, rehabilitating the reputation of several painters with a more 'naturalistic' style such as Hogarth and Gainsborough, and specifically opening the shows to training artists who might continue the legacy of this British school.[148] In making 'their private

[144] Kriz, (1997), p.11.

[145] Hoock, (2003), p.107.

[146] Kriz, (1997), p.11, and particularly chapter four. Ackermann produced a new drawing book of 'light and shade' in 1812.

[147] *Ibid.*, p.55. See also: Hemingway, (1992), p.60.

[148] On the history of the British Institution and the debates that surrounded it, see: Pullan, Ann, 'Public Goods or Private Interests? The British Institution in the Early Nineteenth Century', in Hemingway, Andrew, and William Vaughan

possessions appear a public good', as Linda Colley has put it, these exhibitions allowed the British elite to retain their traditional role as overseers of the Nation's cultural heritage during the tumultuous post-Revolutionary Period.[149]

As 'gentlemen amateurs', the discourses associated with this privileging of the connoisseurial reception of art appear to have enjoyed a powerful influence on the Athenians. D'Oyly's private collection - 'the works of ancient and modern art which hung around the President's walls' that had allowed amateurs like George Lindsay to improve as they 'contemplated & studied' the hang - appears to have been directly modelled on the public display of private works pioneered by the British Institution, one of the founding Governors of which, Sir Francis Baring (1740-1810), was related to D'Oyly through marriage (see: *D'Oyly's Family Tree*). Equally, the Athenians' tastes did not follow the hierarchy of 'national styles' espoused by the likes of Reynolds or the more traditional academicians, but lauded Dutch Golden Age painters in a manner similar to the British elite in the first decades of the nineteenth century, who had benefited from an influx of Dutch art into England following the dissolution and sale of aristocratic French collections during the Revolutionary Period. It is worth recalling that if Annie Smith had formed the 'finest prize' of the Behar School of Athens, then her close competitors had been the society's 'Berchems' and 'Ostades'.[150]

It is also possible to trace the Athenians' engagement with the theories about colour, light, and associationism that underscored the emergence of this new way of defining a 'decentralised' British School. Ideas about the principal importance of light and colour in painting are marked in a detailed ekphrasis that D'Oyly submitted to the Vice President, confirming through his connoisseurial appreciation the attribution of a painting to the Dutch Golden Age painter Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683).[151] Smith had brought this painting to India, although it can now be traced with reasonable confidence to the collection of the National Gallery in London (*fig.2:36*).[152] The letter is accompanied by a small watercolour sketch typical of the genre of satirical images that had inspired D'Oyly's caricatures of Peregrine de la Tour, and in which the amateur's decision to inspect the image from the advantageous position of all-fours produces a resemblance between his own corpulent frame and the cows depicted grazing in the pastoral scene he is admiring (*fig.2:37*).

(*eds.*), *Art in Bourgeois Society: 1790-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1998); and Funnell, Peter, 'William Hazlitt, Prince Hoare, and the Institutionalisation of the British Art World', in Allen, (1995).

[149] Colley, (1992), p.176.

[150] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.163.

[151] *Ibid.*, ff.50-54.

[152] The painting looks very similar to the one depicted in the *Proceedings*, and entered the National Gallery following a private sale during the exact year of Smith's death.

D'Oyly's letter follows the connoisseurial method of moving between 'particulars' in order to validate attribution, arguing that 'the eye of art ought not to be allowed to be misled by the general beauty of the whole, but abstracted and fixed on the minutiae'.[153] Moreover, his analysis places a central significance on the effects of both colour and light: asserting that 'the assistance afforded by reflected lights to relieve forms enveloped in shadow, show the value of art in a picture'; detailing the 'general character of tone effect and harmony'; and dividing the 'old masters as well as the modern' between two 'schools' of colour, the 'brown and gold, and green and silver'.[154] Equally, we have already seen in the previous chapter how D'Oyly engaged extensively with associationist aesthetics. His comment contending that the Richard Wilson canvas he owned could benefit from 'the introduction of a few of the human species in the scene, a peasant watching the grazing cows or a female villager returning to her village', neatly emphasises the shift that separates D'Oyly from the aesthetic frameworks that Wilson himself had done so much to consolidate during the previous century.[155] The amateur's concern was focused less on the 'ideal' landscape, and instead on the introduction into nature of human drama - a principal source of 'associated' thoughts and emotions - besides a more realistic 'naturalism' signified through the inclusion of rural labour.

These aesthetic preferences undoubtedly derived in large part from the curious mixture of traditional academic theory and idiosyncratic notions that Chinnery had assimilated into his lessons for amateurs, and which can actually be reconstructed from the combined evidence of a series of letters sent to his amateur protégé Maria Browne (now stored in the British Library), and an unfinished theoretical treatise produced in collaboration with this favoured pupil (now stored in the Yale Center for British Art).[156] D'Oyly's preoccupation with the aesthetic results of light and tone, for instance, derive *ad verbatim* from Chinnery's 'four-part theory of shadow': the amateur's contention that 'by increasing the reflected lights beyond the general scope of nature, you only exaggerate the principle and adapt it with more certainty to her similitude in picture...when you go beyond her rules you do it to reconcile an incongruity, not apparent in nature but in art', was taken directly from Chinnery's own substantiation of the necessity of 'artificial shadow' as simply according with Reynolds' assertion that 'art is full of such apparent contradictions'.[157] Equally, Chinnery's obsession with the capacity of light and shadow to produce 'breadth' in a painting,

[153] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.51.
[154] *Ibid*, f.53, f.54.
[155] *Ibid*, f.174. See: Hemingway, (1992), p.88. Francis Jeffrey, whilst reviewing the second edition of Alison's *Essays* for the *Edinburgh Review* in 1811, wrote: 'we can never be interested in any thing but the fortunes of sentient beings...the emotions of beauty and sublimity must have for their objects the sufferings or enjoyments of sentient beings'.
[156] See: BL (Add MS 49355), and YCBA Manuscript (4to).
[157] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.53, and YCBA Manuscript (4to), ff.18-19.

although originally an academic term, had become a central component of the connoisseurial aesthetic, occupying a whole chapter in Uvedale Price's 1794 *Essay on the Picturesque*.[158] Other sources of intellectual and aesthetic inspiration were available to the Athenians, however. As I will explore in more detail during the following chapter, D'Oyly was importing into India prints of works by the celebrated artist Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841), a Scottish painter that David Solkin has described as the 'Trojan horse' of naturalism at the Royal Academy.[159] Equally, the landscape painter William Havell (1782-1857), whose 1815 canvas *Walnut Gathering at Petersham near Richmond* had been rejected by the British Institution as a result of its overt naturalism, had - possibly as a consequence of this insult - arrived in India by the 4th April 1817, remaining in the subcontinent until 1825.[160] This painter would undoubtedly have offered private lessons to supplement his income during his time in India, and the influence of this highly naturalistic painter on the style of the Bengal Amateur Network demands a more thorough attention that is sadly beyond the scope of this chapter.

No matter the means by which this aesthetic shift impacted the Athenians, it is clear from D'Oyly's written descriptions of art theory, alongside the physical testament of the group's scenes taken *ad naturam* in the countryside around Patna, that the members privileged a landscape style that was closely tied to both the construction of a British School of art and a concomitant national identity. As Holger Hoock has summarised: 'if art was primarily to be a translation of the image of the character of the Nation, British art was to be identified particularly with an indigenous response to British life and landscape, rather than with foreign models'.[161] Just as we saw with the Athenians' adoption of metropolitan discourses about artistic institutionalisation, however, the translation of this aesthetic discourse to the colony appears to have produced a rather uncertain ideological result. For on the one hand, the members were rendering the local landscape both empirically and naturalistically, thereby emphasising a mode of engaging with nature that was understood to be peculiarly 'British'; yet, on the other, the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* conveyed a deep intimacy with the *Bihari* countryside, not the fields and woods of rural Britain. The albums can thus be read simultaneously as either a possible attempt to promote a sense of British identity in the colony, or a means to construct a novel identity formulated in relation to the experience of the Indian landscape. Moreover, this uncertainty is only intensified as a result of the importance that emotional

[158] YCBA Manuscript (4to), ff.19-20. Price, Sir Uvedale, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1810). On 'breadth', see: Kriz, (1997), p.74.

[159] Solkin, David, 'Crowds and Connoisseurs: Looking at Genre Painting at Somerset House', in *Art on The Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 157-171, p.160.

[160] Redgrave, Richard, and Samuel Redgrave, *A Century of Painters of the English School, Vol.1*, (London: Smith, 1866), pp.518-523.

[161] Hoock, (2003), p.78.

attachment played in defining associationism. In their repetitive choice of riverine scenes, the Athenians' *Ganga* almost works like Constable's Stour, invoking the same constellation of ideas about intimacy and lived experience that the popular Edinburgh University lecturer Dugald Stewart championed in his *Philosophical Essays*:[162]

> How powerful the charm [i.e the pleasures of association] is which may be thus communicated to things of little interest, may be judged from the fond partiality which we continue, through the whole of life, to contrast the banks and streams of our infancy and youth, with other banks and other streams'.[163]

Whilst painters of the previous generation like William Hodges had sought to incorporate India into a 'universalising' aesthetic based on ideas about 'historical landscape painting', the Athenians' adoption of an aesthetic which privileged visual stimuli like light and colour, alongside subjective emotional responses that could be heightened through lived experience, thus rendered the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* aesthetic objects that powerfully referenced their colonial context of production.

The uncertain ideological valances produced by the Athenians' adoption of this aesthetic, particularly when related to both the wider reform context and to previous artistic activity in India, reveal an idiosyncratic political stance. William Hodges had been directly patronised by D'Oyly's godfather, and his aesthetic approach had closely accorded with the ethos of the Indian Orientalist movement that so defined Hastings' administration. Here, the classical past had been used to create historical and mythological connections between the subcontinent and Ancient Greece, thereby legitimising the study of India within both patrician norms of tasteful erudition and the holistic imperatives of biblical history.[164] Whereas the antiquarians associated with this milieu had documented monuments 'scientifically', however, it is clear that the Athenians were instead engaging with the Indian landscape and its architectural ruins as subjects for visual pleasure and emotional stimulation. Yet despite these differences, D'Oyly's political outlooks were also far-removed from the cultural imperatives of the so-called 'Anglicist' reaction to Indian Orientalism - epitomised most fully in the Utilitarianism of James Mill's *History of British India*, and implemented during the Liberal tenures of the Governors-General between Bentinck and Dalhousie. After all, Mill would deny the existence of an Anglo-Indian public, and D'Oyly fiercely championed the

[162] Stewart was the successor to the position previously held by Adam Smith, and equally had a formative influence on the course of the Scottish Enlightenment.

[163] Stewart, Dugald, *Philosophical Essays,* (Edinburgh and London: 1816), pp.306-7. As Andrew Hemingway has argued, Stewart placed associated pleasures on a lesser rank than universal human experiences, but the inclusion of these ideas began to enable an increasing aesthetic concern with the local. See: Hemingway, (1992), p.72.

[164] Franklin, (2011).

promotion of native languages over the English curricula that this school of reform sought to implement. Caught between these two camps, it thus seems to me that the subjective, emotional engagement with the Indian landscape exemplified in the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* can be best understood as an idiosyncratic permutation of the Romantic tendencies of the Orientalist approach, severed from an intellectualised basis in neoclassicism. The way in which the group used associationism to develop an emotional intimacy with the Indian landscape accords, for instance, with advice that Hastings had proffered his godson in a letter of 1807, in which he had cautioned how 'lives have their allotted periods, and that portion of life which you pass in India is as essential a part of it, as it is, besides, the surest, as that which you look to be at home...“at home”, did I say? You are at home'.[165]

To some degree, the Behar School of Athens therefore complicates the scholarly narrative that views the 1813 Charter Act as the ultimate victory of the Anglicists over the Orientalists, and demonstrates instead the messy longevity of the Orientalists' ethos, as well as the continued resistance to metropolitan-imposed forms of Utilitarianism in Company India. Yet the Athenians' divergent aesthetic preoccupations emphasise that their Romanticism was in no way a simple *continuation* of the Orientalists' concerns. Rather, I think we can be more precise in defining the nature of the Athenians' Romantic attachment to the local landscape by relating it aesthetically to D'Oyly's favourite poet, Lord Byron, and politically to Joseph Hume's activism in the Court of Proprietors - where this reformer actually functioned as an ally of several of Byron's Company friends, including John Cam Hobhouse, Douglas Kinnaird, and Leicester Stanhope (with whom Byron would go soldiering in Greece). The Byronic model of the aristocratic 'exiled traveller' provided a form of upper-class cosmopolitanism that precisely matched the Athenians pretensions to a 'British Institute in Patna', whilst the Romantic poet's engagement with Greece - presented not as a search for 'universal truths' but as an individualistic and subjective engagement with a modern country - provided a model of taste that matched the Athenians' portrayal of their *lived* experience in the Bihari countryside.[166] Lithography had become a favourite medium of Romantic artists in early nineteenth-century France - largely owing to its capacity to exhibit the direct hand of the author as unmediated by a professional engraver - and the Athenians' activities on a private press in Patna could certainly be viewed as an expression of cultural autonomy decentred from the

[165] Letter from Warren Hastings to Charles D'Oyly dated 9th January 1807, (Add MS 29182), f.9.

[166] For biographies of Byron, see: Bone, Drummond (*ed.*), *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Marchand, Leslie A., *Byron: A Biography, 3 Vols.* (New York: Knopf, 1957); and Rutherford, Andrew (*ed.*), *Byron: The Critical Heritage*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970). On the themes I discuss here, see: Garber, (1988); and Shilstone, (1989).

hegemony of the metropolitan print industry, a subjective or 'authentic' expression of Anglo-Indian life and identity.[167]

It is well known that Byron's Romanticism, and most famously his personal intervention in the Greek Revolution of 1821-32, was intimately connected to the precepts of Constitutional Liberalism - particularly his fundamental belief in individual liberty and the right to self-govern.[168] Somewhat overlooked, however, is the more pertinent fact that the relationship between the political philosophy of Byron's circle of Aristocratic Whigs on the one hand, and the issue of East India Company reform on the other, can actually be traced in the career of the reformer Joseph Hume, who developed a political framework that I believe makes sense of the Athenians' aesthetic preferences. Like D'Oyly, Hume championed native languages, fiercely defended the growth of an Anglo-Indian public, yet, as a former Anglo-Indian himself, consistently remained loyal to the Company - rejecting calls from Radicals like Buckingham to transfer sovereignty to the Crown and Parliament, and proposing instead Liberal reform from within the Company's corporate structure. More importantly, Hume's 1831 amendment to the Reform Bill had proposed the extension of Parliamentary representation to India, effectively expanding the limits of British citizenship to what he deemed a politically responsible 'public' in the subcontinent. If the Athenians' *Lithographic Scrapbooks* had presented material proof of a civilised public in Patna - the result of the efficacy of artistic institutions in cultivating such a body - then I would argue that their Romantic focus on local landscape, like Hume's conception of citizenship, appears to have extended to the Empire an aesthetic framework for articulating national character that was originally designed to accommodate political decentralisation only within the Union. By co-opting to India an aesthetic shift heavily implicated in the cultural articulation of class and national identity in Regency Britain, I therefore believe that the Athenians conformed politically to a particular strand of reform that directly correlates with their presentation of the School as an institution capable of fostering a civilised 'public' in British India.

In light of this, it is crucial to examine one quite remarkable feature of the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* - their multi-racial, and thus multi-class, authorship. For the franchise that Hume would suggest for the Empire was jury qualification, which under his proposal could extend to native Indians. Similarly, and despite the large majority of images in the albums bearing the signature of either D'Oyly, Eliza, or Smith, also included are signatures in the Persian Nasta'liq script, which reveal the involvement of two local Indian artists - Jairam Das, and his elder brother Seodial

[167] See: Mainardi, (2017), p.14, and chapter one more generally.

[168] Rosen, F., *Bentham, Byron, and Greece: Constitutionalism, Nationalism, and Early Liberal Political Thought*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

(*figs.2:38&2:39*). Painting in nineteenth-century India had largely remained a family affair, conducted within workshops structured according to kinship networks,[169] and both Jairam Das and Seodial appear to have belonged to the Patna *Qalam*, the city's local school of miniaturists.[170] The painters that constituted this school had emigrated from Murshidabad following the decline of that city as an Imperial centre, and secured patronage from the newly affluent community developing at Bankipore. Indeed, D'Oyly almost compared his patronage to the establishment of an alternative courtly atelier, describing the Patna *Qalam* artists as his 'Painters in Ordinary to the President of the Behar School of Athens' (the Principal Painter in Ordinary was the title of the artist directly patronised by the King or Queen of England).[171] D'Oyly had also employed courtly metaphors in relation to European artists, however, describing a scrapbook containing scenes of the Siege of Bhurtpore brought back to Patna by John Villiers Forbes as 'the most appropriate *nuzzar* (an Indian sovereign's ritual tribute) he could possible present to the academic *huzoor* (court)'.[172]

Despite the obvious hierarchy of patronage that this courtly metaphor established, it is remarkable that these local artists were included as signed contributors like any other of the 'official' Athenians, for during this period the notion that Indians were incapable of drawing *ad naturam* had achieved a near-total consensus amongst Europeans.[173] Indeed, as the ability to naturalistically depict the countryside became more intensely associated with British national character, these prejudices became increasingly more politicised. British politics, like British landscape painting, was seen to imitate 'natural principles' - Indians' supposed inability to draw from nature thus meant that they were demeaned as lacking the aptitude for 'rational' politics. This racial prejudice would find its most articulate expression in a now infamous lecture delivered by the art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) at the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A) in January 1858.[174] Ruskin argued that the abstracted 'idealism' of Indian art, when set in contrast to the 'aniconic' naturalism of the Scottish Highlander, emphasised the 'degenerate' character of Indian society, as well as its political irrationality. Yet, in direct contrast, D'Oyly appears to have self-

[169] The workshop of Nainsukh of Guler remains the classic example. See: Goswamy, B. N., *Nainsukh of Guler: A Great Indian Painter from a Small Hill-State*, (Zurich: Artibus Asiae, 1997).

[170] The standard study of this school remains: Archer, Mildred, *Patna Painting*, (London: David Marlowe, 1948).

[171] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.44.

[172] *Ibid.*, f.298.

[173] The idea that Indian artists could only 'imitate' - and thus lacked artistic 'genius' - has an extensive pedigree. Natasha Eaton has briefly discussed this history in: Eaton, Natasha, 'Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750-1793', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.39, No.2, (2006), pp.227–250, particularly pp.232-233.

[174] Ruskin, John, *The Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art, and its Application to Decoration and Manufacture, Delivered in 1858-9*, (New York: John Wiley, 1859). This speech should be contextualised in relation to the political backlash that followed the Indian 'Mutiny' of 1857-8.

consciously challenged these stereotypes as early as the 1820s. Both Jairam Das and Seodial feature in Tour's letters, who recorded:

> 'Of the talents of these young men I had frequently heard; the eldest as a copyist of miniatures, and the youngest of taking original likenesses. Of the truth of the imitative limner's proficiency, I made no doubt, but I confess, I did not so entirely give credence to the assurances of the younger brother, but, in one moment, he showed me the folly of unbelief, for he held in his hand an unfinished miniature of a young lady, whom, I had only the honor of seeing once, & whose lovely face was portrayed with so much life & spirit that I immediately exclaimed "upon my soul, that is excellent"'.[175]

Seen in relation to the political valences of naturalism that so clearly informed the scenes of local landscape included in the *Lithographic Scrapbooks*, D'Oyly's presentation of the youngest Indian artist, Jairam Das, as an imaginative or creative agent, working freely from nature and unfettered from the servitude of copying other images, appears undeniably political. After seeing the portrait miniature, Tour even goes so far as to call him 'my new-made native friend'.[176] 'Improved' through art - potentially even politically 'rational' - these artists thus appear to have been given a 'nominal' place within the sociability of the Behar School of Athens, and this sociability was materialised and publicised in the physical contents of the *Lithographic Scrapbooks*.[177] The way in which Tour meets Jairam Das in his letters reinforces this assertion quite poetically. For 'hastening' across the room, the corpulent connoisseur physically collided with the Indian painter, creating a 'shock produced by this sudden & rude conjunction of European & native forms'.[178] D'Oyly's description of this incident seems more than coincidental in relation to an Indian artist who had so successfully adopted European 'forms' into his visual vocabulary. The blurred figures of the European aesthete and the Indian artist become an apt metaphor for artistic synthesis - the successful result of which was demonstrated in the Athenians' published expression of the 'politer' public that they had fostered in Patna.

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[175] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.44.

[176] *Ibid.,* f.44. Indeed, Tour describes being so besotted by the picture that he attempts to kiss it, and is forced to spend half-an-hour at rest in a chair to gather his thoughts. The passage contains numerous sexual puns, and is possibly a satire on Indian idol worship and a belief in the 'liveliness' of images - Tour suggests that kissing the image would have resulted in 'soiling the purity of his [Jairam Das'] performance', thus suggesting an association with the complex rules of 'purity' and 'pollution' in Hinduism. However, collectors possessing sexual desire for art objects was also a ubiquitous feature of British satire on connoisseurs.

[177] Jairam Das' elder brother Seodial, although unable to copy from nature in the same way as his brother, also had his work incorporated into the network of social affiliations that D'Oyly's domestic hang materialised.

[178] *Ibid.,* f.44.

Whilst D'Oyly cast himself in the specifically 'masculine' figure of the Romantic Dandy, I think that the inclusion of these local artists in the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* reveals one final, and quite crucial underlying discourse. Throughout the Regency era amateur art was connected to a variety of discourses associated with the enfranchisement of women within 'polite' society. The 'sixth rule' of the School, detailed in the opening pages of the *Proceedings*, had, for instance, stressed how 'being entirely devoted to the fair sex, and the society quite unconnected with the mysterious rules of Freemasonry, the society be open to the whole female community of Patna and Gyah, who will be specifically invited and called upon to become members'.[179] Moreover, the project of expanding and commercialising artistic amateurism that had been spearheaded by Ackermann in London, and which informed lithography's apparent potential for cultural democratisation, had been specifically marketed at the female consumer.[180] In the context of the Behar School of Athens, I thus believe that the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* essentially extended further these discourses about female enfranchisement within a 'polite', consumer society. By engaging with ideas about the pedagogic utility of lithography, and particularly its benefit within the cultural periphery, the School demonstrated how their activities in Bengal had engendered a broader societal 'improvement' - raising simultaneously white male officials, women, and local Indian artists into a more 'civil' society. Of course, this sat quite naturally with the frequent 'feminisation' of Indian men by British writers. Cast within a decentralised understanding of the 'progress' of Britain's school of art and its reflection of 'national character', the scrapbooks therefore promoted a remarkably international outlook on the 'civilising' effects of art and culture - casting the Athenians as a benevolent cultural elite who, unlike metropolitan officials, were unafraid of the public benefits that amateur art might engender. In doing so, the artistic practices and aesthetic choices of the society appear to intersect once again with the political stance of reformers like Joseph Hume, and his idiosyncratic quest to reform the East India Company from the inside out.

As was the case with D'Oyly in the previous chapter, it is almost impossible to uncover the specific political convictions of individual Athenians - not least because the Company's civil and military establishments actively cultivated such a pervasive culture of political neutrality. Yet despite this uncertainty, the group's social connections to the cultural and intellectual milieu in Bengal responsible for India's Constitutional Liberal 'moment', alongside the manner in which the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* supported and publicised a broad enfranchisement of Bihari society into a

[179] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.2.

[180] Pullan, Ann, '"Conversations on the Arts": Writing a Space for the Female Viewer in the "Repository of Arts" 1809-15', in *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol.15, No.2, (1992), pp.15-26. Accordingly, the entrepreneur's *Repository of Arts* soon became dominated by more 'feminine' articles about fashion.

'polite' Anglo-Indian civil society, certainly suggest the possibility that the School's members shared political sympathies with advocates of political reform, and more specifically with the Romantic Orientalism of Hume and the Byronic, Aristocratic Whigs he associated with in the Court of Proprietors. If the Athenians' *Lithographic Scrapbooks* thus publicly asserted the School's institutional efficacy in 'civilising' a public in India, then I would argue that this public would have been conceived in a similar manner to the way in which it was conceived by these political reformers - as uniting Europeans and 'improved' Indians like Jairam Das into a cohesive social body able to self-determine, hold the executive to account, and thus partake in the sovereignty of the British State. Not only had the social activities of the society thus networked the Athenians into an associational world in the subcontinent - what I termed a 'colonial public sphere' - but art and its associated discourses therefore allowed the School's members to both make sense of, and promote their political rights within, this emergent social formation. This is not to say, of course, that the Athenians were somehow removed from the politics of colonisation and economic exploitation - on the contrary, each member actively occupied an official position within the Company's employ. Nevertheless, what I hope to have shown in this section is how individuals living 'on the spot' in India could use a number of eclectic discourses about art and the instrumentality of culture to put forward a specific view of the country's future - one in which an Anglo-Indian civil society that challenged the logic of 'enlightened despotism' might achieve, to quote the letter that D'Oyly sent to his godfather, 'an independence of spirit'.[181]

v. Amateur Art and Bureaucratic Reform, c.1813-1833

D'Oyly took leave at the Cape between 1832 and 1833, returning to Calcutta to take up senior positions on the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, as well as the Marine Board.[182] He retired in 1838 and, along with the Smiths, moved to Florence, where the four friends continued to sketch together. An album of drawings now held in the Yale Center for British Art reveals that the D'Oylys took up residence in the Casa Pecori - a former pleasure house of Elisa Baciocchi, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany and sister of Napoleon Bonaparte - which was situated on the Lungarno

[181] Letter from Charles D'Oyly to Warren Hastings dated 31st July 1813, (Add MS 29188), f.185.
[182] 'Obituary of Sir Charles D'Oyly', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.XXIV, (1845), p.531.

and from its spacious terrace afforded views over the Chiesa di San Frediano in Cestello (*fig.*2:40).[183] D'Oyly passed away after only six years of this idyllic existence, whilst summering at the Livornese suburb of Ardenza. He is buried in the city's New English Cemetery, constructed in 1841 when the extension of Livorno's walls prohibited new burials in the Old English Cemetery.[184] Whilst this later graveyard remains in reasonable condition, the former is unfortunately no longer accessible to the public. Its architecture has crumbled into dangerous disrepair, and D'Oyly's grand sarcophagus can only just be made out from amongst a thick tangle of encroaching creepers and thorns (*figs.*2:41&2:42). Eliza outlived her husband by three decades, repeatedly visiting her beloved Isle of Raasay, before finally passing away in 1875 in Dorset, where she had been living with family. The Smiths spent their final years in Florence, and are buried in an elegant tomb designed by Pietro Bazzanti, raised by subscription in 1871 (*fig.*2:43). The monument can still be found in the 'English Cemetery' today, although it is now disjointedly surrounded by the busy traffic of the Florentine ring road. In India, new amateurs continued to affiliate with members of the Bengal Amateur Network, but over the 1830s the Behar School of Athens appears to have dissolved. Like India's Constitutional Liberal 'moment', the society lasted just a brief and remarkable decade over the 1820s.

I want to conclude my analysis on the relationship between the society and this historical 'moment' by stressing two caveats that caution against comparing the Behar School of Athens to two of the existing scholarship's thematic preoccupations - both of which actually emphasise further the group's political significance. First, I think it is important to distinguish the Athenians' peculiar political identities from the kinds of cultural slippages documented in William Dalrymple's *White Mughals*, a model and periodisation of Anglo-Indian cultural exchange that has quickly become one of the field's great orthodoxies.[185] Whilst Peregrine de la Tour's slippage of national demonyms, and D'Oyly's conscious use of them, in describing 'the drawings of 46 Indian amateur artists (or rather amateur artists in India)', certainly conformed to the often multivalent national identities traced by Dalrymple, what I hope to have shown is something more striking than the ways in which several white officials 'went native', or assimilated themselves into India's indigenous cultures and the identities that these offered.[186] Understood within the broader political 'moment' of the 1820s, and structured according to a belief in the 'public' function of civilising mechanisms

[183] Blessington, Marguerite, *The Idler in Italy, Vol.II*, (London: H. Colburn, 1839), p.299.

[184] I am extremely grateful to Matteo Giunti, both for information he provided on Livorno, and for taking me to see D'Oyly's grave in person. I encourage all to read his fascinating blog on Livornese merchant networks: https://leghornmerchants.wordpress.com.

[185] *Dalrymple,* (2002).

[186] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), f.18.

like art and culture, I have argued that the Behar School of Athens reveals more specifically the emergence of, and attempt to foster, a form of civil society in India premised on an Enlightenment understanding of the public and its place within the political life of a nation-state. As a result, the Athenians did not just incite xenophobic prejudice in the metropole as had the 'nabobs' of the eighteenth century, but, by challenging the logic of enlightened despotism, actually contradicted the official policy legitimising British rule in India. Beyond notions of 'hybridity', the Athenians' artistic sociability was thus implicated in a reformist attempt to reconfigure wholesale the idea of national identity and political sovereignty within the peculiar circumstances that a private trading company's conquest of a foreign land had precipitated. So, if the *Lithographic Scrapbooks* - published at Patna and resonant with the Bihari lives of their artists - reflected a broader aesthetic decentralisation, I would argue that they also supported a remarkable political decentralisation at precisely the same time as the British Nation-State was crystallising into a modern form of centralised governance.

Second, it is important to distinguish the Athenians' idiosyncratic ideals from the much more cogent formulation of the 'civilizing mission' that would characterise later Liberal thought on the nature and purpose of British rule in India. This discourse did not develop its full coherence until the 'white man's burden' became a notional commonplace in the second half of the nineteenth century. Instead, the Athenians' ambitions to 'promote the arts' were the result of an awkward mix of Civic Humanist concepts surrounding both the emergence of 'polite society' and the defence of artistic institutions in developing a national school of art, alongside several discourses that developed in reaction to these ideas during the Regency, including Romanticism, 'British naturalism', and commercialised amateurism. Nevertheless, the unusual combination of these various discourses - as so often the case with colonial ideologies produced 'on the spot' - combined to form a forceful yet idiosyncratic statement on civil society, the colonial public, and the experience of life in the subcontinent. Accordingly, I have attempted to avoid presenting these beliefs as a coherent or even necessarily well-thought-through 'ideology' in the same sense that figures like Buckingham developed sustained political critiques, but instead as the result of competing intellectual influences and beliefs within the contextual 'moment' of the 1820s in Bengal. However, by differing from both the Orientalists of the late eighteenth century and the Utilitarian reformers who eventually came to dominate Indian politics after 1828, the Athenians certainly shed light on a unique moment in which Romanticism and Orientalism were bound up in a programme of Liberal reform in India, and emphasise the importance of art and aesthetic discourses to this overlooked intellectual history.

Understood in relation to these caveats, the Behar School of Athens - and the Bengal Amateur Network more broadly - therefore provide a remarkable example of how art remained intrinsically linked to the nature and operations of the East India Company's state during the first half of the nineteenth century. Their activities and artistic output emphasise the ways in which the discourses available for understanding identity and social significance in the metropole were often untenable in the colonial context, forcing individuals to devise peculiar discursive formulations that exposed the conceptual limitations in the Company's ideological rationale. At the same time, the group's peculiar engagement with ideas about corporate identity emphasise the long shadow of the Company's basis in early modern forms of political sovereignty. Historically, the group must therefore be situated at a liminal moment: when the emergence of civil society in India threatened to undermine the Company Raj as a sustainable means to govern India; but when cultural production was still very much circumscribed by the identities and social loyalties that the 'familial proto-state' had fostered. Most importantly, whilst previous scholars have attributed the emergence of a professionalised bureaucracy in India to the decline of fine art patronage in the subcontinent, the Behar School of Athens and the extensive web of amateur artists that formed the Bengal Amateur Network should attune future scholars to the critical importance of artistic production in the development of this bureaucracy's collective identity and ethos, alongside the impact that this social group made on Anglo-Indian society more broadly. As we have seen, amateur art formed one of the fundamental bases on which the Company's civil and military establishments formulated an *esprit de corps*, networking themselves into a 'colonial public sphere' that called into question the political legitimacy of the Company-State, and thus precipitated the legislative interventions that I will examine in more detail over the course of Part II.

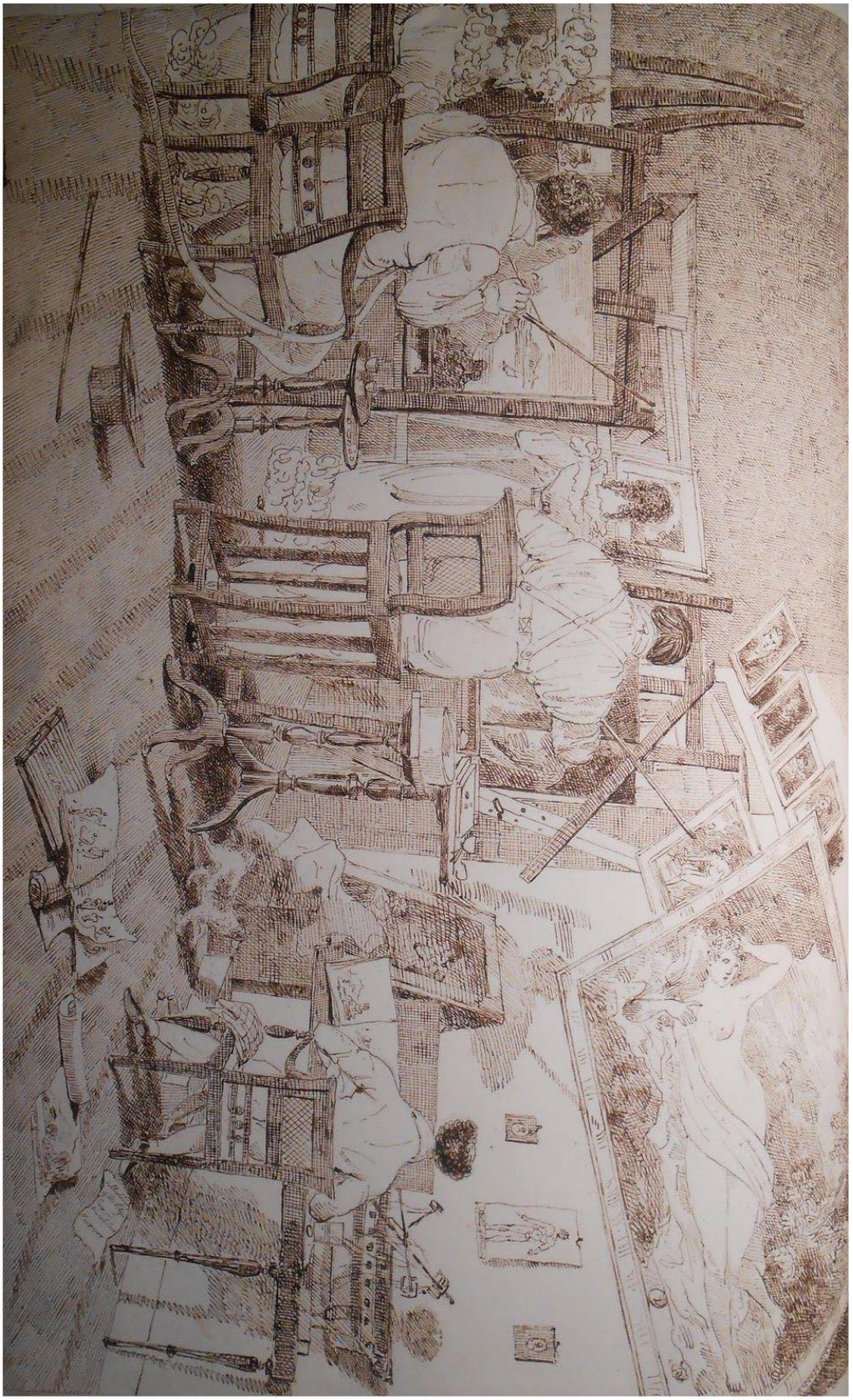

Figure 2:1: Sir Charles D'Oyly, *'The Behar School of Athens',* 1824, pen and ink on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:2: Henry Singleton, '*The Royal Academicians in General Assembly*', 1795, oil on canvas, in the possession of the Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Figure 2:3: Johann Zoffany, '*The Portraits of the Academicians of the Royal Academy*', 1771-72, oil on canvas, in the possession of the Royal Collection, London (RCIN 400747).

Figure 2:4: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Success to the Behar School of Athens*', c.1824, pen and ink on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:5: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*The Wedding of Christopher Webb Smith and Annie Mackenzie*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

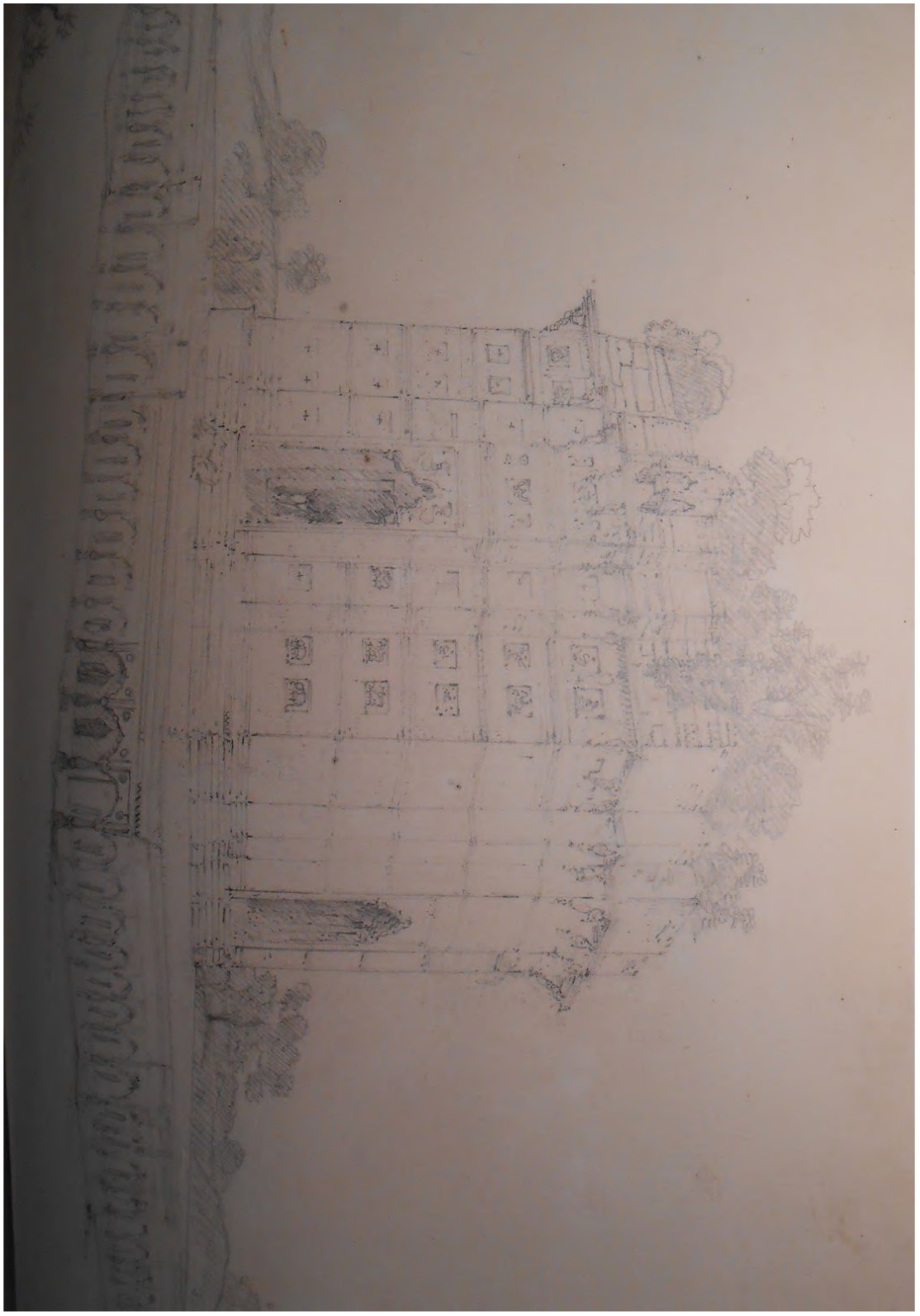

Figure 2:6: George Lindsay, '*Sketch of a Temple*', c.1824, pen and ink on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:7: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*A Dramatic Sketch*', c.1825, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:8: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Peregrine de la Tour*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:9: Thomas Rowlandson, *'Doctor Syntax',* 1812, hand-coloured etching, published in: Combe, William, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax*, (London: R. Ackerman, 1812).

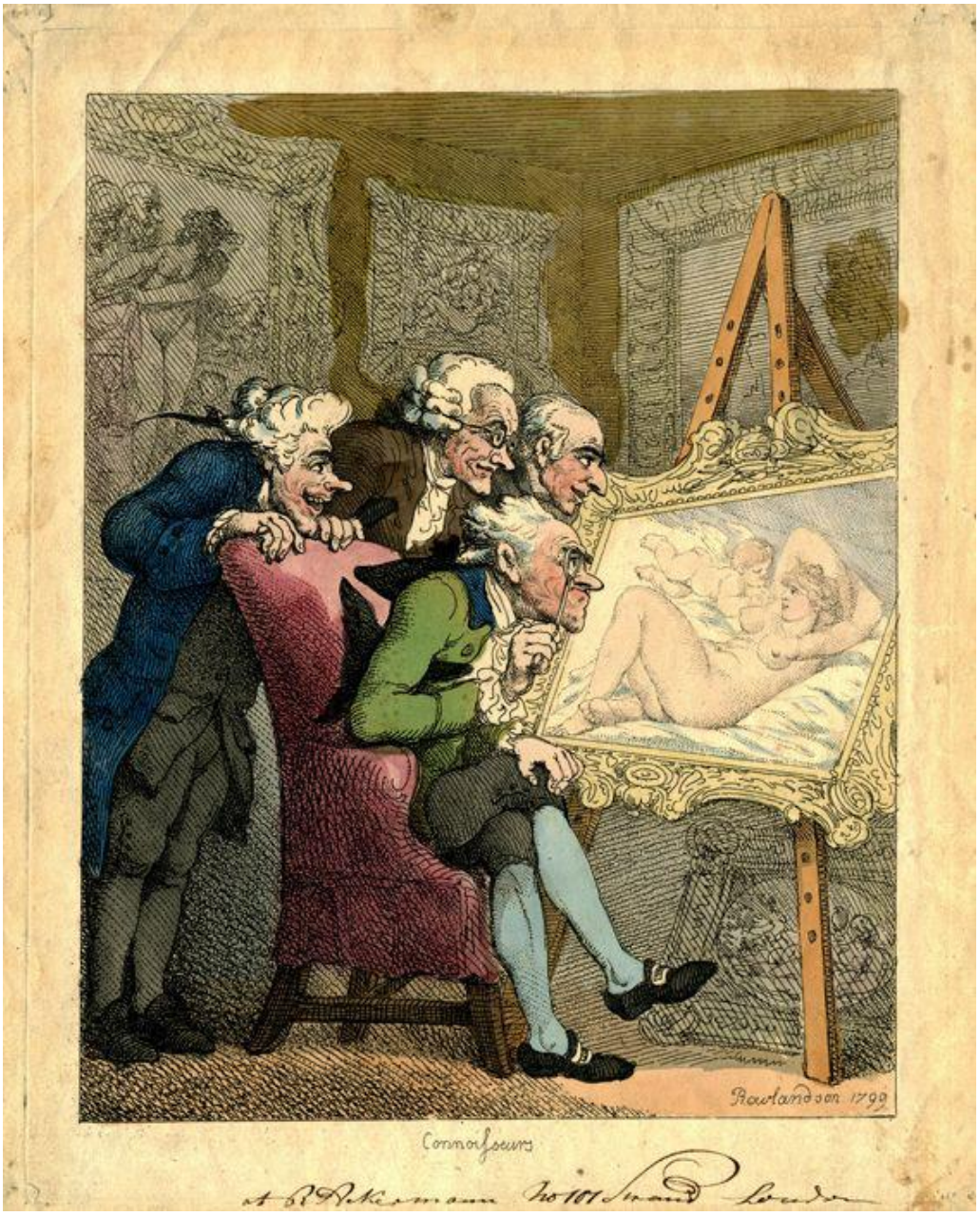

Figure 2:10: Thomas Rowlandson, '*Connoisseurs*', 1799, hand-coloured etching, in the possession of the British Museum, London.

Figure 2:11: James Gillray, '*A Cognoscenti Contemplating ye Beauties of ye Antique*', 1801, hand-coloured etching, in the possession of the British Museum, London.

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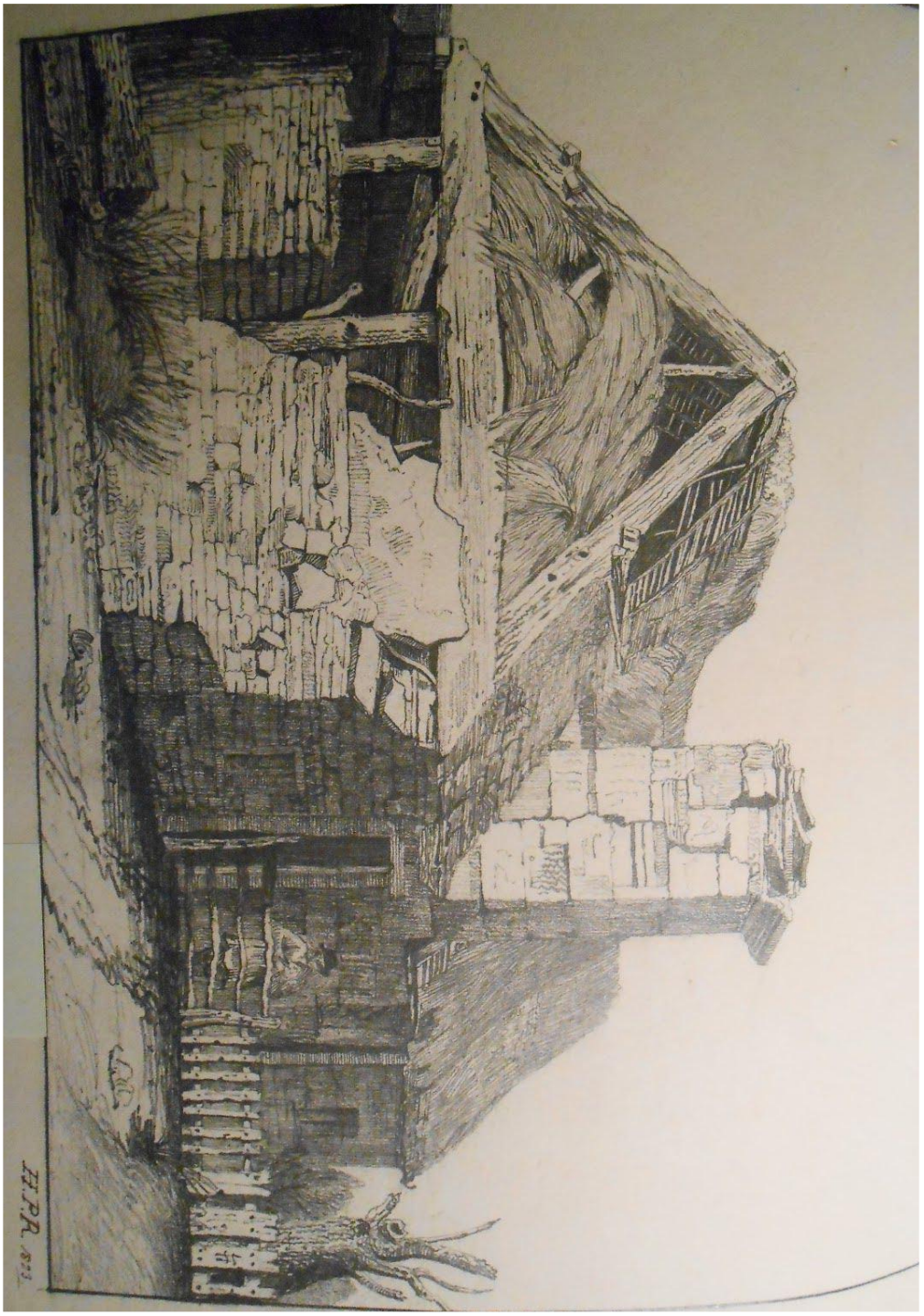
Figure 2:13: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Peregrine de la Tour Infatuated*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:14: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's Summer Drawing Room*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

Figure 2:15: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's Winter Drawing Room*', c.1824, pen, gouache and watercolour on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.



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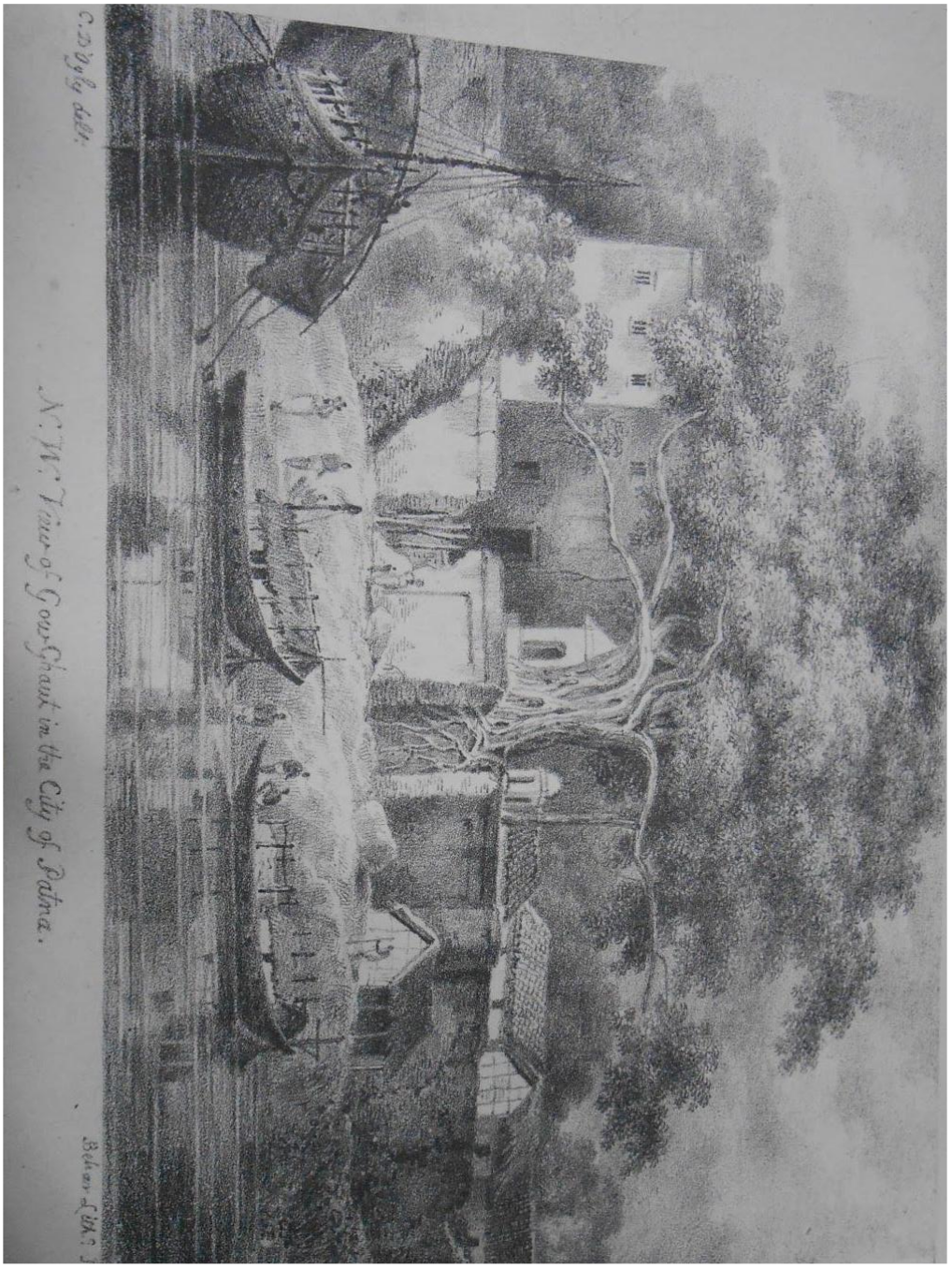

Figure 2:20: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*N. W. View of Gour Ghaut in the City of Patna*', printed c.1828-1830, lithographic print, published in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-1830).

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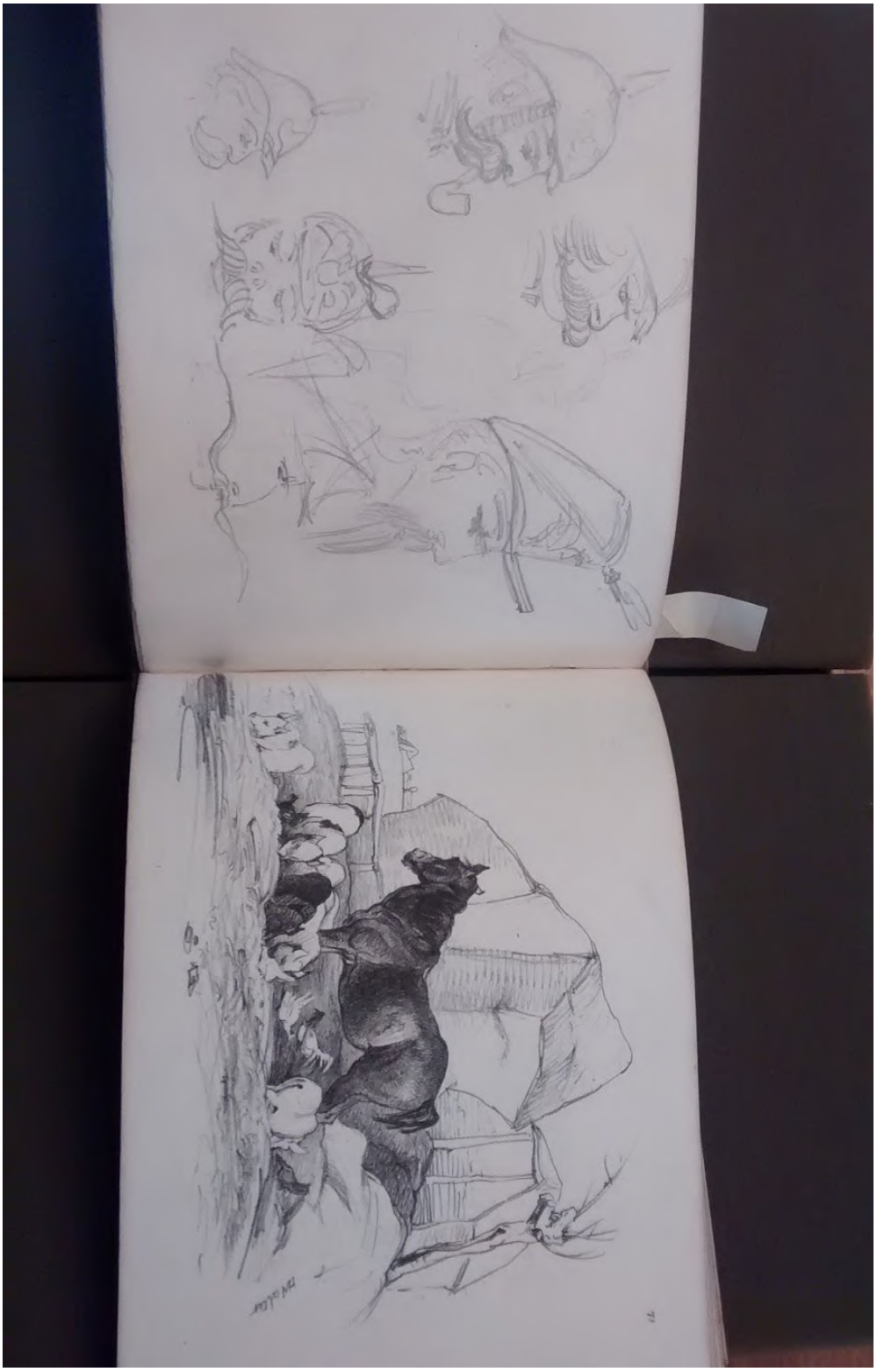

Figure 2:26: '*An Amateur's Pencil Sketches'*, contained in: *Ackerman's Drawing Book for 1824,* (London: R. Ackermann, 1824), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, (NC790 .H37 1832+ Oversize).

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Figure 2:33: Sketched by Eliza D'Oyly and printed by Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*View of a Banian Tree at Hadjepore*', c.1828-1830, lithographic print, published in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-1830).

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Figure 2:38: Jairam Das, '*Portrait of an Indian Man',* c.1828-30, lithographic print, published in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-1830).

Figure 2:39: Seodial, '*Festival Procession (probably Muharram) in Patna',* c.1828-30, lithographic print, published in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-1830).

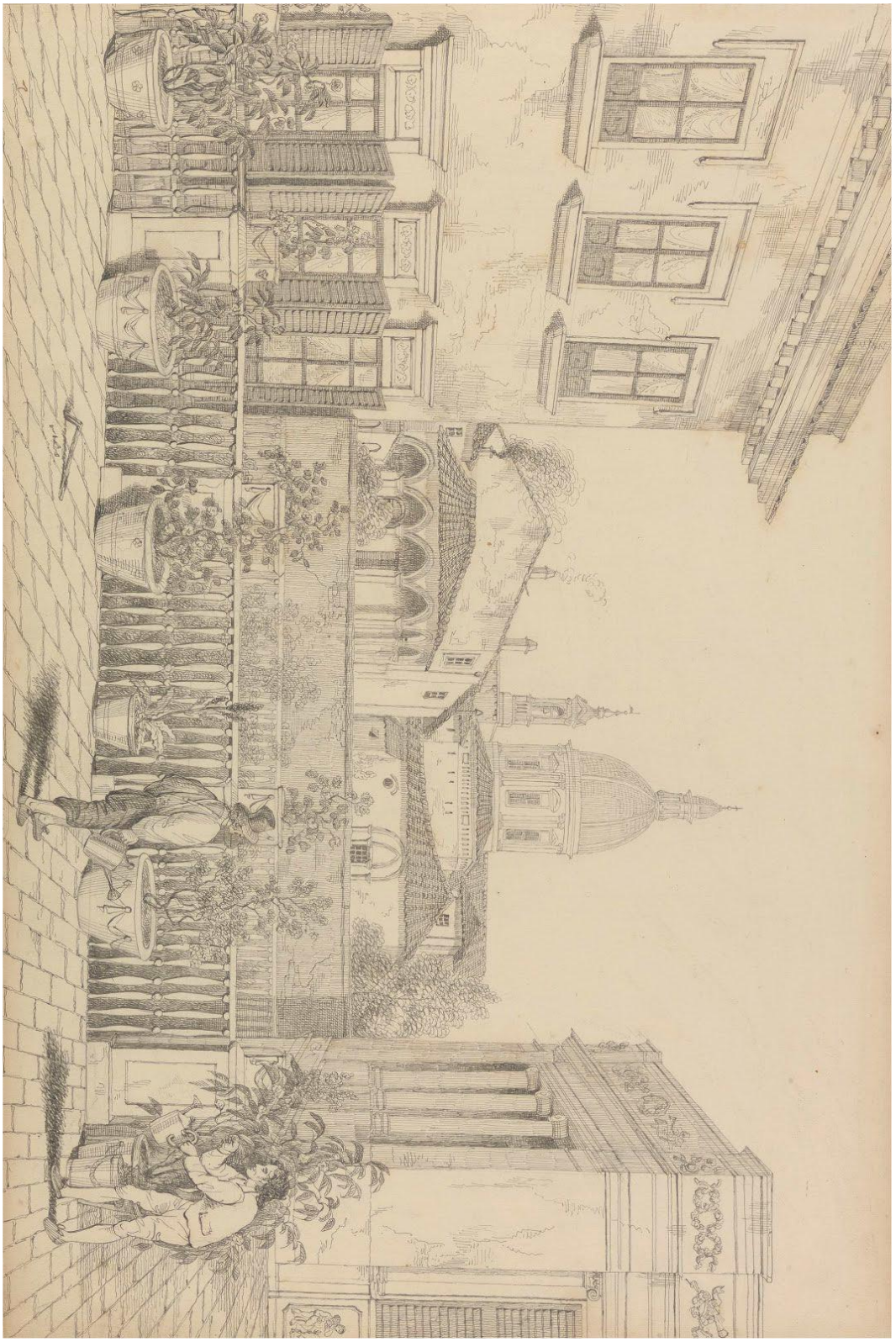

Figure 2:40: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*View from Casa Pecori*', 24th October 1841, pen, brush and black ink over graphite, included in: *Album of 30 Views in the Tyrol and Italy*, in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, prints and drawings (B1977.14.1578).

Figures 2:41 & 2:42: '*Sir Charles D'Oyly's Grave*', c.1845, author's own photographs, 'New English Cemetery', Livorno, 2017.

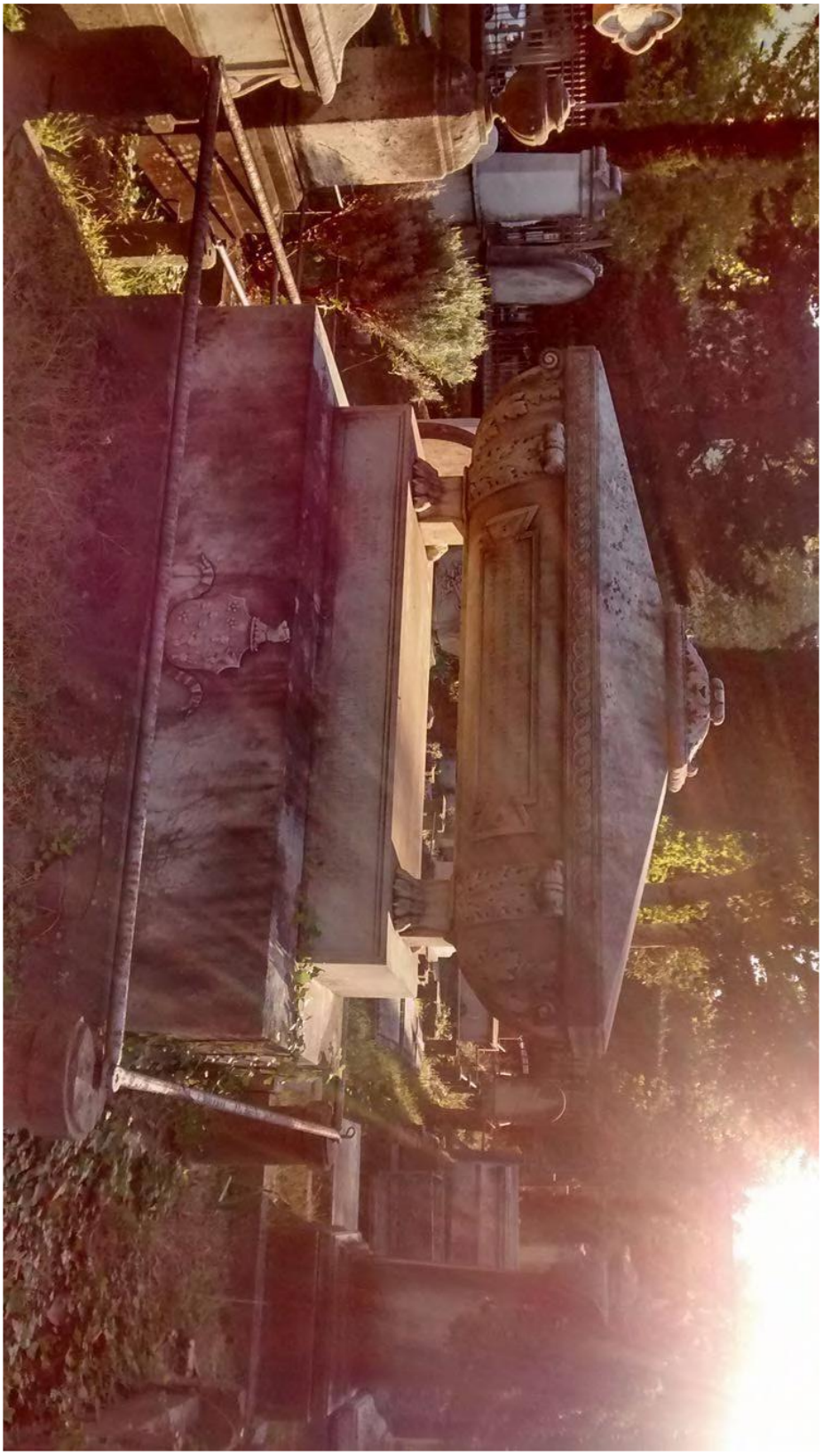

Figure 2:43: Designed by Pietro Bazzanti, '*Christopher Webb and Annie Smith's Grave*', 1871, author's own photograph, 'English Cemetery', Florence, 2017.

- PART II -

Print Culture and Socioeconomic Reform

- *Prologue* -

1. India in Print: 'A Very Considerable Degree of Interest'?[1]

In a PhD so far dominated by the ideas and actions of men, I want to open Part II with the words of a remarkable woman called Emma Roberts (1794-1840) - editor between 1831 and 1832 of the Calcutta-based periodical the *Oriental Observer*, and author of a series of ground-breaking articles on the status and condition of women in British India. In 1835, and following her return to London, Roberts collated a number of her articles into an instant bestseller, which she entitled *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society*. Released in three volumes, the first instalment of this work was accompanied by a preface claiming that 'our territories in the Eastern world, though long and unaccountably neglected by persons of enquiring minds, are beginning to excite a very considerable degree of interest and attention'.[2] Of course, as a journalist and writer, Roberts was speaking from an evident position of self-interest - the presentation of her work as intellectually *à la mode* might suggest something of the historical myopia found in contemporaneous assessments of Anglo-Indian art. Nevertheless, I think that this same position as a journalist would have afforded Roberts a vital insight into a globalising world of nineteenth-century print culture that today remains insufficiently examined by art historians. Whilst Roberts could claim that Britain's 'very considerable degree of interest' in India led her to 'hope that a work will be generally acceptable which affords information upon the subject of Native and Anglo-Indian Society', one factor that art historians like Clive Dewey have attributed to the decline of Anglo-Indian art is the notion that 'metropolitan taste, also, was turning against India...the British public largely lost interest'.[3]

There is no doubt that during the first decades of the nineteenth century the significant presence that India had enjoyed at Royal Academy exhibitions and elite public spaces in London began to atrophy.[4] Nevertheless, Roberts' description of a broad public interest in Company affairs attunes us to a phenomenon which simply does not correlate with this narrative of decline: a

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[1] Roberts, (1836), p.v.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, and Dewey, (1982), p.691.

[4] Several scenes of India had been contributed to the RA Summer Exhibitions by Tilly Kettle and William Hodges. Vauxhall Gardens also famously featured canvases depicting Indian subjects.

dramatic increase in illustrations of India's landscapes and peoples in a print culture that was produced and consumed in circulation between metropole and colony. I have compiled a database of every illustrated publication concerned exclusively with the subcontinent during the years 1780-1860, and can confirm that the number of such publications increased after 1790, and, apart from a small decline in the years 1810-20, rose from the late 1820s to record numbers during the decade 1830-40, levelling off from there. New publications followed distinct patterns of stimulus in public demand, increasing in number following a period of war (as can be seen with the large corpus of publications released in the 1840s that were concerned with the Punjab, Sindh, and Afghanistan), or, alternatively, after a new region of India had been conquered or surveyed for the first time (such as the numerous works concerned with the Nilgiri Hills released in the early-1830s).[5] Whilst early-Victorian India may thus have missed out on a Zoffany, the material evidence clearly demonstrates that far from 'turning against India', the second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a renewed public interest in printed depictions of the country - a trend that continued throughout the 1830s, and was reinvigorated in the 1840s by the public's desire for information about (and images representing) the wars on the North-West Frontier. In this Prologue, I am going to set out both why I think this popularity has been overlooked by the current scholarship, and - more importantly - what an investigation into Emma Roberts' world of Anglo-Indian print culture might reveal about India's 'Age of Reform'.

The most straightforward explanation for print culture's absence from the prevailing art-historical narrative is the almost exclusive attention that scholars in this historiographical tradition have paid to what is typically defined as 'fine art'. Foster, Archer, and Dewey all focus predominantly on the patronage of oil paintings, sculpture, and portrait miniatures. Once categorised this narrowly, their account of art in nineteenth-century India *does* become compelling: as 'incomes declined' in an increasingly middle-class administration, patronage for 'lavish' cultural

[5] The efflorescence of illustrated publications released in the 1840s and dealing with war on the North West Frontier include: Atkinson, (1842); Edwards, William, *Sketches in Scinde*, (London: Henry Graves, 1846); Dunlop, John, *Mooltan, During and After the Siege*, (London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., 1849); Rattray, James, *The Costumes and Scenery of Afghaunistan*, (London: Day & Son, 1847); Burnes, Sir Alexander, *Cabool: A Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City in the Years 1836, 7, and 8*, (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1843); amongst others. Examples of illustrated accounts of the Nilgiri Hills published after their 'discovery' by the British in the 1830s include: Baikie, Robert, *Observations on the Neilgherries*, (Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1834); Harkness, Henry, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills, or, Blue Mountains of Coimbator in the Southern Peninsula of India*, (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1832); Jervis, Humphrey, *Narrative of a Journey to the Falls of the Cavery: With an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Neilgherry Hills*, (London: Smith, Elder, and co., 1834); Fullerton, James Alexander, *Views in the Himalaya and Neilgherry Hills*, (London: Lithographed, Printed, and Published by Dickinson & Co.,1848); amongst others.

products did indeed slump.[6] Defining art in this manner is, however, anachronistic: illustrated print culture was specifically marketed as an aesthetic product, and its intentions, reception, and stylistic choices were all intimately related to the broader field of 'fine art' production. In addition, this categorisation limits historical analysis. From at least the seminal writings of Raymond Williams - if not before - the 'rise of the middle class' has been understood not just as a socioeconomic phenomenon, but as a cultural one as well, undergirded by the production of distinct categories of material objects.[7] If fine art patronage declined in the first decades of nineteenth-century India, supposedly consequent to a 'new spirit' characterising the Company's professionalising civil service,[8] then it befalls historians to investigate what cultural products were associated with the rise of this middle-class bureaucracy. In my opinion, this is precisely where illustrated print culture becomes relevant: I am going to argue that examining printed depictions of India within the artistic parameters in which they were originally conceived allows us to recognise the importance of art to the global transformation of capitalism and class in India specifically, and the Empire more generally.[9]

Emma Robert's biography alludes to another reason why I think the popularity of print culture may have been overlooked in the prevailing art-historical narrative. For as a journalist in Calcutta, an author in London, and then an editor in Bombay, Roberts' career trajectory was eminently transnational, highlighting how many individuals experienced imperial culture and space in 'circulation'.[10] The focus of Foster, Archer, and Dewy is, however, broadly 'national' - each are interested in the art history of the Company *in* India (or rather South Asia). Clearly this frame is insufficient for fully comprehending the history of print culture during this period, for although

[6] Foster, (1930-31), p.1; and Archer and Archer, (1955), p.100.

[7] Williams, Raymond, *Culture & Society 1780-1950*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960).

[8] Archer and Archer, (1955), p.100.

[9] An enormous literature has developed around the historical category of the middle class in Victorian England. Indeed, much recent scholarship is focused on the analytical complexity involved in defining this social group. The classic account remains: Briggs, Asa, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', in *Past & Present*, Vol.9, Issue 1, (April, 1956), pp.65–74. An account of the middle class 'ideology' is also included in the seminal text: Thompson, E. P, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (London: V. Gollancz, 1965), p.820. On the 'middling sort' as an analytical category, see: Neale, R., *Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Routledge and Z. Paul, 1972). For a writer who returned a more theoretical approach to the analysis of class undertaken by social historians, see: Jones, G. Steadman, *Languages of Class*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). I also found useful: Kidd, Alan, and David Nicholls (*eds.*), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); *Ibid.* (*eds.*), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism. Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Smith, Dennis, *Conflict and Compromise: Class Formation in English Society 1830-1914*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); Goodlad, L. M. E., '"A Middle Class Cut into Two": Historiography and Victorian National Character', in *ELH*, Vol.67, No.1, 2000, pp.143-178. For a specifically art-historical focus, see: Hemingway and Vaughan, (1998).

[10] White, (2013), p.3.

Roberts' remarks referred to a specifically metropolitan 'interest' in India, prints were the products of social and economic networks that criss-crossed cultures and continents: Company officials returned to London and published illustrated accounts of the subcontinent using sketches that they had produced 'in the field'; sketches sent as gifts within extensive social networks were reproduced in print anthologies; and depictions of India published in London invariably found their way back to the land they portrayed, influencing artistic production in the subcontinent once they arrived. The complex socioeconomic networks within which print culture was both generated and conveyed therefore require an analytical frame than can recognise these cultural activities as part of a geographically-expanded world of middle-class production and consumption. Whilst the following two chapters engage with specific, archivally based examples from the subcontinent, they thus also rely on a broader recognition of how printed depictions of India were affected by the novel trajectories that Britain's globalised print industry took in the first half of the nineteenth century. As this is a subject that remains largely unstudied in the existing scholarship, over the remainder of the Prologue I want to briefly sketch out the key vectors of this history, thereby establishing a transnational context for the arguments about Company India that follow.

ii. New Trajectories and Global Networks: India and the Metropolitan Print Industry *c.*1813-1858

Over the first half of the nineteenth century, three key changes to London's print industry affected the way that images of India were assimilated into, and consumed within, both Anglo-Indian and metropolitan print culture. The first was the development of new print technologies like lithography, which fundamentally altered the relationship between amateur artists and publishers. Second, was the commercial success of metropolitan publishing houses, which produced new markets for prints and greater investment in amateur print projects. With the growth after 1813 of private commercial networks stretching between Britain and India, these houses also developed novel techniques for networking amateur artists and publishers *via* Anglo-Indian agents. Third, was the growth of a number of new mediums and formats catering specifically for middle-class audiences, a phenomenon that expanded dramatically during the early-Victorian period. In what follows, I am going to briefly detail each of these new trajectories.

As we have already seen with the Behar School of Athens, lithography radically altered the field of cultural production in the subcontinent, enabling individuals and amateurs to produce prints on their own presses, and thereby decentralise artistic production. However, lithography equally altered the relationship between amateur artists in India and publishers in London. One crucial quality of the medium - and one remarked upon by contemporaries in the years following its invention - was that amateur artists could quite literally draw onto the stones that were going to be used for professional publication, resulting in prints that were the direct result of their own hand.[11] Of course, some publishers hired professional artists adept in the medium to copy amateur sketches onto their own stones, but many individuals certainly took up the opportunity to produce finished stones whilst 'in the field'.[12] In 1838, Major John Luard, a peripheral member of the Bengal Amateur Network, published *Views in India, Saint Helena, and Car Nicobar, drawn from Nature and on Stone by Major John Luard,* a work which made explicit even in its title the author's direct autographic relationship with the illustrations it contained. These images bore a radically new degree of authenticity within a market for 'foreign scenes' that explicitly privileged the artistic fidelity that being 'on the spot' conferred. For an amateur like Luard, the immediacy of their own hand in the published lithograph afforded a further advantage: being (conceptually) one step closer to the finished product, lithography presented their original conception - or individual 'genius' - as the unmediated artistic product.[13] For amateurs with aspirations to a form of polite refinement, self-fashioning during a period in which the Romantic understanding of individual expression was increasingly entering discourses about the fine arts, lithography thus afforded the prospect of a more direct exhibition of amateur talent to a metropolitan audience. Despite its minimal attention in art-historical scholarship, lithography therefore enjoyed a remarkable position in the first decades of the nineteenth century - easily compatible with the sorts of tastes and art theories that had developed around the hugely-popular genre of 'foreign views', and affording individuals in India a better access to this market.

Whilst lithography may have altered the relationship between amateur artists and metropolitan publishers, expansive changes to this dynamic were taking place as a result of the commercial boom that the British publishing industry enjoyed in the first half of the nineteenth century. As noted in the previous chapter, Regency London not only witnessed the emergence of several new publishing houses, but a whole new model of print-commercialism premised on the

[11] Mainardi, (2017), p.13.

[12] A term used frequently to justify supposed authenticity and artistic veracity, much like 'on the spot'.

[13] On artistic, and specifically Romantic genius, see: Kriz, (1997); Pressly, William, *The Artist as Original Genius: Shakespeare's "Fine Frenzy" in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Art,* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

pioneering and eclectic ventures of Rudolph Ackermann.[14] With an innovative arts emporium based on the Strand, Ackermann became a central figure in developing a much broader audience for what had traditionally been considered 'polite' forms of cultural practice, particularly amateur art. Importantly, Ackermann also greatly helped to democratise the consumption of printed depictions of India and its inhabitants. Amateurs could offer his publishing house rather poor quality sketches, and these 'authentic views' could, at a profit, be turned into relatively cheap publications *en masse*. As a result, droves of costume albums depicting social and occupational typologies issued from the Strand, particularly during the 1820s.[15] With publication easier than ever before, sketches made with an eye to metropolitan publication could thus function as a potential small-earner for a range of Company-employed individuals.

Ackermann's publishing house also leveraged a range of networks to produce serialised publications that appealed to a broader audience of 'middling' social groups. One paradigmatic example is a series of illustrated accounts of foreign countries released under the rather catchy title *The World in Miniature* - which included a six-volume edition devoted to '*Hindoostan*'.[16] The editor of this instalment was Frederic Shoberl (1775-1853), one of Ackermann's leading authors-*cum*-illustrators-*cum*-editors, involved in both the entrepreneur's era-defining *Repository of Arts*, and a founding editor of his *Forget-Me-Not* (*est.*1823), the first English-language literary annual. *Hindoostan* formed the fourth instalment in the *World in Miniature* series, and to source his information Schoberl used an archive of 'Company' drawings made by anonymous Indian artists and an accompanying text compiled by M. Leger, the former *administrateur civil* of the *Établissements français dans l'Inde* (both of which he found in the possession of the Parisian bookseller Auguste Nicolas Nepveu).[17] Published in central London, featuring drawings originally made by artists in India, and using a text penned by a French colonial agent, *Hindoostan* highlights the innovative ways publishing houses like Ackermann's leveraged extensive global networks to produce in-house, affordable products. The commercial success of publishing houses thus provided greater

[14] See also Chapter II, Section iv, and Chapter III, Section ii.

[15] For instance, a characteristic and fairly poor-quality album of Indian social 'types' with an accompanying letterpress was published by Ackermann in 1826 under the title *Asiatic Costumes Drawn by Capt. R. Smith*; a further edition with some 'drawings of a native Artist' 'to make the series more complete' was re-published in 1828. Both works lacked artistic pretension and made no attempt to develop the genre in any meaningful way - it seems that Smith simply possessed a number of sketches and hoped that he could make a small profit on them. For both publications, see: YCBA (GT1460 .A75 1828).

[16] Shoberl, Frederic, *The World in Miniature: Hindoostan, Containing a Description of the Religion, Manners, Customs, Trades, Arts, Sciences, Literature, Diversions, &c. of the Hindoos*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1822).

[17] *Ibid.*, preface.

opportunities for amateur artists seeking to publish Indian subjects at precisely the same time that figures like Ackermann were cultivating a broader market for print culture in Britain.

Of course, several more ambitious print-projects emerged out of the combined expansion of publishing houses and the development of extensive commercial networks between London and India following the Charter Act of 1813. Exemplary in this regard is Robert Melville Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, Chiefly on the Western Side of India,* a hugely ambitious undertaking that was published in six volumes between 1826 and 1830.[18] Grindlay (1786-1877) was the savvy owner of a private agency house, whose business relied on the extensive networks that he had built up originally serving as a lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, and then as part of the Company's 1803 survey of Gujarat.[19] In 1837, Grindlay had been quizzed by a parliamentary select committee established in order to consider the benefits of Anglo-Indian steam travel, to whom he provided a quite evocative summation of this network's sheer expanse:

> 'I have maintained correspondence with every part of British India, and I have constantly been associated in this country, both in matters of business and in social intercourse, with a wide circle of persons connected in almost every possible way with India; with some who have passed long periods there, and have finally quitted it; with others, whose absence is only temporary, and who propose to return; with others again, who are about to proceed thither for the first time, and with many who, though never resident in India, and never intending to reside there, are in various ways connected with it, and are intimately acquainted with the wants, wishes and feelings of the inhabitants both British and native. I may mention also that the circle to which I have alluded comprehends persons in different professional walks; members of the civil service, of the military service, and of the commercial community. I may, I believe, without incurring the imputation of undue assumption, say that my acquaintance with those interested in India and its people is little short of universal'.[20]

Such contacts were vital - Grindlay's project, the first two volumes of which were published by Ackermann, would involve thirty-one individuals acting as either the providers of original sketches, engravers, or as publishers.[21] The enormous popularity of amateur sketching in India during the

[18] Grindlay has received academic attention in only one art-historical essay: Rohatgi, Pauline, 'Amateur Artists in Western India: James Forbes and Robert Melville Grindlay', in Rohatgi and Godrej (*eds.*), (1989). As such, much remains to be done on this interesting figure.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Examination of Robert Melville Grindlay on the 13th July 1837, in *Report from the Select Committee on Steam Communication with India: Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index,* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1837), pp.179-181, p.179.

[21] These contributors included: Agar, John Samuel, engraver; Alexander, William, engraver; Bentley, Charles, engraver; Fielding, T. H., engraver; Haghe, Louis, lithographer; Hughes, S. G, engraver; Hunt, George, engraver; Kearnan, Thomas,

early nineteenth century provided a rich source for such raw artistic material; individuals like Grindlay who operated within the new economic networks that opened up in India after 1813 could leverage these connections and collate large corpuses of 'authentic sketches'; and publishers like Ackermann enjoyed the resources and sheer manpower to bring such unwieldy projects to fruition. Importantly, Grindlay's project highlights the peculiar analytic approach this sort of print culture requires - being the product of a large number of agents acting within quite distinct geographical contexts, yet bound together through transnational socioeconomic networks and the organisational proficiency of the new publishing houses.

Artists not only took advantage of the new opportunities for publishing that the developing metropolitan print industry afforded, but adopted a variety of middle-class genres that had emerged during the 1830s. William Daniell, one half of the uncle-and-nephew-duo behind the enormously influential *Oriental Scenery* (published in six parts between 1795 and 1807), continued to distribute printed images of India throughout the 1830s, this time in the new middle-class, and explicitly 'feminine' genre of the literary annual.[22] First published in 1834, and entitled *The Oriental Annual, or Scenes in India,* this work contained original engravings after the artist's sketches, chosen to illustrate various histories of India. Critically, this series popularised Daniell's art for a middle-class audience who used the annual as an 'affordable, but nonetheless refined, means of owning, collecting and displaying art'.[23] Illustrations of India and its people were thus being included in a range of new print genres aimed at a growing middle-class audience, and which also included the partial cultural enfranchisement of women.

It is within these three important trajectories that I want to contextualise the arguments that follow - paying particular attention to what they can teach us about print culture's relationship to the broader economic basis of the art market and the shifting cultural dominance of the middle class during this period. Over both chapters, my principal aim is to demonstrate that an understanding of print culture's specifically artistic considerations - such as genre, medium, and artistic intent - actually reveal its instrumentality within the broader socioeconomic reforms associated with the

engraver; Melville, Harden Sidney, engraver; Pyall, Henry, engraver; Reeve, Richard Gilson, engraver; Willis, John, engraver; Allsup, William, illustrator; Auber, Charles Peter, illustrator; Baily, James, illustrator; Daniell, William, illustrator; Edge, T., illustrator; Fielding, Copley, illustrator; Hawkins, George, illustrator; Hogarth, J., colourist; Hughes, S. G., illustrator; Johnson, John, Lieutenant Colonel, illustrator; Purser, William, illustrator; Rawle, G., illustrator; Roberts, David, illustrator; Stanfield, Clarkson, illustrator; Westall, William, illustrator; Witherington, William Frederick, illustrator; Ackermann, Rudolph, publisher; Smith, Elder, and Co., publisher; Sams, William, publisher.

[22] On notions of class and gender associated with the consumption of literary annuals, see: Warne, Vanessa, 'Thackeray Among the Annuals: Morality, Cultural Authority and the Literary Annual Genre', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol.39, No.2, (Summer, 2006), pp.158-178.

[23] *Ibid.*, p.163.

professionalisation and financial regulation of the Company's middle-class administration, alongside the opening of India to private capital. As art in this period not only came to carry specific understandings about the way in which economic transactions structured society, but, as a cultural commodity itself, was marketed and consumed according to the interests of particular classes, I am going to argue that print culture reveals how specific ideas about the economy and its impact on society were being culturally consumed by the middle class and commercial interests who shaped India's 'Age of Reform'. As the effects of these ideas on Company policy altered the relationship between Anglo-Indian society, the Company, and the British State, I am going to conclude my analysis by contending that print culture paradigmatically substantiates my broader contention that art possessed a key political significance during the final decades of the East India Company's rule. For now, though, I want to begin in the same place that countless voyages to the subcontinent made their own long-awaited landfall: on the vast sands that stretched between the Indian Ocean and the bustling streets of colonial Madras.

- *Chapter III* -

A Journey from Madras and Back: Regency-Era Print Culture, the Division of Labour, and 'Colonial Knowledge'

1. Madras, Microcosms, and a Missing Archive

I want to begin this chapter by tracing what might be called a 'research biography', setting the rather eclectic constellation of issues that I am going to explore within the context of a scholarly agenda. Like so much of the research that went into *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'*, this narrative begins with a reader request sent to the British Library's India Office Collections. In this instance, I was requesting what turned out to be a rather remarkable series of lithographs, published in 1827 by John Gantz (1772-1853) and his son Justinian (1802-1863) from a private press on Popham's Broadway, Madras.[1] Bound into albums entitled *The Indian Microcosm*, and accompanied by a descriptive letterpress, these prints depicted twenty scenes of local trades and occupations. Though coarse in execution, each evocatively detailed its South Indian context - capturing the sandy earth of the Coromandel Coast, the region's 'Dravidian Style' temples, its flat expanses of shoreline, and horizons punctuated by coconut palms (*figs.*3:1-3:4). As captivating as this vision was, however, I was struck more with the album's curious title. For far from evoking the Madrasi context of the prints, the *Indian Microcosm* pointed straight to the grey shores of Regency Britain. Whether unnoticed or simply unsaid, scholars have so far neglected the conspicuous and hugely intriguing resemblance between the title of the Gantzes' album and one of the most ambitious print-projects of the Regency era: William Henry Pyne's (1769-1843) *The Microcosm*, a monumental collection of over

[1] Gantz, John, and Justinian Gantz, *Descriptive Letterpress to the Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: J. Gantz, 1827). I have used prints from the YCBA for figures as they have been coloured attractively. The Gantzes were watercolour artists and it is perfectly possible that they may have hand-coloured *The Indian Microcosm*, but as so many of the prints in the Mellon collection were coloured at the behest of later collectors, this should also be considered a distinct possibility.

one-thousand images of British trades and rural occupations, released in instalments from 1803 onwards, and with new editions published throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century.[2]

Closer examination seemed to suggest that this titular resemblance was more than superficial. In a preface to his work, Pyne had explained that *The Microcosm* would be governed by a 'double object': on the one hand, he aimed to impart 'a useful knowledge of the practical part of various arts and manufactures' by providing 'actual delineations of the various sorts of instruments and machines used by [Britain] in agriculture, in manufacture, trade, and amusements'; on the other, he sought to package this information within an aesthetically appealing product.[3] The result was a novel format - each instalment of Pyne's *Microcosm* featured between three or four plates, each with a collection of picturesque vignettes grouped according to a particular industry or distributive trade.[4] Quite remarkably, this unusual focus on the economy and its various 'instruments' and 'machines' was mirrored in the *The Indian Microcosm,* which departed dramatically from the genre conventions of a typical costume album - the format used most frequently to depict Indian society. Such albums had achieved a fairly broad popularity by the first decades of the nineteenth century, buoyed by a popular interest in Britain's foreign affairs, complementing typological depictions of London's urban poor, and supplied with raw materials by the burgeoning colonial practice of proto-ethnographic sketching.[5] The mass production of such albums, coupled with the inherent intertextuality of the Regency-era print industry, had resulted in the genre developing a whole host of 'exotic' stereotypes: costume albums of India inevitably included *nautch* girls; *fakirs* (religious ascetics); snake charmers; 'Oriental' nobles; and the more unusual domestic servants like *hookah* bearers, *ayas* (wet nurses), *moonshees* (language tutors), and *sicars* (money lenders). *The Indian Microcosm* contained none of these.

Instead, the titles of at least five of its twenty plates would not have been out of place in Pyne's own project, and were simply listed as 'basket makers', 'butchers', 'blacksmiths', 'carpenters', and 'musicians'. Of eight further plates that appear more specifically 'Indian' in their subject matter, four were devoted to the processes or equipment used in agricultural manufacture ('corn-grinders', 'rice-breakers', 'the oil-mill', and '*toddymen*'), whilst the other four portrayed another frequent

[2] Pyne, William Henry, *The Microcosm: or, A Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, &c. of Great Britain*, (London: 1803-[1806]).

[3] *Ibid.*, introduction (single-page entry bound before prints).

[4] Pyne's *Microcosm* was obviously influenced by the popularity of the 'Cries of London' genre, which depicted the various trades and occupations of the Capital's urban poor.

[5] Sketching foreign peoples had, of course, been a common practice since the Age of Exploration, but by the later eighteenth century such techniques had developed into a key tool for colonial administration. See Section iv for a discussion on the 'ethnographic state'.

subject in Pyne's series - the means of transporting and distributing goods or people within the economy ('building/repairing *masoola* boats', 'the *hackerry* cart', '*catermarrans*', and '*palankeen* bearers'). Three remaining plates arguably accorded better with traditional Oriental stereotypes, and included illustrations of 'the *bazar*', 'water women', and '*cawy* men' (watercarriers). Even so, these three scenes still bore more of a connection with the functioning of commercial society than the usual fare of *fakirs* and *nautch* girls. Explaining this thematic preoccupation was not as straightforward as simply suggesting that the Gantzes were uninterested in 'exotic' subjects. In 1834, and in collaboration with John's youngest son Julius Walter, the family produced a series of ten aquatints under the title *A Series of Engravings Illustrative of the Festivals, Wedding and Funeral Processions, etc., of the People of India*, which revelled in a stereotypical portrayal of India's religious 'curiosities'.[6] It thus seems that the Gantzes deliberately chose to excise any inclusion of India's 'curious' or 'exotic' stereotypes from *The Indian Microcosm*. Departing from the customary illustrations of the subcontinent's 'strange' religious customs and its 'medievalised' nobility - both staples of the costume album genre - the pair instead provided a reasonably specific account of Madras' local economy, detailing what customary British trades looked like in the region, what machinery was used to produce manufactures, and how people and goods were transported too-and-from the metropolis.

The accompanying letterpress certainly underscored this explicitly economic focus. It consistently detailed data like the productivity (usually per day) of certain industries, the prices of certain goods, or the salaries of the individuals depicted in the plates. Accordingly, we find that 'the quantity of paddy a woman can beat and clean per day is about 5 mercalls', and that 'a Mercall (about 3 Gallons) of Paddy when properly beat up and winnowed produces about 4 measures of clean rice, ¼ measure of Noee or broken rice 1 ½ of Paddy husk and 2 of bran'.[7] Equally, 'a cocoanut tree yields about a pint of toddy per day from each spadix, and some trees afford toddy from 2 to 5 spadices: a palmyra tree yields about 2 quarts per day: a date tree upwards of a gallon'.[8] With information on price, manpower, and specifications, we learn that 'the Masoola Boat is about 25 feet long - 9 broad - and 5 high: - the bottom is a little flat, and the sides almost perpendicular. - its burden is about 2 tons - the cost of building one is about 150 Rupees, and it is manned by 8 rowers and a Steersman'.[9] The prices of employing such labour can be found in the plates depicting '*Palankeen* Boys' ('7 Rupees each per month, and the head Bhoy a Rupee more'), '*Cawry* Men' (3-7 Rupees per month, or

[6] It is curious that the duo moved to aquatint for this publication, particularly in relation to the argument that will be made throughout this chapter.

[7] Gantz and Gantz, (1827), 'The Rice Beaters'.

[8] *Ibid.*, 'The Toddymen'.

[9] *Ibid.*, 'The Massola Boats'.

'20 cash per pot'), 'Hammermen' (3 fanams per day), 'Bellows Boys' (1 ½ fanams per day), and even the cost of *hackery* bullocks is listed ('100 Madras Rupees and are bought from 2 to 500 miles North of Madras...their keeping costs about 17 ½ Rupees per month').[10] In accordance with this factual saturation, the Gantzes also mimicked Pyne's assurances that the images could be 'useful' because they bore the 'accuracy of actual representation', informing their readers that a scene of corn grinders 'was taken from nature at Madras' - a clichéd assertion of artistic veracity premised on the authenticity of 'being on the spot'.[11]

If this thematic preoccupation began to convince me that the Gantzes had indeed borrowed more than simply *The Microcosm's* title, then plates like the one depicting corn grinders betrayed an artistic ambition that consolidated this supposition further. The Gantzes chose to depict several manufacturing processes that were, like the task of grinding corn, typically collaborative - resulting in several of *The Indian Microcosm's* plates portraying groups of labourers working within 'picturesque' landscapes (*fig.*3:5). Rather than the individualised series of portraits that costume albums customarily used to exemplify social typologies, the Gantzes' prints therefore more closely resembled genre scenes. Crucially, this visual idiosyncrasy accords well with the second half of *The Microcosm's* 'double object'. Pyne had assured his readers that his prints would be 'rendered not only instructive...but interesting from the attitude, the grouping, and the action' - he would give them, in other words, the 'pleasing qualities of a picture'.[12] This aesthetic appeal would be achieved by employing 'picturesque effect', a style which could hold even the attention of Britain's 'volatile and impetuous youth'.[13] Importantly, this sort of artistic ambition was highly uncommon in albums depicting Indian society. Most costume albums relied on 'Company paintings' as the prototypes for their illustrations, as collections of such images could be commissioned cheaply in India and brought back to the metropole at far less expense than funding a professional European artist to travel to the subcontinent. Explanatory details that the author wanted to communicate could then simply be included in the accompanying text, which usually took on more significance than the illustrations. In contrast, the importance of the visual qualities in *The Indian Microcosm* were not only alluded to in the Gantzes' letterpress (a statement accompanying the plate depicting *palankeen*

[10] *Ibid.*, 'Palankeen Boys', 'Cawry Men', 'The Blacksmith', 'The Hackerry'.

[11] *Ibid.*, 'The Corn Grinders'. There is a good literature about artists' claims to have sketched 'on the spot'. See: Greppi, Claudio, '"On the Spot": Traveling Artists and the Iconographic Inventory of the World, 1769-1859', in Driver, Felix, and Luciana Martins (*eds.*), *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); McAleer, (2010), especially pp.93-132.

[12] Pyne, (1803-[1806]), introduction.

[13] This claim undoubtedly emphasised the work's pedagogical function.

bearers simply noted that 'the exterior of the Palankeen is best described by the sketch'), but seems to have been made by the images themselves, which reveal unusual pretensions to fine art.

A scene of '*cawry* men', for instance, includes a female figure stood in elegant *contrapposto*, a water urn balanced on her head and drapery thrown toga-like about her frame (*fig.*3:3). Countless European descriptions of India compared the country's women to 'nymphs' or 'classical nudes', and the trope was used frequently by artists as well: it appears in William Hodges' *View of the Marmalong Bridge* (*fig.*3:6); at numerous points in Johan Zoffany's oeuvre; and in the frontispiece to Robert Melville Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, Chiefly on the Western Side of India* (*fig.*3:7). The Gantzes actually elaborated the conceit further in a plate depicting 'water women' (*fig.*3:8), in which the pair gathered classicised figures into a shallow pictorial space before a well, grouped according to a horizontal procession that clearly evoked classical friezes and bas reliefs, and within which each figure created aesthetic variety and interest through a balanced and rhythmic play of stances and limbs. Of course, it made sense to represent India using the framework of the classical past and the allusions to it that underpinned artistic theory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Classicism still operated as the preeminent signifier of 'cultured' taste, and the *schema* of Western artistic training.[14] What was clearly unusual about this specific usage, however, is that these blatantly artificial tropes were being included in an album which at least on the surface purported to depict real trades and occupations.

Indeed, this artistic assertion of the 'ideal' over the ethnographically 'real' infiltrated even the factually-saturated letterpress, which at one point informed the reader how:

> 'few sights are more interesting, or more characteristic of oriental scenery than palankeen Bhoys resting after a day's journey, and partaking of their evening repast. - Seated perchance under the deep wide spreading foliage of the Indian fig, the thousand arm'd banyan tree, they group themselves in a cluster...the fire that answered the purposes of their *cuisine* burning close at hand, throws flickering light over the sable countenances of the orientals - and gleaming on the waters of the neighbouring tank - offers a subject richly worthy of the pencil of a Salvator Roza [sic], and one that may perhaps be touched by less skillful hands in the course of this Publication'.[15]

[14] I thank Jean Michel Massing for pointing me to the work of Ernst Gombrich, whose conceptualisation of style as a solution to a problem of representation provides a clear framework for understanding why European artists so frequently turned to the classical past as a means to capture the strange or unfamiliar when voyaging beyond their native countries. See: Gombrich, Ernst Hans, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, (London: Phaidon, 1960).

[15] Gantz and Gantz, (1827), 'Palankeen Boys'.

Describing the scene as 'worthy' of a Salvator Rosa undoubtedly evoked the renowned artist's paintings of Italianate *banditi*, also frequently portrayed huddled around a flickering campfire at dusk. Importantly, not only were *banditi* a subject quite antithetical to the album's focus on commercial society, but over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Salvator Rosa had come to be revered in Britain as an exemplar *par excellence* of artistic genius - capable of capturing in paint the sublime mysteries of Nature.[16] Couching 'oriental scenery' in an aesthetic of vast, unkowable sublimity was, of course, a common artistic trope, but critically one that was in direct contrast to the letterpresses' focus on specific costs, yields, and wages. Harbouring a schizophrenic split between scenes of economic productivity and artistic pretension, I therefore became increasingly convinced that the Gantzes' album had explicitly adopted the 'double object' of its British namesake. The questions that this adoption raised were, firstly, what were the intentions and motivations of the Gantzes in using this framework, and, secondly, what might this usage mean in the socioeconomic context of India following the liberalisation of trade in 1813?

Here, though, I ran into quite insurmountable difficulties. For the Gantzes have almost entirely disappeared from the historical record, both in India and Britain. A largely fruitless but very humid July in the Tamil Nadu State Archives serves as both the context and an evocative metaphor for the frustrating nature of this lack. What can be known is simply that John was originally of Austrian extraction, and held positions as a surveyor and draftsman for the East India Company - although a manuscript list of inhabitants of Madras, dated 25th March, 1819, lists him as an 'Architect. Native of India'.[17] Justinian Gantz would continue working as a publisher following his father's death in 1852, presumably partnering with his younger brother Julius Walter to form the firm Gantz Bros. Besides from these rather skeletal biographies, however, the trail runs cold. Intentions, aspirations, or opinions - what made the Gantzes human, in other words - have all been lost to time.

An alternative method, I supposed, was to try and create something of a contextual scaffold, examining in turn ideas and objects from a range of sources that might shed light on the Gantzes' publication. This wider research led me to a realise, however, that Pyne's 'double object' could be

[16] On the British reception of Salvator Rosa, see: Tomory, Peter A., 'John Hamilton Mortimer and Salvator Rosa', in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.113, No.818, (1971), pp.276-276; Wallace, Richard W., 'The Genius of Salvator Rosa', in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.47, No.4, (1965), pp.471-480; Shaffer, E. S., 'The Death of the Artist and the Birth of Art History: Appearance, Concept, and Cultural Myth', in Pape, Walter, and Frederick Burwick (*eds.*), *Reflecting Senses: Perception and Appearance in Literature, Culture, and the Arts*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995). Pyne's *Microcosm* also included *bandiditi*, which similarly contradicted the supposed economic focus of the publication. See: Barrell, John, 'Visualising the Division of Labour: William Pyne's *Microcosm*', in *Ibid.*, (1991), pp.113-114.

[17] This biography can be constructed from three sources, all of which are somewhat anecdotal: a biography listed in the BL Archives and Manuscripts database; Muthiah, S., *Madras Miscellany*, (Chennai: East West Books, 2011); and Gantz, I., 'Another Artist of the Picturesque: John Gantz (1772-1852)', in *The Antique Collector*, (April, 1960), pp.54-7.

situated within a much broader interest in how representations of the division of labour might be used to articulate knowledge about society, and that the adoption of this paradigm in India was more extensive and more significant than just its use in *The Indian Microcosm*. Essentially, this chapter charts the trajectory of this broader research, building an argument from various sources in order to draw several more significant conclusions about the relationship between colonial art and the cultural impact of both global systems of capital and the various 'modernities' that they precipitated. In Section ii, I connect Pyne's 'double object' to a broader 'epistemic framework' that enabled an urban, increasingly self-aware middle class to signify cultural capital in Regency Britain. Section iii then turns to India, and uses the extensive archive associated with Sir Charles D'Oyly to trace the impact of this framework on Anglo-Indian society. After setting out the prevalence of this framework across both metropole and colony,[18] I then argue that its imbrication in both artistic production and class interests allows us to connect aspects of India's nineteenth-century art history to the socioeconomic transformation of the East India Company. I return to Madras for the conclusion, seeking to demonstrate how this heuristic framework might shed light on an album like *The Indian Microcosm*, for which we possess very little archival information. Using the Gantzes' curious adoption of Pyne's 'double object' as a starting point, the key ambition of this chapter is therefore to trace the ways in which Anglo-Indians used art to articulate middle-class values about the Company's economy and social organisation, whilst also situating the potential for producing such art within the opportunities afforded by the period's socioeconomic reform. Doing so nuances the established narrative of fine art's decline at the hands of an increasingly middle-class bureaucracy, and highlights instead the emerging middle-class market for print culture that developed in correlation with the steady growth of professional and private commercial cultures in India between 1813 and 1833.

ii. Art and the Division of Labour: Reassessing *The Microcosm's* 'Double Object'

The only scholar to have previously engaged with Pyne's 'double object' is John Barrell, an academic giant who has spent the majority of his career examining the intersections of artistic and

[18] What Bernard Cohn has termed a 'unitary epistemological field'. Cohn, Bernard, *Colonialism and its forms of Knowledge*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

literary culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[19] Barrell's analysis of *The Microcosm's* schizophrenic intentions was published as a chapter in his 1991 collection of essays *The Birth of Pandora,* and I want to begin by using this analysis as a springboard for my own argument. Barrell proposed that Pyne's 'double object' was an attempt to wed two contemporaneous 'discourses' - each of which relied on an assertion of 'disinterested' knowledge. One the one hand, *The Microcosm's* survey of Regency Britain's economy was premised on a belief that the division of labour could function as a prism through which the 'disinterested' political economist might perceive society (or, more specifically, the financial bonds which constituted it as a cohesive, harmonious totality); on the other, it engaged with the 'picturesque' as an aesthetic through which the leisurely classes could perceive beauty in a landscape in which they had no economic 'interest'. Tracing these two discourses allowed Barrell to effectively 'deconstruct' the text: he contended that whilst Pyne's preface suggested that each discourse possessed a 'similar kind of status and authority...what [was] at stake [was] precisely the negation, by the division of labour, of any claim that a merely occupational discourse [like the picturesque] might have to articulate an objective form of social knowledge, and when one defining characteristic of the picturesque [was] such as to cast doubt upon the value of the very knowledge that it [was] the object of the division of labour to impart'.[20] At an ideological level, the two discourses simply destroyed one another's logic, exemplifying how 'the arts were increasingly denied a cognitive function' during a period in which 'social knowledge was increasingly defined...as economic knowledge'.[21] Despite the picturesque's artistic imperatives precluding scenes of interior factory labour - and thus denying a *comprehensive* representation of labour's 'division' - Barrell contended that the picturesque, as a result of its preoccupation with external appearances, became simply a useful style in Pyne's depiction of occupational diversity.[22] His figures were divested of individual sentiment, and could thus be brought into a new narrative in which they functioned as isolated examples of manufacture's divided processes.[23]

Barrell's account remains insightful and provocative. Yet I think in focusing almost exclusively on the interaction between the 'discourses' of the picturesque and the division of labour (and, in particular, on their 'pure', theoretical formulation), he actually neglected to historicise *The*

[19] Barrell, (1991). A small oeuvre does exist for Pyne himself, but the particular significance of *The Microcosm's* 'double object' is not assessed within it. The work I found most engaging was: Myers, Harris, *William Henry Pyne and his Microcosm*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1996).

[20] *Ibid.*, p.101.

[21] *Ibid.*, p.102.

[22] *Ibid.*, p.105. 'The picturesque as style, applied to the representation of manual labour, becomes an ideal visual vehicle'.

[23] *Ibid.*, p.104. They exhibited 'none of the conventional signs, physiognomic or pathognomic, by which...the stereotypes of individuality are encoded'.

Microcosm within several contemporary trends in artistic practice. In my assessment, I want to foreground Pyne's interest in artistic pedagogy, his concern with 'useful knowledge', and his broader career in Regency-era print culture - as I think these form the crux to understanding *The Microcosm's* historical significance. Indeed, Pyne's interest in pedagogy related to two important middle-class contexts. First, *The Microcosm's* 'double object' was totally suffused with the ethos of Regency-era educational reform that crystallised most clearly in Jeremy Bentham's (1748-1832) *Chrestomathia*, a system of education that derived its name from the Greek for 'conducive to useful knowledge', and which was built around a desire to provide a practical education to middle-class children.[24] Bentham's system was split into five, progressively more complex stages: by the third, students would be dealing with such topics as the application of science to industry and agriculture; geography; history; grammar; and drawing. Pyne's preface explicitly claimed to assist in at least two of these, advertising a 'useful knowledge of the practical part of various arts and manufactures', and the 'assistance of the young student in his progress in drawing'.[25] Just as Pyne intended to impart his 'useful knowledge' in a 'pleasing' style capable of holding the attention of Britain's 'volatile and impetuous youth', Bentham's educatory system equally advocated art and visual diagrams as an aid to learning. Of course, Pyne had himself been a drawing master for several years prior to publishing *The Microcosm*, and would later go on to collaborate with Rudolph Ackermann on a series of affordable albums aimed at 'improving' amateur artists. Ackermann would then edit a hugely-successful edition of Pyne's *Microcosm* in 1822, releasing it in thirty monthly sets of four plates accompanied by a letterpress from the 1st May onwards. If the Gantzes came into direct contact with Pyne's work, then it would almost certainly have been through this edition, which presumably travelled the Empire in the same manner as the *Repository of Arts* - Ackerman's era-defining arts magazine.[26] *The Microcosm's* 'double object' thus sat comfortably within both a Utilitarian educational model that supported the values and social ambitions of Britain's middle classes, and a model of polite education and 'improvement' propagated within London's blossoming middle-class market for print culture.

[24] Bentham, Jeremy, *Chrestomathia: Being a Collection of Papers, Explanatory of the Design of an Institution*, (London: Payne and Foss, 1816). See also: Cavanagh, F. A., 'Jeremy Bentham on Education', in *International Educational Review*, (January, 1933); Itzkin, Elissa S., 'Bentham's Chrestomathia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.39, No.2, (1978), pp.303–316.

[25] Pyne, (1803-[1806]), introduction.

[26] Subscription facilities were available in 'New York, Halifax and Quebec, the West Indies, Hamburg, Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Malta or anywhere in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope and any part of the East Indies'. See: Jones, Tom Devonshire, 'Ackermann's "Repository" 1809-28', in *The British Art Journal*, Vol.11, No.1, (2010), pp.69-74, p.70.

Whilst Barrell set the discourses of the picturesque and the division of labour in conflict, I want to suggest that within these twin middle-class contexts the picturesque came to define a constellation of artistic practices complementary to, and entwined with, the forms of 'knowledge' that political economists could deduce by studying the division of labour. More specifically, when Pyne used the term 'picturesque' to describe *The Microcosm's* 'style', I think he was referring to a belief that artistic scenes of 'everyday' life could convey information about both human nature and society.[27] The fundamental reference for these ideas was the Swiss poet and pastor Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), whose contention that external features directly related to inner character had gained an enormously popular currency by 1800. Lavater himself had stressed the applicability of his theories to the visual arts, citing drawing as 'the first, most natural and most unequivocal language of physiognomy', and even stating 'if the painter is not a physiognomist, he is nothing'.[28] Although Lavater's physiognomy was concerned exclusively with interpreting countenances, in popular culture his ideas became thoroughly enmeshed with more general theories about pathognomy, which attempted to interpret inner character from transient expressions of emotion.[29] This conceptual amalgam had a critical influence on Regency-era artistic practice. Charles Bell, in his celebrated *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (1806), not only praised an artist's ability to capture 'all the peculiarities and characteristic differences which mark and distinguish the countenance, and the general appearance of the body',[30] but urged artists to develop a 'spirit of observation' - honing their art at 'the gaming house, on the exchange, [or] in the streets', and thereby uncovering 'the truth of expression and character'.[31] Importantly, the theorist Uvedale Price decreed that all such 'effects of passions and of strong emotion on the human figure and countenance' were 'picturesque'.[32] In early nineteenth-century artistic theory, then, the picturesque was no longer confined to the meanders of the Wye, but could be found in the city streets, even in the marketplace: both contained countless examples of human interaction, and therefore the various

[27] This culture forms the extended focus of a ground-breaking work of scholarship on the history of English genre painting: Solkin, (2008).

[28] Lavater, Johann Kaspar, *translated by* Thomas Holcroft, *Essays on Physiognomy: for the Promotion of Knowledge and Love of Mankind, 3 Vols.*, (London: 1789), Vol.1, p.122, Vol.1, p.80. For Lavater and drawing, see: Stemmler, Joan K., 'The Physiognomic Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater', in *Art Bulletin*, LXXV, No.1, (March, 1993), pp.151-68. There is a large body of scholarship on Lavater more generally. See: Graham, John, *Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy: A Study in the History of Ideas*, (Berne: P. Lang, 1979); Shortland, Michael, 'The Power of a Thousand Eyes: Johann Caspar Lavater's Science of Physiognomic Perception', in *Criticism*, XXVIII, No.4, (Fall, 1986), pp.379-408.

[29] Solkin, (2008), p.25.

[30] Bell, Charles, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, (London: Longmans & Co., 1806), p.2.

[31] *Ibid.*, p.19, p.3.

[32] Price, (1794), Vol.1, pp.63-64.

countenances and shifting expressions that provided the keen observer with knowledge about society.

Critically, Pyne appears to have pioneered this interest in capturing the intricacies of 'character' through extensive artistic fieldwork. He was one of three members of the Society of Painters in Water Colours (est.1804) to belong to a 'sketching society' that travelled into the countryside once a week from at least 1800 to 1804 - the same years in which *The Microcosm* was conceived. Indeed, the utility of this fieldwork for accurately capturing human nature was vigorously defended in several of his later publications - a work released with Ackermann in 1817, and entitled *Rustic Figures in Imitation of Chalk,* argued that 'to become acquainted with the true rustic character, the student must go to nature, and view this class of persons in their occupations'.[33] As a useful tool for those who could not do so on a frequent basis, Pyne even created models of rural workers that he informed readers would be left for their perusal in Ackermann's *Repository* on the Strand (interestingly, similar models of Indian trades and occupations (*fig.*3:9) are currently in the possession of the Yale Center for British Art).[34] Far from divesting their figures of individual character, as Barrell suggested in relation to *The Microcosm*, members of Pyne's 'sketching society' like James Ward (1769-1859) produced remarkably sensitive and psychologically convincing depictions of individual labourers who they met on these rural excursions (*fig.*3:10).[35] Rather than a picturesque that specifically invoked its artificiality, Pyne was thus instrumental in the development of an artistic practice premised on the 'authentic' depiction of rural life.

Of course, this practice of drawing 'in the field' did not equate to a straightforward naturalism, either.[36] Pyne and his peers' fascination with both physiognomy and 'rural types' blurred the lines between observable facts and the exaggerations of caricature. For instance, both the artist and Ackermann asserted the pre-eminence of caricature as a mode of capturing the full spectrum of human character in another 'microcosm' that they collaborated on between 1808 and 1809 - this time focused on London's urban fabric, and entitled *The Microcosm of London*.[37] Ackermann's preface for this work explained that different artists had been chosen to illustrate the topography of the Capital and the people who inhabited it, for in most publications 'the figures have generally been neglected,

[33] Pyne, William Henry, *Rustic Figures in Imitation of Chalk*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1817), pp.i-ii.

[34] YCBA B2009.25.

[35] On Ward and his naturalism, see: Payne, Christiana, '"Calculated to gratify the Patriot": Rustic Figure Studies in Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Rosenthal, Michael, and Christiana Payne and Scott Wilcox, *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p.66.

[36] I have already touched upon the incredibly politicised valances of 'naturalism' in: Chapter II, Section iv.

[37] Ackermann, Rudolph, and William Henry Pyne, William Combe, Augustus Pugin, and Thomas Rowlandson, *The Microcosm of London,* (London: R. Ackermann, 1808-1809).

or are of a very inferior cast'.[38] Instead, *The Microcosm of London* included figures drawn by the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson, whom Ackermann assured had paid 'strict attention...not only to the country of the figures introduced in the different buildings, but to the general air and peculiar carriage, habits, &c. of such characters as are likely to make up the majority in particular places'.[39] This faith in a caricaturist's greater capacity to capture social variation and 'national character' was similarly corroborated in some of Pyne's own statements - his *Rustic Figures in Imitation of Chalk,* for example, recommended that 'in the classic or elegant figure, the lines should be flowing, unbroken and proportioned with due attention to grace and beauty; whilst those of the rustic characters are chiefly composed of lines that are not flowing, nor beautiful, but rather inclined to abruptness and qrotesqueness'.[40] Whilst Barrell attributed the 'rough' style of *The Microcosm* to the influence of the picturesque, I would thus contend that it was also bound up with Pyne's own conception of stylistic decorum and the ways in which this related to social knowledge. His sketched style reflected his sensitivity to the 'true rustic character' of the people he had observed whilst voyaging into rural Britain, relating his use of the term 'picturesque' to a number of practices for expressing knowledge about society that had developed out of picturesque theories during the early nineteenth century, and which were principally rooted in the belief that human character could be interpreted through visual information.

Critically, these ideas created a conceptual bridge between 'picturesque' artistic practice and discourses about the division of labour. For the sort of physiognomic information that artists attempted to represent was deeply connected to ideas about 'occupational identity' - or the manner in which an individual's character was determined by their craft, trade, or standing within society. The leading proponent of associationist aesthetics, Archibald Alison, précised this relationship well: his 1790 *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* argued that there was no tendency more natural than the inclination 'to attribute to the character of those who are unknown to us, the character which their physical features exhibit'; and, accordingly, that 'everyone expects a different conformation of members in the soldier, the sailor, the waterman, the shepherd, the ploughman, &c., and every painter accommodates himself to this expectation'.[41] As visual appearance for Alison reflected an individual's personality, and this appearance itself was shaped by a person's trade or occupation, then an individual's place within the division of labour became a key signifier of their

[38] *Ibid.*, introduction, p.ii.

[39] *Ibid.*, introduction, p.iii.

[40] Pyne, (1817), p.ii, p.i. The 'abrupt line' was, of course, that which produced the picturesque in the theories of Gilpin.

[41] Alison, Archibald, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste, 2nd Rev. Edn., 2 Vols.,* (Edinburgh: 1811), Vol. II, pp.248-249, Vol. II, pp.315-316.

inherent character. Visuality was thus figured as the realm in which artists could express a knowledge of how the division of labour shaped, or 'interpellated', members of society.[42] Far from 'deconstructing' the other's discursive logic, I would therefore argue that the educational and artistic aspects of Pyne's 'double object' worked in unison. The 'pleasing' effects of the picturesque did not simply provide the *dulce* necessary to keep attention fixed on the *utile*, but Pyne's picturesque style reflected the rustic character of the individuals he depicted, whose identities had been determined precisely by those 'various modes' Britain's 'industry employed'.[43]

To return this epistemic framework back to the pedagogic, middle-class contexts I stressed at the beginning of the section, I want to compare Pyne and Ackermann's project of amateur artistic improvement with a more explicit connection between art and the division of labour contained in a rather remarkable text, released in 1807, and entitled *Eccentric Excursions: or, Literary and Pictorial Sketches*.[44] Written by the satirist George Moutard Woodward, and brilliantly illustrated by the scathing Scottish caricaturist Isaac Cruikshank, this publication aimed to detail the social 'types' that could be met whilst journeying through the various counties of England and Wales (*fig.*3.11).[45] In amongst the satire that this social stereotyping produced, the author gradually developed what I termed above an 'epistemic framework' - a set of practices and ways of thinking about a specific category of 'knowledge'. First, Woodward advocated making caricatured sketches of the strangers a traveller might meet, and gave the individual who did so an epithet - they would be known as a 'characteristic traveller', and, like Bell's professional artist, would keep a 'commonplace book...appropriated to variety; from the rustic peculiarities of the visitors of an hedge ale-house, to the assumed pomposity of temporary residents at an inn; and the plain frugality of the honest farmer'.[46] Woodward attributed an important cognitive function to such practices, explaining that:

> Lavater observes every man without exception is a physiognomist; a characteristic traveller should possess that quality in a superlative degree, as he is particularly liable through the nature of his pursuits to be led

[42] Of course, this framework has significant ramifications on the ways in which the popularity of print formats like the 'Cries of London' should be interpreted, as this genre depicted within serialised portraits representations of the Capital's various street-sellers and menial labourers. Albums of this kind achieved a huge popularity in the early nineteenth century, and were published in droves by the likes of Ackermann.

[43] Pyne, (1803-[1806]), introduction.

[44] Woodward, George Moutard, and Isaac Cruikshank, *Eccentric Excursions: or, Literary and Pictorial Sketches*, (London: Allen & Co., 1807).

[45] Woodward declared, tongue-in-cheek, that he had been motivated by an observation that 'the public have been highly gratified by the works of an able and elegant author descriptive of the picturesque beauties of landscape and cattle illustrated by suitable designs [undoubtedly referring here to the Reverend Gilpin]: - then why should not the variegated forms of Nature, in the physiognomy of the human race in respect to countenance and character, afford subjects equally worthy of the exertions of the pen and pencil?'. *Ibid.*, introduction, p.ii.

[46] *Ibid.*, introduction, p.iii, p.iv.

> aside by the cant of the designing hypocrite, or the families of the cringing sycophant. In order to prevent these evils in a great measure, *he should be capable of delineating the outline of the human countenance*, which will improve his knowledge by contemplating the leading features of a character when the original is withdrawn, and help to regulate his judgement by comparison on future occasions.[47]

According to Woodward, sketching types from nature enabled the 'characteristic traveller' to navigate society more capably - using visual data provided by the appearance of the people he met (and the sensitivity to such data developed through sketching) to avoid people who might want to trick or mislead him. Such a skill, Woodward noted, was particularly useful in the city. Indeed, London was 'the seat of Character - what man with the smallest penetration can walk from Islington to Hyde-Park-Corner, and say Lavater studied in vain; every countenance speaks to the soul'.[48] London's paradigmatic status is revealing, for Woodward's argument - though predominantly staged in the form of a tour through the countryside - appears to have been developed specifically in response to the metropolis' increasing economic complexity. Several historians have defined the early nineteenth-century interest in physiognomy as an attempt to reinstate a degree of order over the social complexity produced by the urbanising and globalising effects of modern capitalism.[49] Essentially, Woodward's arguments were mapping a 'polite' practice of amateur drawing onto the position of the disinterested spectator (or the disembodied eye) through which political economists justified their own claims to be able to comprehend the increasingly complex division of labour. It is telling, for instance, that the author's concluding sentence quoted James Boswell's 1791 biography of Samuel Johnson, reiterating that Britain's metropolis was really a countless number of cities apprehended by viewers with different occupational 'interests', and only 'the intellectual man' (or political economy's 'disinterested observer'), could be 'struck with it as comprehending the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible'.[50] Woodward's exposition on sketching's social utility thus concluded with a proposal that the 'intellectual man' could view London as a 'microcosm' in which all the world's social variety could be appraised.

Eccentric Excursions therefore developed a remarkably cogent advocacy of the exact techniques that Pyne was offering to teach amateur artists: the ability to use physiognomy and

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[47] *Ibid.*, introduction, p.iv.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp.6-7.

[49] Gray, Richard T., 'The Transcendence of the Body in the Transparency of its En-Signment: Johann Kaspar Lavater's Physiognomical "Surface Hermeneutics" and the Ideological (Con-) Text of Bourgeois Modernism', in *Lessing Yearbook,* XXIII, (1991), pp.127-48.

[50] Boswell, (London: 1791), cited in: Woodward, (1807), p.217.

sketching to capture 'true' human nature. Similarly, the artist's broader oeuvre consistently reveals that he attributed a cognitive function to sketching social types met whilst travelling 'into nature', alongside a belief that physiognomy, caricature, and attention to emotional expressions could reveal the inherent nature of people defined according to their trade or occupation. Taken together, I contend that these practices formed a broader 'epistemic framework' that generated categories of knowledge considered useful to an urbanising, increasingly commercialised society. Rather than the arts being 'denied a cognitive function' in a period in which knowledge was 'increasingly defined...as economic knowledge', this epistemic framework specifically privileged visual and artistic skills. As such, Pyne's 'double object' provided a novel means of expressing cultural capital in a radically-altered social environment. Lauding a middle-class belief in 'useful knowledge' and consumed within an expanding market for print culture, it shifted the parameters of 'polite' culture and altered modes of self-fashioning accordingly. In the following section, I want to use Sir Charles D'Oyly's extensive archive to trace in depth how this framework could be transposed to colonial India, and, in particular, how it could be used to self-fashion. It is my intention that this detailed case study will exemplify how the altered set of cultural values I have traced affected the art-historical trajectory at the core of this thesis, alongside how they shed potential light on the intriguing motivations of the Gantzes.

iii. Examples from an Archive: Sir Charles D'Oyly, Genre Painting, and Regency-Era Print Culture

'There's Ackermann, a bank of England note
Of some amount would give – the sinner he –
For twelve good drawings of our lovely Indian scenery'

- *Sir Charles D'Oyly,* 1826 [51]

Sir Charles D'Oyly's oeuvre sits comfortably with a discussion of Pyne and Regency-era print culture. He and James Atkinson had published *Tom Raw, The Griffin* through Ackermann in 1826, and, like most works published by this print-entrepreneur, the publication ended up containing advertisements for both Pyne's *Microcosm* and *The Microcosm of London*. It is all but certain that D'Oyly would have purchased a copy of his own work once Ackermann had published it, and

[51] Atkinson and D'Oyly, (1826), lines 1132-1134.

was thus presumably aware of these publications even if he did not own his own copies of them. Moreover, there is an abundance of evidence demonstrating that D'Oyly was remarkably up-to-date with broader trends in Regency-era print culture. A print in one of his scrapbooks is crowded with sketches depicting caricatured expressions of facial types - a practice suggested by the leading proponents of physiognomic theory (*fig.*3:12). Equally, a series of lithographs published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, and depicting groups of grotesque, caricatured heads clustered into vignettes with captions such as 'the ugly club of good fellows' (*figs.*3:13-3:15), directly owe their format to a series of lithographs published in 1823 by the contemporary French artist Louis Léopold Boilly (1761-1845), who published the series under the title *A Collection of Grimaces (Recueil de Grimaces)* (*fig.*3:16&3:17). It is unclear whether the figures that D'Oyly depicted were simply physiognomic studies taken in the style of Boilly or were an in-joke, with members of the artist's social group incorporated within this fashionable, 'witty' format. D'Oyly was certainly inventive, as we can see from a further series of lithographs in which his pet cockatoo was transformed into the protagonist of several satirical scenes based on Anglo-Indian life - such as a *nautch* danced by female crows (*figs.*3:18-3:20).

Besides caricature, however, D'Oyly also seems to have been keenly interested in the conceptual vicissitudes of 'naturalism' in the fine arts during the first decades of the nineteenth century. He and his social network owned prints made after paintings by several of the key artists who pioneered the shift towards genre painting and 'naturalism' discussed in the previous section. Most strikingly, the Macnabbs owned eight prints after David Wilkie - an artist whom David Solkin has deemed the pioneer of the new school of English genre painting - including the artist's *Village Politicians, Rent Day, Blind Fiddler, and Blindman's Bluff.*[52] These presumably formed the basis for several paintings that D'Oyly recorded in a 'list of the pictures he has completed within the last twelve months', which included:

- 'Copies of an original study in oils by David Wilkie of a part of his picture of blindman's bluff do do'
- 'Copy of an original study in oils by David Wilkie of a paper and group of listening figures [undoubtedly Wilkie's *The Village Politicians*] the property of Wm. Prinsep Esq.'[53]

In a similar manner, Lady D'Oyly submitted to the *Proceedings* a series of illustrations (*figs.*3:21-3:24) that she had copied from another artist involved in the early nineteenth-century turn to genre: Henry James Richter, and specifically his 1809 *A Picture of Youth or the Village School in Uproar*, which

[52] Solkin, (2008), particularly chapters one and two.
[53] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.195.

Ackermann released as lithographed vignettes two years before Lady D'Oyly copied them in 1824 (*fig.*3:25).[54] Remarkably, her illustrations were accompanied by a verbose descriptive text which exactly mirrors the style of art writing that lies at the heart of the nineteenth-century turn to genre - those which had emerged in emulation of Francis Ludlow Holt's unusually detailed and narrativised 1809 review of David Wilkie's *Village Politicians*.[55] Indeed, just as Holt had defined paintings in the 'English School' as evocative of 'what we may in poetry call a minor fable', the narrative accompanying Lady D'Oyly's drawings contended that 'this fable of the boys and the apple like all other legitimate fables has a moral at the end of it', adding that Richter's scenes were 'full of subject for the moralist'.[56]

D'Oyly himself had applied this form of ekphrasis to an artist who had been named by Pyne as a painter that amateurs could emulate in order to improve their own depictions of rural scenes: the genre artist Richard Westall, whose half-brother William had, interestingly, visited India in 1803, and later published scenes of the Bombay coastline through Ackermann.[57] The *Proceedings* reveal that D'Oyly owned two original paintings by Richard Westall, both of which he had purchased as a teenager from a Summer Exhibition at Somerset House.[58] D'Oyly's description of one of these paintings, a scene entitled *The Sick Traveller*, included exactly the same use of sentimental narrative and physiognomic analysis that had made Francis Ludlow Holt's reviews so revolutionary. I will quote at length to show just how closely D'Oyly's ekphrasis followed this critical format:

> 'His face is pale and emaciated, his figure bent with disease & the rigidity of his limbs warrant the conclusion that death would have stolen upon him, had not assistance been at hand. That friendly aid, however, is not wanting, a graceful female in a rustic dress is bending over him, anxiously enquiring into the cause of his distress, which he seems faintly explaining, while a little girl, grasping her mother's apron, is eagerly looking out for the arrival of her sister, who had been previously sent to a cottage in the

[54] It is clear that Eliza copied Ackermann's versions, (figs.3.26-3.39), showing once again the D'Oylys' engagement with the market for print culture cultivated by Ackermann.

[55] Holt's reviews lie at the heart of Solkin's *Painting Out of the Ordinary*. See: Solkin, (2008), particularly chapters one and two.

[56] Holt, Francis Ludlow, *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 9th April, (1809), p.119; *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.126, f.121. There is no room to treat the subject in this chapter, but the 'moral' aspect of genre painting was undoubtedly connected to contemporary religious trends in Britain, which in the case of the D'Oylys would relate intriguingly to the history surrounding the 'pious clause' in the 1813 Charter Act. Moreover, as my argument in this chapter ends with a discussion about 'modernity', it is unfortunate that I do not enjoy the space to discuss the place of religion and the Evangelical Revival in India's 'colonial modernity'.

[57] These were included in Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture, Chiefly on the Western Side of India*. A small biography of William Westall is included in: Carey, (1882), Vol.II, p.260.

[58] *Proceedings*, (1824-c.1826), f.172.

> vicinity for a jug of water which she is observed bearing in her hand in the distance. *The face of this interesting young village matron is beautiful and teeming with tenderness and pity'*.[59]

One source for D'Oyly's knowledge about this mode of writing was, of course, George Chinnery, who had described Bell's *Anatomy of Expression* as an 'admirable work' in his letters to Maria Browne.[60] Bell's influence is certainly evident throughout Chinnery's written advice, and lies behind contentions such as the artist's claim that 'the contractions of the brows, the sneering muscle...all will be acted upon by the temper'.[61] However, in a way that vindicated his obvious anxiety to repudiate any claim of cultural isolation, D'Oyly's use of these theories in the passage above demonstrated his general awareness of contemporaneous metropolitan trends in writing about the new school of English genre painting, alongside his own capacity to reproduce this fashionable mode of writing about art in the colonial periphery.

With a quite typical lack of modesty, D'Oyly was equally desirous to publicise his knowledge about the developments that had shaped the school of watercolour artists associated with Pyne and his 'sketching society'. As one of the founding members of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, Pyne had taken it upon himself to define and valorise this school, writing a Whiggish, patriotic account of its history that he had entitled *Observations on the Rise and Progress of Painting in Water Colours*, published in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* between 1812 and 1813, and then subsequently in his own *Somerset House Gazette* a decade later.[62] Curiously, Peregrine de la Tour's letters contain a regurgitated account of this narrative - one that not only attempted to prove that D'Oyly was abreast of the principal advances in the medium, but that he himself was involved in their development![63] I quote again at length:

> I have heard that some five and twenty years ago, Payne was at the head of that junior branch of the art (so it was then considered) and that his master (Sandby) who had a certain fame, was quite surpassed by his pupil. Compare Payne's eminence to that which has been attained in the Turner [or junior] school, in the present day & you will find a most surprising difference. The rapid studies made in watercolours by Turner, Glover, Varley, Owen &c. within so short a period has been described to me by an amateur friend, who has lately returned from this country & whose astonishment & admiration was excited by pictures in

[59] *Ibid.*, f.173.

[60] Undated letter from George Chinnery to Maria Browne, (BL Add. MS 49355), ff.55-57.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Pyne, William Henry, 'Observations on the Rise and Progress of Painting in Water Colours', in *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*, Vol.8, (1812); and *Ibid.*, 'The Rise and Progress of Water-Colour Painting in England. No. IX', in *Somerset House Gazette: or, Weekly Miscellany of Fine Arts, Antiques and Literary Chit Chat*, 1, No.13, (January, 1824).

[63] The rendition is so similar that I suspect D'Oyly either read Pyne's account or a version derived from it.

> watercolour of a very large size, as mellow in colouring as deep in tone, and as strong in effect, as the finest specimens of oil paintings...you sir, I believe, had the credit of introducing (at least into their country) a very admirable system, by which, water color drawings were wonderfully deepened & assumed a higher character for tone than they generally professed. The system I allude to was "rubbing up", that is, the colours were laid on in the first instance and the lights extracted by means of water and a handkerchief, tinted and picked out, & ultimately washed with gum. You must recollect, of course, the set you did for Lord Minto, which were exhibited by Mr. Landseer in Somerset House, I happened to be present when they were there, & *tho'* the position in which they were placed was not favourable to them, I remember they attracted much attention'.[64]

D'Oyly almost appears to be exculpating himself in this passage from the now unfashionable legacy of William Payne, whose enormous popularity educating young gentlemen in watercolour jarred with his own hubristic attempts to insert himself into a narrative of technical progression and innovation that consciously broke from the medium's 'polite' and 'amateur' roots.[65] Whilst nominally isolated in India, D'Oyly thus clearly considered himself not only up-to-date with the metropolitan art world, but contributing to changes and developments within it. His clear anxiety over Patna's cultural remoteness explains not only his interest in naturalism's nineteenth-century valances, but his evident attempts to describe work in the English genre school using the appropriate critical manner - focusing on sentimental narrative as it was articulated through a mix of physiognomy and anatomical theories of expression.

I think that D'Oyly's knowledge and interest in the theories associated with this artistic culture affected his life in India in three principal ways. First, D'Oyly's social activities seem to have been shaped by the exemplar of the amateur artist as he was defined in Pyne's manuals for sketching rural figures. *Rural Figures in Imitation of Chalk* had urged that 'the student must go to nature', and the Pic-Nic Society, the Monkey Society of Dacca, and the Behar School of Athens had all mirrored Pyne's Sketching Society in making rural excursions a core tenet of both their social and artistic practice. The sketchbooks of D'Oyly, the many scenes of him sketching *en plein air,* and the invariable assertion that his lithographs were *delt. ad. naturam* from various locations around Bihar certainly suggest that this practice was more than just rhetoric. Equally, and just as Pyne had framed this practice as being beneficial to artistic progress, D'Oyly and the various members of his artistic societies always framed their activities as pedagogical - part of their project to improve from mere

[64] *Proceedings,* (1824-c.1826), ff.43-44.

[65] Several studies in the history of British art have noted the tensions and conflicts between amateur and professional interests in defining the aims and social values of artistic practice. For elegant and succinct accounts, see: Kriz, (1997), particularly chapter three, 'The Domestic Landscape as Contested Ground: Amateur Dabblers versus Native Geniuses'; and Bermingham, (2000).

amateurs to 'gentlemen-artists' by 'learning' from nature. Second, the sort of social knowledge that ideas about physiognomy and anatomical theory provided could be used to cast D'Oyly and his social network as the 'intellectual men' who stood apart from, and in control of, society's increasing economic complexity. For instance, the sketch that D'Oyly made for Francis Rawdon Hastings (*fig.*3:30), and which I examined in Chapter 1, clearly reveals the use of caricature and physiognomic typing to produce the scene of Oriental stereotypes requested by the Marquess. The production of this image would have cast both D'Oyly and Rawdon-Hastings within the conceptual framework that Woodward defined as a 'characteristic traveller' - capable of distinguishing human character visually, and thus avoiding the dangers of meeting a 'designing hypocrite' or a 'cringing sycophant' over the course of their particularly extensive travels. The 'leisurely' practice of amateur sketching effectively enabled forms of political control and social distinction to be expressed in the 'polite' realm of culture.

Finally, physiognomy also appears to have been a crucial component in facilitating D'Oyly's use of art to emotionally define his social network. Alongside being a farcically incompetent 'tourist', Peregrine de la Tour's long ekphrastic letters also cast him as something of a 'characteristic traveller' - if, albeit, a rather clumsy one. His account repeatedly detailed the physiognomy of D'Oyly's portraits, using the sitters' external appearances to elaborate at length on their personalities, and, in so doing, demonstrating that D'Oyly's hang instantiated what could be understood as a community of personalities manifested within the domestic interior. Describing a portrait of 'a lady and child', for example, he noted that 'the management of the figures [is] very natural and the countenances expressive of the relative feelings of maturity and childhood...the mother's face is that of a strong and elevated mind, her full and piercing jet black eyes are softened by their deep fringed curtain, and a sweet curl in the life, at once indicates that her disposition is gentle & affectionate'.[66] In a note scrawled in the margin, D'Oyly declared that 'this is a copy from one of Chinnery's miniatures of Mrs Colin Shakespeare and her daughter and the observations of the tourist very strictly delineate the character of the lady'.[67] The ability of visual 'observations' to 'delineate' the character in this way dominated another description of a portrait that D'Oyly had himself painted of a close friend and the British Resident at Kathmandu, Brian Houghton Hodgson, although in this instance the physiognomic evidence mixed with the contemporaneously popular pseudoscience of phrenology:

[66] *Ibid.*, ff.20-21.
[67] *Ibid.*, f.20.

> 'the countenance of this fine subject is sweetness itself, yet displaying combined with the sweetness, deep thought & reflection, deeper than might have been expected from so much youth - there is an animation of fire in his fine eyes & finer brow, which, impresses me with an idea, that the love of poetry & harmony in general guides his mind, and phrenologically examined I would stake my existence that there are all of the amiable bumps (elevations I would substitute) clearly described, particularly of strong affection & love of domestic enjoyments'.[68]

The Company surgeon George Murray Paterson had established a phrenological society upon his move to Calcutta in 1825; previous to that year he had been busily writing *The Phrenology of Hindostan* in Bihar.[69] Phrenology had widely infiltrated popular culture by at least the 1820s, however, and so whatever the source of D'Oyly's knowledge on the subject it is evident that an eclectic belief in the ability to deduce character from visual analysis enabled his collection of portraits to be 'read' as social texts. The act of viewing D'Oyly's collection thus became a peculiarly intimate act, as the viewer came to gather an understanding of his friendship network by visually inferring the personalities of the people who comprised it. Critically, Tour's ekphrasis effectively 'proved' that D'Oyly had forged the 'correct' forms of social acquaintances that I examined in Chapter 1, and suggested in the process that this was at least partly a result of the proficiency at deducing character and personality that he had honed as a 'characteristic traveller', sketching physiognomic types during his travels around the world.

If we can therefore quite accurately trace the ideas that governed Pyne's *Microcosm* in D'Oyly's social and artistic life, then I want to investigate what we can learn from a lithographic costume album that he produced, entitled, rather unimaginatively, *The Costumes of India*.[70] The designs for the plates of this project were likely sketched during the later years of the 1820s, but were printed on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press around 1830. Although fifteen individual plates exist in the total series, not every album that I have found contains all fifteen bound together, and several versions are simply comprised of loose leaves.[71] Unlike the Gantzes, D'Oyly seems to have actively embraced the Oriental clichés associated with India's 'curious' social types: the *Costumes of India* included an *ordbhawn* (a hindu *fakir* famed for permanently raising one arm); jugglers and acrobats; a snake charmer; and Brahmins praying at a rural shrine (*figs.*3:31-3:34). Also present were several of the more unusual domestic servants who featured in his earlier publication *The*

[68] *Ibid.*, f.45.
[69] Kapila, Shruti, 'Race Matters: Orientalism and Religion, India and Beyond c.1770–1880', in *Modern Asian Studies,* 41, 3, (2007), pp.471-513, pp.471-472.
[70] D'Oyly, (1830).
[71] Examples can be found in the BL and YCBA.

European in India (1813), including an *assaburdar* (silver pole-bearer), a *chokeydar* (watchman), a *seah-gosh* (lynx tamer), a *hujaum* (barber), a *punkah wallah* (ceiling fan operator), a *Syce* (groom), and two Indian servants attending a European female at her toilet (*figs.*3:35-3:41).[72] Of the four remaining plates, two portray rather unusual subjects - one depicting a Muslim schoolmaster and his class of young students, the other a rural scene of 'Hindu women preparing fuel' (*figs.*3:42&3:43). Finally, the two remaining plates depict the only 'types' chosen by D'Oyly who actually created or sold economic products - fishers of small fry and water carriers (*figs.*3:44&3:45). Of course, neither of these played a particularly important role in the production or distribution of goods and manufactures.

Conceptually, D'Oyly's *Costumes of India* was quite evidently distinct from the Gantzes' project. Nevertheless, it also differed in important ways from the typical fare of costume albums published during the period.[73] For instance, it did not include a letterpress, shifting its presumed intent from informative to explicitly artistic.[74] Indeed, rather than depicting characteristic social types within a de-contextualised non-space (*fig.*3:46), within a simple 'frame' of scenery (*fig.*3:47), or even as several paradigmatic figures on the same page (*fig.*3:48), D'Oyly's figures occupied a total three-dimensional scene, replete with minor figures and a convincing landscape. D'Oyly's prints could thus be termed picturesque even according to the theories of Gilpin: each were constructed according to a division between foreground, middle ground, and 'offskip', and include numerous groups of cattle, dilapidated rural dwellings, and creeper-riddled temples. The fact that several of the prints were modelled on sketches taken by Chinnery on his rural excursions, coupled too with the rather limited number of 'types' that the album included, suggests strongly that D'Oyly was not interested in producing even a vaguely comprehensive catalogue of 'types' in an ethnographic vein, but intended to provide what I think constituted a series of vignettes evoking domestic and rural life in the *mofussil*. The plate of a Muslim schoolmaster and his class certainly highlight this artistic preoccupation (*fig.*3:42), as the image relies on a staple *topos* of the English genre school - scenes of naughty students being punished by their teacher. This theme was taken up most famously in several canvases by the acclaimed genre painter William Mulready (*fig.*3:49), and just as metropolitan critics praised this artist's ability to capture a pregnant moment of action and reflection, in D'Oyly's scene the schoolmaster raises a cane at a recoiling student, who appears to have just been caught reaching for a prohibited item. Beyond compiling a knowledge of social 'types' - or even the 'costumes'

[72] Interestingly, the *punkah wallah* is depicted at work in a room with a possible portrait of D'Oyly hung upon the wall.

[73] A more characteristic costume album was published in 1827 on T. Blacks' Asiatic Lithographic Press, which presumably D'Oyly would have known about, and was entitled *Costumes of India Part I: Consisting of Ten Coloured Plates or Twenty-Eight Costumes.*

[74] On the other hand, neither did the Asiatic Lithographic Press album, but whereas the rather poor-quality of this work provides an explanation for the lack, the remarkably high quality of D'Oyly's publication suggests a contrary motive.

included in the album's title - D'Oyly's publication thus translated a genre to India that used the representation of everyday life to encourage meditation on deeper questions of societal order, discipline, and innocence.[75]

Rather than produce or communicate knowledge, D'Oyly's album thus publicised the fact that its creator *possessed* a form of social knowledge - the ability to distinguish and depict the social complexities of the society in which he lived. Whilst the work clearly highlighted the 'polite' talents of its creator (just as the *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbooks* had highlighted the amateur talent of the Behar School of Athens), I therefore believe that the *Costumes of India* went further - emphasising the ability of these 'polite' talents to raise D'Oyly to the position of the 'disinterested spectator', or what James Boswell's biography of Samuel Johnson had termed the 'intellectual man'.[76] Printed at his own expense, and on his own lithographic press, the genre of the costume album thus constituted a superlative means to self-fashion, reinforcing D'Oyly's role as an administrator within the colonial elite. The inclusion of domestic servants conveyed the amateur's ability to 'know' (and thus master) the various members of his household;[77] whilst his apparent ability to venture through the *mofussil* sketching 'true rustic character' demonstrated his intellectual comprehension (and thus, once again, his mastery) over the colonised territory of Bihar. Whilst certainly more 'talented baronet' in nature than the Gantzes' devoted focus on economic processes, D'Oyly's publication therefore provides an archivally substantiated case of an individual in India using a costume album to self-fashion within the same 'epistemic framework' that produced Pyne's *Microcosm* in Britain.

D'Oyly's use of this framework highlights several broader points about the period's art-historical trajectories. First, the medium of lithography formed the essential basis to this attempt at self-fashioning - allowing the amateur to publicise his awareness (and even his own contribution to) metropolitan artistic culture. Second, the framework that D'Oyly used to self-fashion did not rely on discourses concerned with the ownership of land, which had constituted the eighteenth-century's basis for expressing cultural capital, but on an ability to distinguish occupational identity. Over the following section, I am going to situate these key points within a broader history of how 'knowledge' was represented in Anglo-Indian art, establishing a heuristic framework through which we can relate the production of print culture, the forces of the art market, and the changing class demographics of Anglo-Indian society.

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[75] Solkin, (2008).

[76] Boswell, (London: 1791), cited in: Woodward, (1807), p.217.

[77] In 1801, the *Gentleman's Magazine* had suggested that when hiring servants, heads of households should judge the potential nature of candidates by referencing the illustrations in Lavater's publications. Tyler, 'Physiognomy', in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, No.1, (February, 1801), p.345.

iv. Reassessing 'Colonial Knowledge': Market Forces and Artistic Trajectories

Costume albums like D'Oyly's have intrigued a number of scholars outside of the art-historical discipline. Historians, anthropologists, and postcolonial theorists have all frequently understood portraits in costume albums to be productive of an early form of 'ethnographic' knowledge, and thus exemplary of an analytical category that has defined the last forty years of scholarship on imperialism in South Asia - 'colonial knowledge'.[78] The pioneer behind examining the functionality of specifically 'ethnographic' representations within regimes of colonial knowledge is undeniably Nicholas Dirks, who drew on the intellectual tradition of his mentor, Bernard Cohn. In a guest introduction to Cohn's seminal *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996), Dirks eloquently précised the pair's belief in the political instrumentality of 'knowledge formations', writing that 'colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about'.[79] Dirk's own field-defining volume, *Castes of Mind* (2001) - which included an analysis of the numerous sketches that Colin Mackenzie and his Indian assistants had created as part of the official survey of the newly conquered Kingdom of Mysore (1799-1810) - contended that ideas about caste functioned as a preeminent system of organising or structuring knowledge (and thus power) in colonial and postcolonial India.

[78] The emergence and subsequent evolution of this interest owes much to Michel Foucault's conception of knowledge and power as reciprocal, and the adoption of this paradigm for the study of colonial history established by Edward Said's seminal 1978 study *Orientalism.* See: Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (London: Vintage, 1977); and Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon, 1978). In the South Asian context specifically, the legacy of this post-Foucauldian methodology is evident in the works of Ronald Inden, Bernarch Cohn, and Nicholas Dirks. See: Inden, Ronald, *Imagining India,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Cohn, (1996); Dirks, Nicholas, *Castes of Mind*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). However, scholarly attention to 'colonial knowledge' extends beyond this Foucauldian tradition of scholarship, and comparable concerns are evident in the Subaltern Studies Group's interrogation of the 'colonial archive'. See: Guha, Ranajit, *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, (London: Routledge, 2014). Christopher Bayly's investigation of what he termed 'information orders' equally engaged with the significance of 'knowledge' to colonial politics, see: Bayly, Christopher, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Moreover, 'knowledge' as a category of historical enquiry has particularly influenced scholars working in the New Imperial History tradition, which has been a significant influence on my own scholarship. See: Lester, Alan, and David Lambert (*eds.*), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Ballantyne, Tony, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Laidlaw, Zoe, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

[79] Dirks, 'preface', in Cohn, (1996), p.iv.

The work of both of these authors, as well as the large amount of scholarship that their approach has informed, constitutes an invaluable addition to our understanding of India and the British Empire. Nevertheless, their focus on 'colonial knowledge' as a principal analytical category has, I think, instrumentalised the political nature of ethnographic sketches without any real sensitivity to their material and artistic qualities - aspects like genre, medium, the art market, and individual artistic intent. As Douglas Fordham presciently noted in his own study of 'costume' at the court of the Marathas in the 1790s, 'there can be no single trajectory by which visual representation converged with the aims of the ethnographic state...visual representation simply makes too many of its own demands'.[80]

One would not need to look any further than D'Oyly's oeuvre to substantiate Fordham's assertion. For the 'knowledge' that the amateur's work publicised, and the 'epistemic framework' through which it operated, clearly operated very differently to the sorts of 'knowledge formations' discussed by Cohn and Dirks. Indeed, D'Oyly's work emphasises how art's relationship to certain categories of 'knowledge' proved instrumental in shaping what have typically been considered art-historical concerns - the success of certain genres, for example, or the motivations behind specific stylistic choices. I believe that the technological innovation of lithography, coupled with several novel forms of relating artistic culture to social knowledge in Regency-era print culture, combined to render a particular genre - the costume album - both commercially viable and politically useful in post-1813 India, replacing an earlier preoccupation with landscape as expressing cultural capital, and establishing the representation of commercial society as the principal method of publicising erudition. As sketched briefly in the Prologue, lithography is central to this history because it altered not only *who* could publish works of art, but *where* they could publish them. Prior to the establishment of lithographic presses in the subcontinent, publications like D'Oyly's or the Gantzes' were almost exclusively the work of professional artists visiting India - the majority of whom ultimately sought to release their work with engravers in London. Two brief examples serve to illuminate this dynamic, and in particular the institutional frameworks that artists felt compelled to adopt in order to achieve commercial success. Importantly, both exemplify the ultimate failure of the costume album genre within the patrician culture that dominated these institutional contexts.

The first example derives from the ambitions of the Bengal-based painter Arthur William Devis (1762-1822), who from at least 1792 and the announcement of his intentions in the *Calcutta Gazette*, intended on publishing a work that sounds intriguingly like *The Indian Microcosm*, and which

[80] Fordham, Douglas, 'Costume Dramas: British Art at the Court of the Marathas', in *Representations*, Vol.101, No.1, (Winter, 2008), pp.57-85, p.73.

was rather verbosely entitled *The Œconomy of Human Life: A Descriptive Catalogue of a Few Asiatic Subjects, Illustrative of the Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures of Hindostan, being Part of a More Extensive Work Painted by A. W. Devis, Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta*.[81] Although the still-extant oil paintings of Indian labourers that Davis prepared for this publication were exhibited at the Royal Academy - so as to raise interest in the metropolitan publication of the work - the project ultimately failed to reach fruition.[82] Nevertheless, advertising the work through Britain's premier artistic institution revealed the specifically fine art market that Devis would presumably have had in mind for the publication, whilst the title's allusion to his personal membership of the Asiatic Society reflects the learned audience that he may have hoped to attract.[83] The extant canvases certainly reveal the artist towing a fine line between the representation of ethnographic knowledge on the one hand (through detailed depictions of 'customary' implements), and elite metropolitan aesthetic standards on the other (*figs.*3:50&3:51).[84] Ultimately, however, Davis' appeal to this market was catastrophically unsuccessful - the artist was bankrupted, and ended his career in the bleak confines of a London debtor's gaol.

Failure also attends arguably the most ambitious attempt to publish images of Indian trades and occupations, the Dutch artist Francois Balthasar Solvyn's (1760-1824) monumental *Collection of Two Hundred and Fifty Coloured Etchings of the Manners, Customs, Character, Dresses, and Religion of the Hindoos*.[85] Working in India without official permission, and outside of the learned institutions with which his intellectually ambitious project would naturally have found patronage, Solvyn's prospects were never promising. When his publication was released in Calcutta in 1796, its returns were meagre. However, the artist's original drawings were acquired by the London-based publishers Edward and William Orme, who selected sixty of Solvyn's 250 prints and released copies of them between 1804 and 1805, under the title *The Costume of Indostan, Elucidated by Sixty Coloured Engravings; with Descriptions in English and French, Taken in the Years* 1798 *and* 1799 *by Balt. Solvyns, of Calcutta*.[86] In

[81] 'Announcement', in *The Calcutta Gazette*, 18th October, (1792).

[82] As Natasha Eaton has pointed out, these paintings were exhibited in 2000 at the Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston. See: Eaton, Natasha, 'Virtual witnessing? Balthazar Solvyns and the Navigation of Precision, c.1790–1840', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.43, (January, 2014), pp.49-59, p.51.

[83] Natasha Eaton has suggested that Davis' patron may even have been William Jones, although this is speculation. See: *Ibid.*, p.51.

[84] On the conflict between particularised ethnographic representations and the universalising imperatives of the 'grand style', see Fordham, (2008).

[85] Solvyns, François Balthazar, *A Collection of 250 Coloured Etchings Descriptive of the Manners, Customs, Character, Dress and Religious Ceremonies of the Hindoos*, (Calcutta: 1799). This publication has been examined by Natasha Eaton, whose research my own analysis relies on. See: Eaton, (2014).

[86] Solvyns, François Balthazar, *The Costume of Indostan, Elucidated by Sixty Coloured Engravings; with Descriptions in English and French, taken in the Years 1798 and 1799 by Balt. Solvyns, of Calcutta*, (London: Edward Orme, 1804-1805).

1807, the Ormes published a revised edition of the work with substantial financial success, simplifying the title to the *The Costume of Hindostan*.[87] Reacting with outrage to what he considered an infringement of his intellectual property, Solvyns, now working in Paris, released his own revised edition called *Les hindous*, published in four volumes between 1808 and 1812.[88] Remedying previous mistakes, he allied himself with *L'Institut de France*, and responded to the commercial butchery of his project by further intellectualising his ambitions and framing the prints as careful physiognomic studies of caste. Yet, on its release, the work bankrupted its unfortunate dealer and forced Solvyns into a state of penury from which he would never recover. Taken together, Solvyns' and Davis' unsuccessful enterprises highlight three key points: first, that costume albums that aspired to a form of 'knowledge' appear to have proven financially unviable around the turn of the century; second, that both artists felt compelled to market their work within the patrician institutions typically associated with erudition; and, finally, that even at this point the sale of cheap, printed costume albums like the Ormes' appears to have held better chances of commercial success.

If associating ethnographic illustration with 'knowledge' proved financially ruinous in the decades leading up to 1800, then it is useful to note the quite contrary history of landscape painting in oil on canvas during the same period. During the explosion of artistic interest in India during the decades 1780 to 1800, landscape painting was seen as a genre that could highlight an artist's or patron's cultural capital in accordance with several explicitly patrician ideologies regarding the relationship between social knowledge and the ownership of land.[89] The most explicit articulation of these ideologies in relation to India can be found in the work and writings of William Hodges, who, despite dying in poverty later in life, enjoyed quite substantial patronage whilst working in the subcontinent.[90] Originally trained in the workshop of the renowned British landscape painter

[87] The work ran into four editions in less than ten years. See: Eaton, (2014), p.54.

[88] Solvyns, François Balthazar, *Les hindoûs,* (Paris: Chez l'Auteur et Chez H. Nicolle, 1808-1812).

[89] This ideology was examined in depth by historians of British art during the explosion of scholarship on the politics of landscape that appeared during the 1980s. See: Barrell, John, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Paintings, 1730-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Bermingham, Ann, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Solkin, David, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction*, (London: Tate Gallery, 1982). Also included in this oeuvre is the slightly later publication: Everett, Nigel, *The Tory View of Landscape*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

[90] Along with Zoffany and the Daniels, Hodges is one of the few artists working in India who has accrued a sizeable scholarly oeuvre. See: Stuebe, Isabel Combs, *The Life and Works of William Hodges*, (New York: Garland, 1979); Tillotson, Giles, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges*, (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). Geoff Quilley has studied Hodges extensively, releasing an exhibition catalogue for a show devoted to the artist's works held at the National Maritime Museum, and arguing in his *Empire to Nation* that the 'centrality of the representation of history to Hodges' art' enabled the artist to pass judgement on the effects of war, 'luxury', and 'oriental despotism', whilst producing an assimilative discourse connecting and comparing the world in accordance with a 'stadialist' account of history. In India specifically, Quilley has argued that the use of the landscape as a repository of history allowed Hodges to

Richard Wilson, and garnering notable critical acclaim as the official artist on Captain Cook's second Pacific voyage, Hodges arrived in Madras in 1780 with the explicit intention of developing a genre of 'historical landscapes' that could cast scenes of the subcontinent as intellectually equal to History Painting. Scholarship on British art has thoroughly demonstrated that this latter genre substantiated the class privileges of the patriciate who owned and commissioned fine art, supposedly enabling them to meditate on the sorts of abstract moral precepts that were appropriate for the intellectual prowess and social responsibilities of 'public' statesmen.[91] Accordingly, we can frequently observe in Hodges' landscapes a reliance on the ideology that connected the leisure time required to study such subjects with the possession of land sufficient to live off. For instance, the canvases *Natives drawing Water from a Pond with Warren Hastings' House at Alipur in the Distance* (1781) (*fig.*3:52) and *A Camp of a Thousand Men formed by Augustus Cleveland* (1782) (*fig.*3:53) reinforced colonial governance by depicting their patrons' country estates, thus highlighting both Hastings' and Cleveland's investment in the Indian soil, alongside their intellectual suitability as statesmen.[92]

As with the intellectual project of Indian Orientalism - which Hodges' patron Warren Hastings was instrumental in shaping - the adoption of this ideology meant assimilating India into tasteful norms of patrician erudition (typically premised on an education focused on the classical past).[93] As the artist explained in his 1793 publication *Travels in India*, 'gentlemen who have resided long in India' witness that 'the mind, by a common and natural operation, soon directs its views to more abstract speculations; reasoning assumes the place of observations, and the traveller is lost in the philosopher'.[94] Further proof that the Indian landscape was compatible with this epistemic framework was substantiated by Hodges' universalising aesthetic. A 1786 canvas entitled *View in the Jungle Ferry (Jungleterry)* (*fig.*3:55), amusingly described by one critic at its premier exhibition at the Royal Academy as 'in point of aerial effect, more like views near the North Pole', adopted the format of a widely reproduced canvas by the artist's mentor entitled *Solitude* (1762) (*fig.*3:56).[95] In both

juxtapose a vision of metropolitan progress - in which the past informed and legitimised the present - against a Mughal past presented through architectural remains as 'irretrievable and steeped in imperial discourses of decline'. See: Quilley, Geoff, and John Bonehill (*eds.*), *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and Quilley, (2011), especially chapter one.

[91] See the literature quoted in note 79 above.

[92] Quilley and Bonehill have also noted how these images engaged with the concept. Quilley and Bonehill, (2004), p.145, p.171. The trope was also used in Johann Zoffany's portrait of Warren Hastings and his wife Marian in their grounds at Alipore, (*fig.3:54*).

[93] Hastings had decreed in a statement paradigmatic of contemporary thought on the subject that 'every accumulation of knowledge...is useful to the state'. See: Franklin, (2011), p.214.

[94] Hodges, William, *Travels in India During the Years 1780, 1781, 1782 & 1783,* (London: printed for the author, 1793), p.iv.

[95] Quilley and Bonehill, (2004), p.175.

paintings, hermits rest besides a pool framed by luxurious foliage, lost in the contemplation that rural retirement afforded and on which the intellectual pretensions of the ruling elite were vindicated in Britain. Between 1780 and 1800, the ideologies associated with landscape painting therefore gave the genre an important function as the material accoutrement to a colonial regime that was substantiated on elite categories of social knowledge. As the East India Company extended its territorial reach in the last decades of the eighteenth century, landscapes painted in oil on canvas effectively enabled colonial governors to both legitimise ideologies of rule and self-fashion accordingly by assimilating the subcontinent into a framework long-associated with patrician erudition.

In light of this context, it is clear that D'Oyly's use of the costume album genre as a means to articulate his intellectual grasp of society - and therefore self-fashion - crystallised both a significant cultural and political shift. Lithography had afforded the amateur the ability to cheaply produce art in a manner unavailable to previous artists, who had been forced to rely on the benefaction of wealthier patrons and operate within institutional contexts ultimately unfavourable to their artistic ambitions. Equally, the new 'epistemic framework' that emerged in the period's artistic culture allowed costume albums to signify 'knowledge' in a similar way to landscape paintings over the previous century.[96] Technological advances and changing artistic theory therefore enabled individuals in India to articulate cultural capital in a 'polite' manner formerly only available to the Company's aristocratic elite. Of course, this new 'epistemic framework' did not possess quite so *direct* a political instrumentality as historians and anthropologists examining 'colonial knowledge' have typically claimed. Understood in relation to imperial self-fashioning rather than a technology of the 'ethnographic state', the relationship between categories of knowledge and material culture does, however, provide a model through which we can connect cultural production to the company's socioeconomic history. For the shift in how social knowledge was construed in relation to material culture illuminates the increasing popularity of costume albums depicting social typologies of India on the one hand, and the decline of Anglo-Indian landscape painting during the first decades of the nineteenth century on the other. To conclude, I want to return to Madras and use *The Indian Microcosm* to connect this art historical chronology to the various processes of 'modernisation' that tie the 'epistemic framework' I have been tracing to the consolidation of transnational capitalist networks, alongside the formation of the colonial state.

[96] Of course, and as noted in the Prologue, landscape imagery continued to be released in print formats, and this genre requires further research and interpretation.

v. The Return to Madras: Microcosms and Modernity?

'Yes, thou'rt a little London in Bengal,
A microcosm*; loose, and yet compact;*
A snug epitome, a capital
Concentrating every folly; brief, abstract,
The essence of all worldliness, in fact
A wonder, formed like island on the main
Amidst a sea of pagans, to exact
Allegiances from their millions, not in vain
For intellect hath power*, to bind as with a chain'*

- *James Atkinson,* 1824 [97]

What can we speculate about the Gantzes' artistic ambitions? Well, to begin with, what we do know about the pair's personal biographies certainly suggests several possible motives for them being at least sympathetic to the ethos of the market cultivated by the likes of Ackermann in Britain. Occupying a variety of mid-ranking jobs for the East India Company, I would say that the Gantzes, certainly more than D'Oyly, belonged to the professional middle class developing in Company India. It was this class who largely advocated trade liberalisation, and, given what must have become the pair's vested interests in the success of the press in India, it also seems fair to imagine that the Gantzes would have been at the very least sympathetic to the liberalisation of the Company's draconian press regulations. Inevitably, this position would situate the artists closer politically to the reformers that I connected to D'Oyly, and, despite the lack of archival evidence suggesting that the pair developed the kinds of local attachments and corporate identities that I associated with members of the Behar School of Athens in Part 1, it is certainly suggestive that the *Indian Microcosm* was produced in Madras, for what would presumably have been a predominantly Anglo-Indian audience, by a publisher who was listed as a 'native of India' in a census taken two years previously.[98]

Equally, it is interesting to note that *The Indian Microcosm*'s sole reference to European art history had evoked the style of Salvator Rosa, who had not only come to define the notion of

[97] Atkinson, James, *The City of Palaces; A Fragment, and Other Poems,* (Calcutta: Government Gazette Press, 1824), lines 7-15. My italics.

[98] I do not think Gantz was literally 'Indian', but an 'East-Indian', born in the subcontinent and remaining in permanent residence there.

artistic genius in England, but had also become associated with the act of 'going into nature'.[99] Rosa's *Figurine*, a series of etchings depicting *banditti*, were widely available in British print collections, and were associated with the myth that the artist had spent his youth as a prisoner of bandits in the Abruzzi.[100] As William Gilpin noted, 'his Robbers, as his detached figures are commonly called, are supposed to have been taken from life'.[101] It is notable too that Rosa's apocryphal role in Masaniello's 1647 revolution against Spanish rule in Naples meant that the artist's 'genius', or 'intellectual liberty', had become tied to a specific political revolt against absolutism. Essentially, adopting the position of 'Salvator Rosa' in capturing 'oriental scenes' involved assuming both a position of intellectual distinction *and* an assertion of naturalism or veracity premised on the real experience of living with a social 'Other'. As such, Rosa became a symbol of the Liberal and genius artists' ability to know or master the sublime. Over the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this artistic identity was adopted frequently as a form of self-fashioning, particularly in the imperial periphery (*figs.*3:57&3:58).[102] Indeed, this legacy supports understanding *The Indian Microcosm* as a cultural technology for alleviating imperial 'anxiety' over the 'unknowable' nature of Indian society, achieved through the Gantzes' representation of the intellectual schema on which the colonial elite presupposed their intellectual mastery over the colonised.[103]

Over the course of this chapter, I have largely focused on the ways in which this epistemic framework and the artistic practices associated with it could be imported from the metropole - particularly in relation to D'Oyly's anxieties over Patna's cultural isolation. The obvious conclusion to draw from this dynamic is that the Gantzes were deliberately adopting aspects of Pyne's 'double object' in order to appeal to an emerging Anglo-Indian market that was akin to the one cultivated by Ackermann in Britain. The relationship between the costume album genre and discourses about the division of labour would have enabled the work to present both its creators and potential readers as assuming a philosophical point of total social comprehension - the intellectual position of political economy's 'disembodied eye'.[104] As such, the Gantzes' prints can thus be understood as a

[99] Rosa had been glorified in the histories of several Napealitan writers, whose historiography influenced writers in England. In 1823, Lady Morgan's popular *Life and Times of Salvator Rosa* reinforced a deeply Byronic account of the painter's roguish 'genius'. See: Tomory, (1971); Wallace, (1965).

[100] See: Shaffer, (1995).

[101] Gilpin, William, *Essay upon Prints*, (London: G. Scott, for J. Robson, 1768), p.83.

[102] The example of John Mortimer is a good instance taken from the eighteenth century.

[103] On the 'anxiety' of colonial elites, see: Guha, Ranajit, 'Not at Home in Empire', in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.23, No.3, (1997), pp.482-493. Also useful is the oeuvre of Jon E. Wilson: Wilson, (2008); and *Ibid.*, *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2016).

[104] Barrel, (1991).

technique for imperial self-fashioning, afforded by the new print-technology of lithography, and the shift from 'abstract' knowledge as signified by landscape aesthetics to 'economic' knowledge as interpreted from social typologies. However, although the easement of restrictions limiting non-official immigration and private trade following the passage of the 1813 Charter Act was clearly a crucial factor in the emergence of this market, I think that framing this history within a broader comparative framework might prove more useful analytically. For engagement with the epistemic framework exemplified in Pyne's 'double object' across both metropole and colony substantiates the existence of a 'unitary epistemological field' connecting the two.[105] Moreover, the construction of social typologies of the 'Other' - be it the colonised, poor, or 'mad' - have variously been understood as strategies devised by the enfranchised to discipline and control social groups who were considered capable of disrupting 'commercial, political and cultural authority'.[106] Rather than defining costume albums of Indian society as solely a tool for vindicating colonial rule, or allaying the 'anxieties' of the civil service and commercial communities who formed the elite minority in India, it is therefore potentially more insightful to connect this artistic culture to a global history of 'modernisation' and state-formation.[107] Costume albums produced in India mirrored strategies of 'internal colonialism' in Britain, and share the same methods of producing 'enumerative' knowledge essential to the formation of the modern state - which in the Introduction I argued was a process coterminous in both India and Britain.[108] As new globalised systems of capital developed both within and between these states, costume albums essentially publicised the intellectual pretensions of those social groups enfranchised by the processes of 'modernization' - commercial cultures, the urban middle class, and bureaucrats.

Of course, the term 'modernisation' raises significant issues.[109] It is evident that powerful homogenising forces were produced in Europe over the course of the nineteenth century, and that these forces have subsequently framed the critical limits within which modern experience operates -

[105] Cohn, (1996).

[106] For India specifically, see: Marriott, John, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India, and Progress in the Colonial Imagination*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003). This argument was also famously made in the works of Michel Foucault. See: Foucault, (1997); and *Ibid.*, *translated by* Richard Howard, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, (London: Routledge, 2001).

[107] See: Wilson, (2007).

[108] There is a large literature on 'internal colonialism'. See: Bayly, (1989); Thomas, Nicholas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1994); Peckham, Robert, 'Internal Colonialism: Nation and Region in Nineteenth-Century Greece', in Todorova, Maria (*ed.*), *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, (New York: New York University Press, 2004), pp.41-59. Nicholas Dirks specifically related the process to culture, arguing that 'culture was imbricated both in the means and the ends of colonial conquest', and 'culture was invented in relationship to a variety of internal colonialisms'. See: Dirks, Nicholas (*ed.*), *Colonialism and Culture*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p.4.

[109] A good overview of the ever-growing literature surrounding the question of 'modernity' is: Ballantyne, (2014).

defined succinctly by David Washbrook as 'the modern state, engagement with a transnational capitalist system, exposure to a globalised culture, even the re-generation of "neo-traditions"'.[110] Yet scholars such as Washbrook have also suggested that 'modernity' can best be understood as an 'ideology', imbricated in, and supportive of, the historical processes it establishes as objects of historical enquiry.[111] Writers such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, for example, have usefully separated the material transformations and social formations understood as 'modernisation' from a self-reflexive cultural mind-set in which individuals self-consciously considered themselves to be 'modern', or living in 'modernity'.[112] This insight seems of particular relevance here, for there is an element of self-reflexivity in costume albums like the Gantzes'. As costume albums produced in India not only provided strategies for conceptualising the increasingly complex division of labour, but blossomed within the very real demographic shifts that resulted from the reform (modernisation) of the Company's economy, one could argue that they represented the conditions of their own artistic success. Moreover, albums like the Gantzes effectively presented a vision of India that we might term a 'colonial modernity', or a self-conscious assertion that 'modernity' occurred not only in the imperial metropolis, or those bustling streets and meeting halls depicted so vibrantly in Pyne and Ackermann's *The Microcosm of London,* but equally on the sandy shores of Madras, or the sleepy villages of Bihar. Revenue flowed, labourers travelled, and ideas regarding the relationship between self and society sparked back and forth across a globalised imperial system. Far from 'withering amid the arid plains of Hindustan', art therefore energised and gave self-confidence to both a reformed, increasingly middle-class administration, and a growing private commercial community on the eve of the 1833 Charter Act - the successful passage of which stripped the Company of its last commercial privilege, and rendered the corporation a structure for implementing colonial governance.

However, whilst an 'ideology' of modernity could be used in Britain to promote the interests of a reasonably broad demographic (to the exclusion of the poor, certain ethnic minorities, certain classes of women, and those considered 'mad'), it is clear that in India this ideology either supported those bureaucrats who constituted the colonial state, or the limited community of private

[110] Washbrook, David, 'The Global History of "Modernity": A Response to a Reply', in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.41, No.3, (1998), pp.295-311, p.297. It would be very interesting to examine whether costume albums provided the intellectual schema that made sense of the literal 'flattening' of social diversity in the Indian countryside, a result of the economic stagnation that ravaged rural India in the 1830s and early 1840s, and which promoted a host of 'neo-traditions'. See: Washbrook, David, 'Economic Depression and the Making of "Traditional" Society in Colonial India 1820-1855', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.3, (1993), pp.237-263.

[111] Washbrook, (1997), p.413.

[112] Chakrabarty, (2011).

merchants who consolidated in the decades after 1813.[113] Whereas Ackermann's metropolitan market for print culture had constituted a broad middle-class public, representations of modernity's 'Other' in India therefore highlighted instead the isolation of a minority ruling elite. As a result, 'Othering' the poor and non-white did not establish the social distinctions that might police an enfranchised civil society, but further segregated the colonial elite from the 'multitude' of Indian society. Rather than forming a strategy to keep 'imperial anxiety' in abeyance, I would consequently argue that costume albums actually opened an epistemological space into which the sublime could creep - visions of Indian society that could match the fantasies of Rosa's *banditti*. Whilst this process can clearly be linked to the growing disconnect between state and society that played such a constitutive role in the mass violence that erupted in India between 1857-8, (and, as a consequence, on the ultimate dissolution of the Company-State), in the following chapter I want to chart the ways in which novel ideas about labour and its value to society allowed individuals to attempt to use costume albums as a means of bridging these differences, thereby demonstrating the continued and substantive implication of the genre in the shift from Company rule to a 'modern' form of colonial statehood.

[113] As noted in Chapter I, the growth of the private commercial community in the years between 1813 and 1833 was still extremely limited, and many private individuals were actually tied closely to the functions and operations of the Company-State. See: Marshal, (1990); and *Ibid.*, (1997).

Figure 3:1: John and Justinian Gantz, '*The Hackerry*', c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:2: John and Justinian Gantz, '*The Oil Mill*', c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:3: John and Justinian Gantz, '*The Cawry Man*', c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:1: John and Justinian Gantz, '*Building and Mending Masula Boats*', c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:5: John and Justinian Gantz, '*The Corn Grinders*, c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:6: William Hodges, '*The Marmalong Bridge*', c.1783, oil on canvas, in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (B1974.3.8).

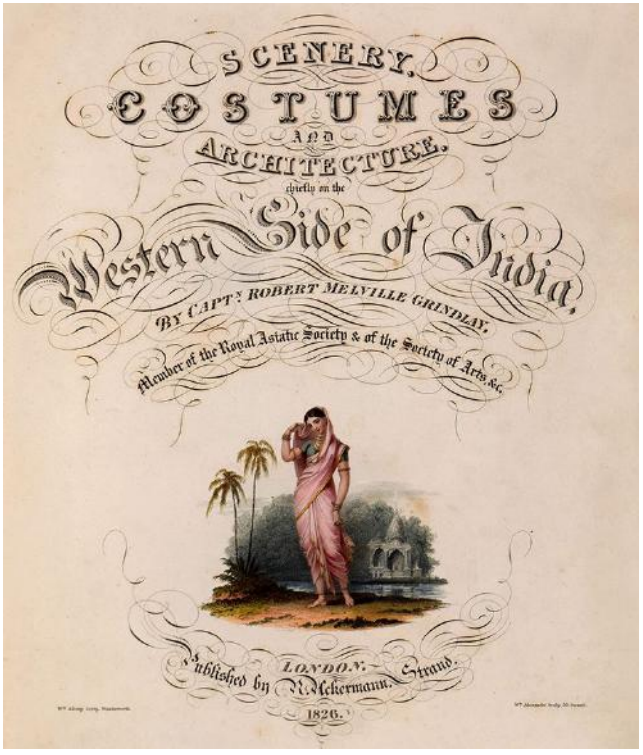


Figure 3:7: Robert Melville Grindlay, '*Frontispiece to Scenery, Costumes and Architecture chiefly on the Western side of India*', 1826, hand-coloured engraving, included in: Grindlay, Robert Melville, *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture chiefly on the Western side of India, 6 Vols.*, (London: R. Ackermann, and Smith Elder & Co., 1826-30).

Figure 3:8: John and Justinian Gantz, '*The Water Women*', c.1827, hand-coloured lithographic print, included in: *The Indian Microcosm*, (Madras: 1827), in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (DS421 .G36 1827+ Oversize).

Figure 3:9: Anonymous artist, '*Indian Trades and Occupations*', c.1840-50, plaster, linen and wood, in the possession of the YCBA, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, (B2009.25).

Figure 3:10: James Ward, '*A Wiltshire Peasant*', c.1810, red and black chalk heightened with white, in the possession of the British Museum, London.

Figure 3:11: Isaac Cruikshank, '*Physiognomical Studies*', 1796, hand-coloured etching, published in: Woodward, George Moutard, *Eccentric Excursions: or, Literary and Pictorial Sketches,* (London: Allen & Co., 1796).

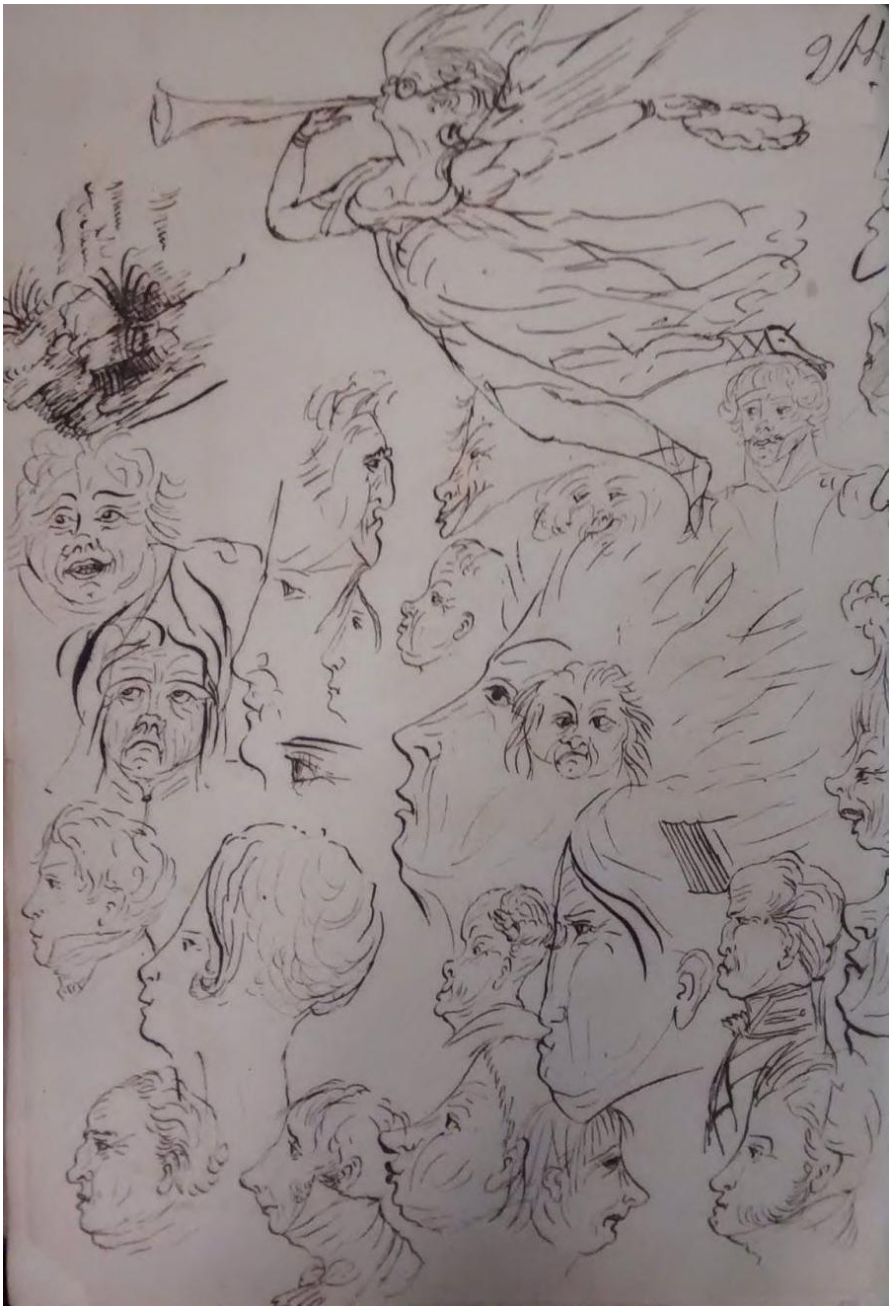


Figure 3:12: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Physiognomical Studies*', c.1824-30, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London.

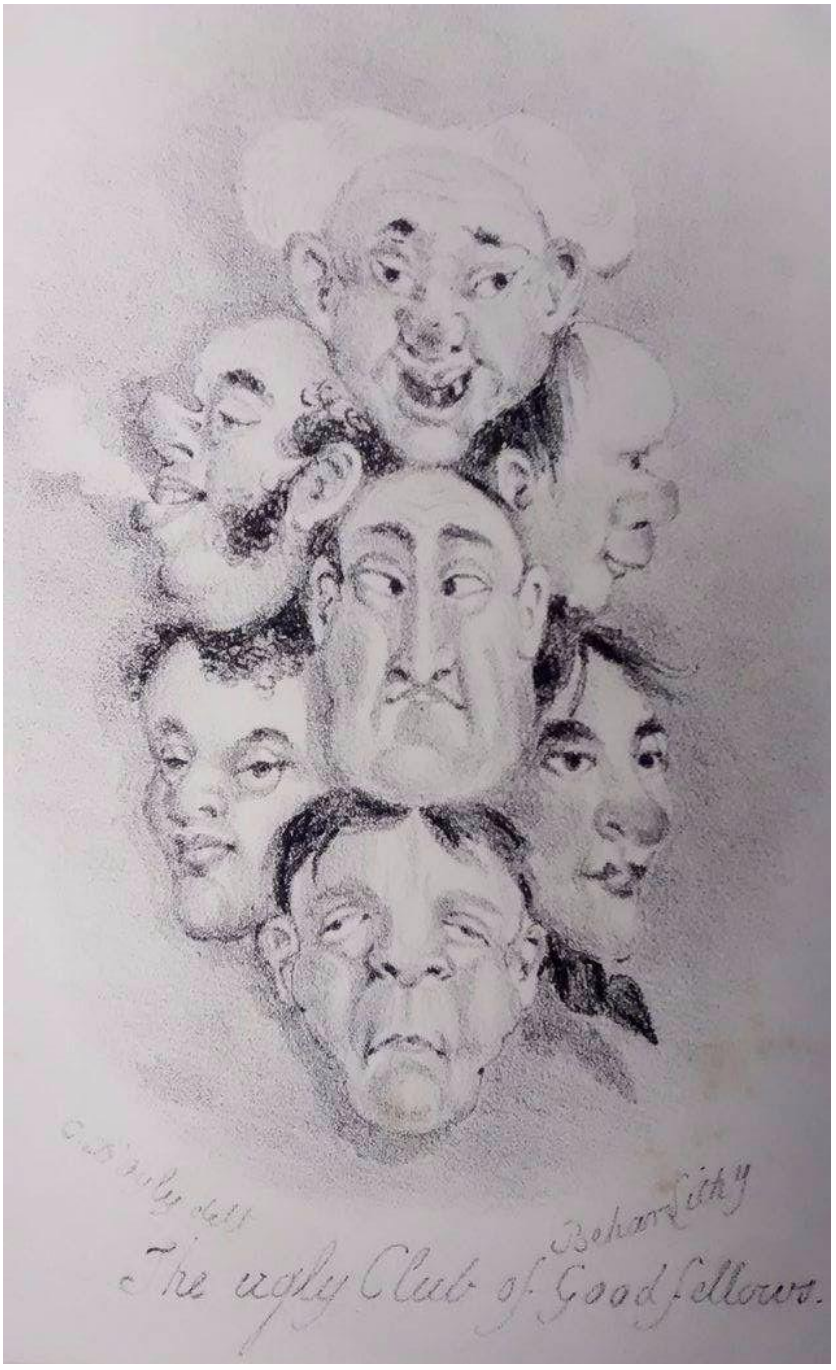


Figure 3:13: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*The Ugly Club of Good Fellows*', c.1828-30, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London.

Figures 3:14 & 3:15: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Grotesque Heads*', c.1828-30, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London.

Figures 3:16 & 3:17: Louis Léopold Boilly, lithographed by Delpech,'*The Grimaces (Les grimaces)*', and '*The Long Nosed (Les nez longs)*', 1823-28, lithographic prints with gouache highlights, published in: Boilly, Louis Léopold, *Recueil de grimaces (Collection of Grimaces)*, (Paris: Chez Delpech, 1823-28).

Figures 3:18-3:20: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Adventures of Cockatoo*', c.1828-30, lithographic prints, contained in: *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1828-1830).

Figures 3:21-3:24: Elizabeth Jane D'Oyly, '*Vignettes taken from "A Picture of Youth or the Village School in Uproar"*', c.1824, pencil and graphite on paper, contained in: *The Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens,* (Patna: 1824-c.1826), private collection.

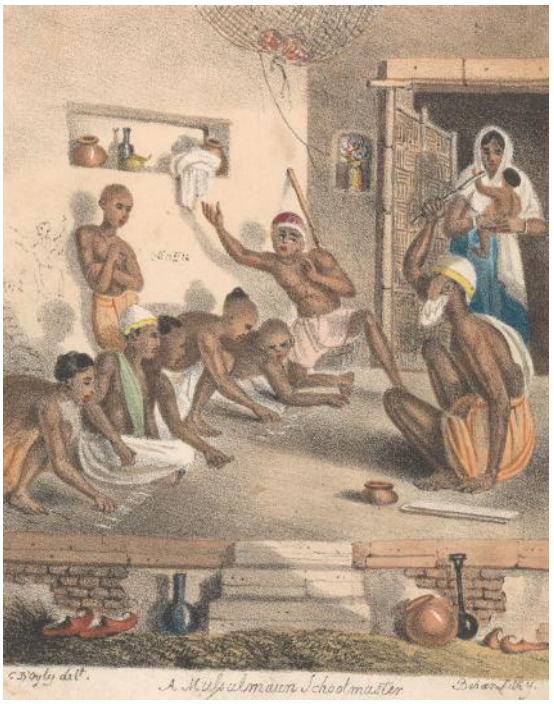
Figure 3:25: Henry James Richter, '*A Picture of Youth, or The Village School in an Uproar*', 1809, watercolour, location lost.

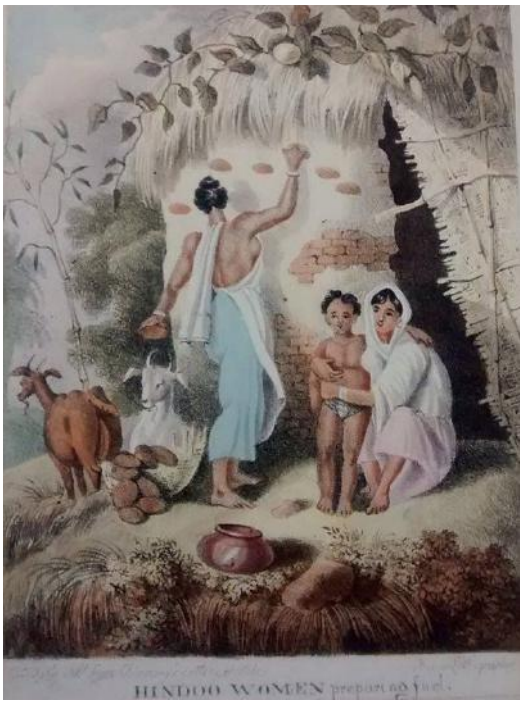
Figures 3:26-3:29: Henry James Richter, '*Vignettes from "A Picture of Youth, or The Village School in an Uproar"*', lithographic prints, published in: Richter, Henry James and Joseph Netherclift, *Illustrations of the Works of Henry Richter*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1822).

Figure 3:30: Sir Charles D'Oyly, *'Native Types'*, c.1822, watercolour on paper, in the possession of the British Library India Office Collections, London, (WD 4401).

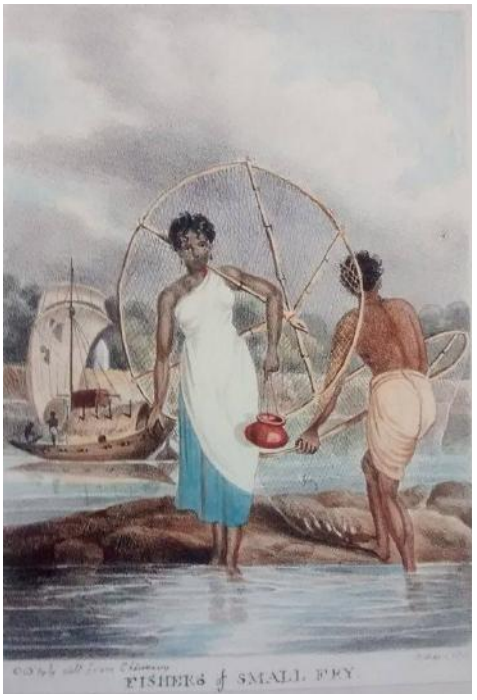
Figures 3:31-3:24: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Hindu Fakir, Indian Jugglers, Snake Charmer, and Brahmins*', c.1830, hand-coloured lithographic prints, published in: D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *The Costumes of India,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1830).

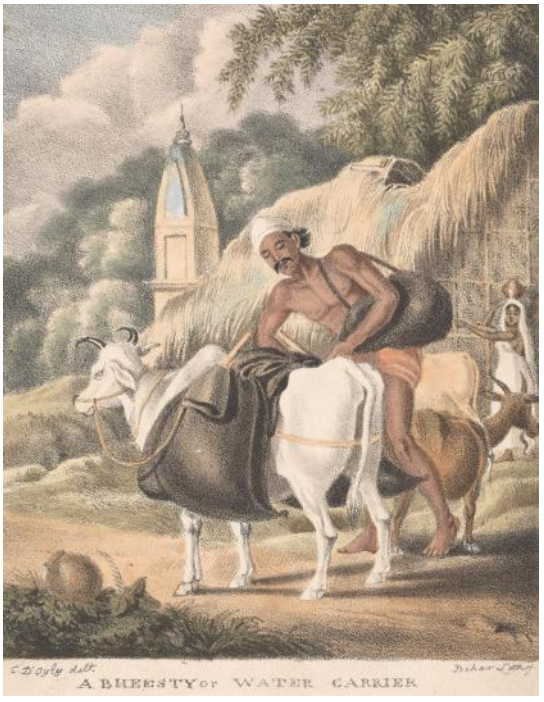
Figures 3:35-3:41: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Assaburdar, Chokeydar, Seah-Gosh, Hujaum, Attendents, Punkah Wallah, Syce*', c.1830, hand-coloured lithographic prints, published in: D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *The Costumes of India,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1830).



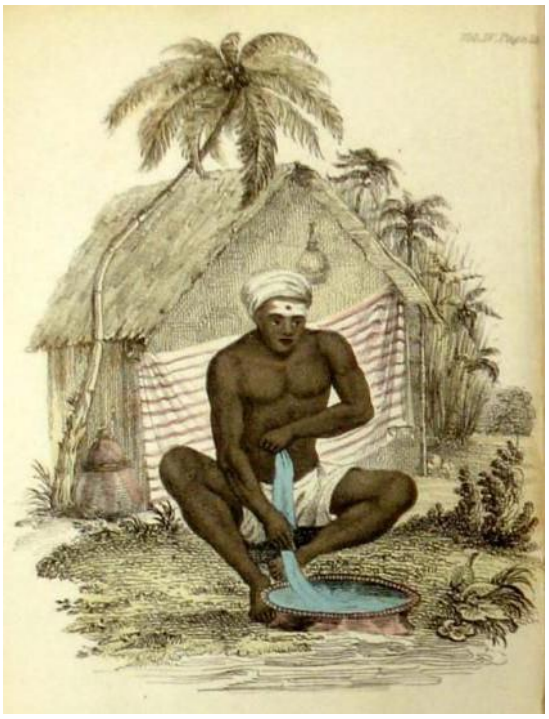


Figures 3:42-3:43: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Muslim Schoolmaster and Hindu Women Preparing Fuel*', c.1830, hand-coloured lithographic prints, published in: D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *The Costumes of India,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1830).





Figures 3:44-3:45: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Fishers of Small Fry and a Water Carrier*', c.1830, hand-coloured lithographic prints, published in: D'Oyly, Sir Charles, *The Costumes of India,* (Patna: Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, c.1830).



Clockwise:

Figure 3:46: Robert Smith,'*Nautch Girl*', 1826, hand-coloured etching, published in: Smith, Robert, *Asiatic Costumes drawn by Capt. R. Smith,* (London: R. Ackermann, 1826).

Figure 3:47: Frederick Schoberl after an anonymous Indian artist, '*Dyer*', 1822, hand-colored engraving, published in: Shoberl, Frederic, *The World in Miniature: Hindoostan*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1822).

Figure 3:48: Anonymous (likely Indian) artist, '*Indian Trades*', 1827, hand-coloured lithographs, published in: Anonymous, *Costumes of India,* (Calcutta: Asiatic Lithographic Press, 1827).

Figure 3:49: William Mulready, '*Idle Boys*', 1815, oil on canvas, location lost.

Figure 3:50: Arthur William Devis, '*Potter at his Wheel*', c.1792, oil on canvas, British Library, London (F980).

Figure 3:51: Arthur William Devis, '*A Blacksmith's Shop*', c.1792-95, oil on canvas, British Library, London (IS.42-1980).

Figure 3:52: William Hodges, '*Natives drawing Water from a Pond with Warren Hastings' House at Alipur in the Distance*', 1781, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 3:53: William Hodges, '*A Camp of a Thousand Men formed by Augustus Cleveland Three Miles from Bhagalpur, with his Mansion in the Distance*', 1782, oil on canvas, Pym's Gallery, London.

Figure 3:54: Johan Zoffany, *'Warren and Mariam Hastings at their Garden House in Alipore'*, 1784, oil on canvas, Victoria Memorial, Kolkata.

Figure 3:55: William Hodges, '*View in the Jungle Ferry*', c.1786, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 3:56: Richard Wilson, '*Solitude*', 1762, oil on canvas, Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea (GV 1971-2).

Figure 3:57: Thomas Cole, *Salvator Rosa Sketching Banditti*, c.1832–40, oil on panel, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (62.268).

Figure 3:58: Thomas Moran, *Salvator Rosa Sketching the Banditti*, 1860, oil on canvas, Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk.

- *Chapter IV* -

Colesworthy Grant's *Oriental Heads*: Art and 'Improvement' in the Era of Trade Liberalisation

1. Costumes, 'Heads', and 'Beehives'

'Taking seriously the category of bourgeois society should help teach us to pay proper attention to the international dynamics of cultural production'

- *Andrew Hemingway*, 1998 [1]

In 1867, with the Second Reform Act 'threatening' to extend the franchise to several-million working-class males, the caricaturist and political reactionary George Cruikshank self-funded the publication of a print he had designed several decades earlier in 1840 (*fig.*4:1). Allegorising British society as a beehive, its constituents organised across fifty-four cells stacked in nine tiers, Cruikshank reinforced a popular early-Victorian conception of British society as a hierarchical yet harmonious totality - with, crucially, each citizen in their 'appropriate' place.[2] An enthroned Victoria presides at the top of the hive, below her debate the House of Lords and the House of Commons, divided either side of the 'pillar of state'. Represented within smaller cells at the base of the hive are a variety of trades and occupations: a butcher and baker above, a sweep and dustman below. Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' is transformed into a remarkably legible panegyric on the economic basis of Britain's 'national glory'.[3] Labour may be divided, but social cohesion was not; work could thus be understood as a 'dignified' and 'patriotic' contribution to the collective national benefit.[4] Equally, Cruikshank set this division of economic 'interests' - or the social complexity that

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[1] Hemingway, and Vaughan, preface, (1998), p.xii.

[2] On Victorian class politics and nineteenth-century Britain's social structure, see: Steinbach, Susie, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-century Britain*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), especially the chapter 'Born into the Lower-Upper-Middle'.

[3] Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

[4] Critical studies on the Victorian concept of work's 'dignity' include: Danahay, Martin A., *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), especially the introductory definition of terms; and Host, John, *Victorian Labour History: Experience, Identity and the Politics of Representation*, (London: Routledge, 2002), especially pp.93-94.

capitalist modernity had precipitated - within a structure carefully ordered according to the constitution, social values, and public institutions. These structuring principles departed quite dramatically from the physiognomic interpretations of character and occupational identity that I traced in Regency-era print culture. Indeed, as the son of Isaac Cruikshank - the artist behind the illustrations for Woodward's *Eccentric Excursions* - George Cruickshank's *British Beehive* reveals how popular ideas about the organisation of labour had altered significantly within a single generation. In what follows, I am going to examine the impact of these domestic concepts of social organisation on printed representations of Indian society in the 1830s and 1840s, a period of significant transformation following the total liberalisation of the Indian economy in 1833. Whilst these metropolitan ideas were certainly altered in the colonial context, I want to use this chapter to highlight the cultural *connectivity* that developed internationally across the middle classes who drove social change in the early-Victorian Empire. This once again contradicts previous narratives of cultural atrophy by highlighting how art functioned as an engine that drove the growth of 'global uniformities', thereby establishing the grounds on which a 'modern' Indian Nation would later develop.[5]

My analysis will be rooted in the archival materials related to the remarkably under-studied, and 'improbably named' artist Colesworthy Grant (1813-1880).[6] Most of what we know about this elusive figure derives from a biography written in 1881 by his Calcuttan friend Peary Chand Mittra, an active member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (Grant's pet project to improve animal welfare in the subcontinent).[7] Mittra records that a nineteen-year-old Grant arrived in Calcutta in 1832, beginning his career as a clerk. Like many Scots, the new recruit joined a network of familial connections in the subcontinent: he took up residence on Hare Street with his brother George - a watch and clock maker whose shop is featured in one of Colesworthy's illustrations (*fig.*4:2) - and, through the Grants of Rothiemarchus, enjoyed a loose albeit fruitful relation to Sir John Peter Grant (1807-1893), a well-known philanthropist and later Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He had begun his alternative career as an artist by at least 1834, and would spend the rest of the 1830s publishing several series of lithographic portraits that were collated into

[5] Bayly, (2004).

[6] A passage from one of Grant's publications, alongside this amusing aside on his name, is included in: Taussig, Michel, *What Colour is the Sacred,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Taussig does not study the artist's work or biography, however.

[7] Mittra, (1881).

published albums over the following decade.[8] During this early stage of his career the artist took commissions from the Bengal Government, and provided the illustrations for G. T. Frederic Speede's *Indian Hand Book of Gardening* (1844), alongside the intricate diagrams for Doctor Frederic Mouat's *Atlas of Anatomy* (1849).[9] The year 1849 also saw the artist author his own illustrated publication, *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch*, which comprised an edited series of illustrated letters originally sent home to his mother.[10] The book's success resulted in a series of self-authored, self-illustrated publications, with *Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon* appearing in 1853, and *Rural Life in Bengal: Illustrative of Anglo-Indian Suburban Life* following in 1860.[11] The year 1849 also saw Grant accept the office of Drawing Master to the Engineering College at Howrah (a town situated on the River Hooghly's opposite bank to Calcutta), a post which ultimately led to his appointment as Professor of Drawing for the Civil Engineering Department at Calcutta's Presidency College. These pedagogical duties were only briefly interrupted in 1855, when Grant was chosen by Lord Dalhousie to act as the official artist during the Company's diplomatic mission to Amarapura - Burma's royal capital. Remembered fondly by his peers as 'delicate in body but of a most active and energetic mind' - undoubtedly in reference to his inability to stand upright after an accidental fall damaged his spine - Grant died on the 31st May, 1880, and was mourned at a funeral attended by the King and Queen of Burma.[12]

Grant's career trajectory already speaks quite openly to the artist's aesthetic and social preoccupations, which I would define as 'applied' - focused on artistic pedagogy and the illustration of factual or practically 'useful' publications. It is certainly within this framework that I am going to examine a remarkable series of lithographic portraits depicting Indian society and its various occupational 'types' that the artist produced throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and which were collated from the mid-1840s into albums entitled *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads.*[13] Bound in wrappers of various sizes, and with the number of plates varying as markedly as between nineteen and eighty-one, the artist's self-professed ambition with this project was 'a series

[8] Grant, Colesworthy, *Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850); Grant, Colesworthy, *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads,* (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

[9] Speede, G. T. Frederic, *Indian Hand-Book of Gardening,* (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1844); Mouat, Dr Frederic, *An Atlas of Anatomical Plates of the Human Body, with Descriptive Letterpress in English and Hindustani,* (Calcutta: published by order of Government, 1849).

[10] Or at least that was the text's nominal conceit. See: Grant, (1849).

[11] Grant, Colesworthy, *Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon in 1846*, (Calcutta: Thacker and Spink, 1853); Grant, Colesworthy, *Rural Life in Bengal: Illustrative of Anglo-Indian Suburban Life,* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1860).

[12] Mittra, (1881), p.70.

[13] Grant, (1842-50).

of sketches, as complete as possible, of the various tribes or classes of men who may be denominated *Oriental*'.[14] Attempting to achieve this holistic account of the Orient's demography, Grant published a list of 'types' that he had not had the chance to meet and illustrate personally - including both religious, caste, and ethno-linguistic categories such as 'Jats', 'Jains', 'Bheels' and 'Assamese'.[15] Additionally, he called on his subscribers for aid in this comprehensive endeavour, describing how:

> 'It has suggested itself to the artist that many of his subscribers - placed in situations to command a more extensive acquaintance, intercourse and influence with the natives - may possess opportunities of recommending fitting subjects for these sketches, of which he would be happy and grateful to avail himself'.[16]

Cast in these terms, Grant's project seems like a representative addition to the costume album genre studied in the previous chapter, accommodated comfortably within its artistic format and conceptual parameters. A wrapper design for the project even involved a whole host of 'Oriental' visual tropes: a multi-foil horseshoe arch; a Taj-esque mosque; and the '*Ordbhawn Fakir*' frequently depicted as a visual synecdoche for India's religious 'strangeness' (*fig.*4:3).[17] Yet Grant's request for recommendations also contained a rather unusual qualification:

> 'Where *respectable* individuals may offer an available choice, they would be preferred to the lower orders, as presenting, generally speaking, the greater share, both in appearance and costume, of the characteristics of their tribes or countries, and having in many instances a degree of *individual* interest attached to them'.[18]

This unusual request for 'respectable individuals' was met: alongside the customary depiction of religious figures and menial labourers (*figs.*4:4&4:5), *Oriental Heads* featured named portraits of notable Indians - including 'Umeers' (*fig.*4:6), authors (*fig.*4:7), teachers (*fig.*4:8), and the mercantile *nouveau riche* (*fig.*4:9). To an extent, the work thus parallels a small oeuvre of images produced on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press (*figs.*4:10-4:14) that were not collated into an organised published volume. These prints, the work of Charles and Eliza D'Oyly, Christopher Webb Smith, and Jairam Das, feature half-length portraits of notable Indian aristocrats, with captions written in both

[14] 'To Subscribers', single-page notice bound alternatively at the opening or closing of: Grant, *Oriental Heads,* (1842-1850).
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] The '*Ordbhawn Fakir*' was frequently included in costume albums as a subject of both repulsion and fascination. See, for instance: D'Oyly, (1830); or Schoberl, (1822).
[18] Grant, 'To Subscribers', in *Oriental Heads,* (1842-1850). My italics.

English and Nasta'liq (including even a Nasta'liq translation for the caption *E. D'Oyly delt*), suggesting a possible Indian audience.[19] However, Grant's portraits not only feature Nasta'liq captions, but the specific language and script appropriate to the ethno-linguistic identity of each of his various sitters: Devangari for 'Rongonatjee Monohurdoss', a 'Goojratee Merchant of Bombay' (*fig.*4:15), and Malayalam for 'Uttam Sarup Nirmal Budh Jolishi Shunkernath', a 'native of Travancore and principal *pundit* & astrologer at the court of Lahore' (*fig.*4:16). Indeed, as each script is specific to the sitter, and several captions written in the same script appear in wildly varying hands (with some that are even illegible), I believe that the artist let each of his sitters sign their own name below their likeness.

Grant's *Oriental Heads* thus appealed to the same rationale of systematised knowledge given almost half a century earlier in projects like Balthasar Solvyns', yet presented sitters as characters with 'individual interest', capable of signing their own public representation in an undeniably potent act of agency and identity.[20] To make sense of this unusual development, I am going to relate Grant's lithographs to two specific contexts, neither of which have ever before been studied in relation to the artist. The first is the social and literary milieu of Doctor Frederick Corbyn, the industrious editor of *The India Review* (1836-1843) and *The Bengal Medical Journal*, and a key patron of Grant's early career. The second is Grant's role as secretary and drawing master to the Calcutta Mechanics Institute and School of Art, a society established in 1839 in accordance with competing ideas about Anglo-Indian civil society, labour, and 'improvement'.[21] After tracing these two contexts, I will return to *Oriental Heads* with a more nuanced understanding of what may have motivated Grant to bring Indian 'public figures' into a genre typically used to showcase the subcontinent's castes, religious oddities, and menial occupations.

The broader intention of this chapter is to trace a chronological shift away from the novel world of divided labour which D'Oyly's and the Gantzes' prints captured, and towards the sort of hierarchical society encapsulated in George Cruikshank's *British Beehive*. Whereas the former were premised on the aesthete using his visual perception to remain distinct from, and in control of, a

[19] Some of these prints feature in the *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbooks*, others can be found in unnamed collections of drawings and prints associated with the Behar School of Athens. For more information on these collections, see: Chapter II, especially note 124.

[20] Solvyns stated (in a formulation that closely resembles Grant's) that he had included 'those tribes which appeared to me to have retained most of their native physiognomy'. Solvyns, (1808-1812). For more information on Solvyns' work, see: Chapter III, Section iv; and Eaton, (2013), pp.49-59.

[21] This institute has been mentioned briefly in: Mitter, Partha, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). However, Mitter does not examine in detail the primary sources associated with the Institute, and calls it a 'school of art', which I think largely misrepresents its founding intentions. Equally, he does not examine Colesworthy Grant's role as Drawing Master.

rapidly urbanising and modernising commercial society, Grant's work captured the forms of 'rationalised' social engagement that had developed out of these practices by the mid-nineteenth century.[22] As a result of his engagement with notions of 'individualism', 'improvement', and the 'dignity of labour', I am going to argue that Grant's remarkable album presented India not as a catalogue of types, but as something akin to Cruikshank's vision of Britain: a hierarchical and interrelated structure, bound together through civil institutions and patriotic sentiment.

ii. Colesworthy Grant, Frederick Corbyn, and Calcuttan Periodical Culture

Doctor Frederick Corbyn (*fig.*17) was born in Manchester in 1792, achieved his medical degree from London, and was appointed to the Bengal Presidency's Medical Service in 1813.[23] A prolific periodical editor and author of treatises on tropical health and disease, Corbyn founded an eclectic journal called *The India Review* in 1836, assimilating opinion pieces on science, politics, and culture, alongside literary reviews and general notices. *The Review* was handsomely illustrated, and had an unusual fine art focus.[24] Each edition featured regular updates on artists and exhibitions in Europe, and in an article entitled 'Encouragement of the Arts in India', the editor emphatically declared his 'earnest desire to promote the fine arts;- that fascinating that enlightening study'.[25] The captions to Colesworthy Grant's earliest prints suggest that he had begun his first forays into lithography using T. Black's Asiatic Lithographic Press in Calcutta; but by at least 1836, and with the first publication of *The India Review*, the artist had joined a coterie of artists patronised as part of Corbyn's 'improvement' project, publishing on the Medical Journal Press at Fort William. Several lithographs in *The India Review* bear the signature Ya Muhammud, whilst a number of articles advertised the abilities of E. Barker, a landscape painter who could work in 'either water or oil

[22] See: Solkin, (2008).

[23] My information on Corbyn derives from a biography included in the 1843 edition of the India Review. See: Anon., 'Biographical Sketches: Dr. Frederick Corbyn', in *The India Review,* (April, 1843), pp.201-210. A fleeting biography of Corbyn is also included in: Chakrabarti, Pratik, *Western Science in Modern India: Metropolitan Methods, Colonial Practices,* (Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2004), pp.35-36.

[24] There is an extraordinary amount of scientific illustration in the periodical. It is possible that Grant completed much of it (the style is certainly similar to his work on Mouat's *Atlas of Anatomy,* see: note 7), but it is also possible that Corbyn employed a team of native draughtsmen to copy illustrations from existing sources, as was a customary practise.

[25] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Encouragement of the Arts in India', in *The India Review,* Vol.2, (1838), pp.563-564, p.563.

colours'.[26] Like this artist, whose capabilities had 'progressively improved', Corbyn credited Grant's growing capabilities to *The India Review's* generous patronage.[27] Although 'hitherto he has had but little encouragement', the periodical charted his incremental improvement - 'proceeding step, by step, until he has attained that perfection which enables him to take striking likenesses', and thus placing himself 'on the road to that fame his perseverance so justly merits'.[28] Indeed, with a myopia characteristic of subcontinental art criticism, Corbyn even claimed that he could, 'without the least exaggeration', 'congratulate him as being the first self-taught artist, who is laying the foundation of the fine arts in India'.[29]

Crucially, *Oriental Heads* was directly bound to Corbyn's project to improve the 'state of the arts' in India. Not only was the work 'one of the best proofs we could possibly have of the successful progress of the arts in India', but the unusual format of the portraits (a 'public figure' accompanied by their autograph) stemmed from a strategy that Corbyn had devised to transpose 'refined' metropolitan culture to Bengal.[30] The editor was clearly a subscriber of *Fraser's Magazine*, an extremely popular metropolitan periodical that as a serendipitous aside employed the aging William Pyne as an art critic. Between June 1830 and July 1838, this magazine ran a feature entitled 'Fraser's Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters', in which a biographical sketch of an author or 'public character' written by the magazine's editor, William Maginn, was accompanied by an autographed lithographic portrait by 'CROWQUIS', the artist Daniel Maclise's *nom de plume* (*see figs.*4:18).[31] In an 1838 article intended to showcase Corbyn's 'endeavour at improvement in the blackness and polish of our ink; in order that the lines may be finer and yet more distinct than they have hitherto been', the editor included a lithograph of 'a very difficult subject from *Fraser's viz.* the author of the "undying one"', copied meticulously by Grant (*fig.*4:19).[32] The apparent success of this imitation led Corbyn to announce that he had 'determined to give in future numbers after this attempt likenesses of the celebrated authors in Europe, which we are sure will be acceptable to our friends in the

[26] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Calcutta from Fort William', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.711. Both Ya Muhammud and Barker, who had previously worked as a Company surveyor, have never been recognised in the art-historical literature.

[27] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Encouragement of the Arts in India', in *The India Review,* Vol.2, (1838), pp.563-564.

[28] First quote from: Corbyn, Frederick, 'Series of Miscellaneous Sketches of Oriental Heads', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.355. The following, from: Corbyn, Frederick, 'Encouragement of the Arts in India', in *The India Review,* Vol.2, (1838), pp.563-564, p.564.

[29] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Commencement of the Fine Arts in India', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.154.

[30] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Mr Grant's Fourth Series of Miscellaneous Sketches of Oriental Heads', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.651.

[31] For more information on this series, see: Fisher, Judith L., '"In the Present Famine of Anything Substantial": "Fraser's Portraits" and the Construction of Literary Celebrity; Or, "Personality, Personality Is the Appetite of the Age"', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol.39, No.2 (Summer, 2006), pp.97-135.

[32] Corbyn, Frederick, 'The Author of the "Undying One" our Progress in Lithography', in *The India Review,* Vol.2, (1838), p.758.

jungle'.[33] True to his word, the early editions of *The India Review* carried several further portraits copied from *Fraser's* 'Gallery'. 'It must be gratifying...to the lovers of the fine arts', he supposed, 'to find that Mr Grant is not behind the artist in London'.[34] Indeed, Corbyn even remarked that *The India Review's* cosmopolitanism might 'throw out the hint to public men to whom we may introduce our rising artist assured that they will readily give encouragement to his talents and oblige us by gratifying him the time and opportunity he may require'.[35] Corbyn's aspirations were fulfilled: from the later months of 1838, each publication of *The India Review* included a lithographed landscape by Barker (some copied after drawings by D'Oyly), alongside a portrait by Grant of a notable or 'public' figure from Calcuttan society - depicted, like the portraits in *Fraser's* 'Gallery', with the sitter's signature beneath their likeness. Like *Oriental Heads*, this series was collated over the mid-1840s into albums of various sizes and quality, each entitled '*Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta*'.[36]

Born out of a desire to demonstrate the engagement of cultured, periodical-reading members of Anglo-Indian society with fashionable metropolitan culture, we thus find in Corbyn's *India Review* the stylistic chain that resulted in the unusual format of Grant's *Oriental Heads*: first in a series of lithographic portraits depicting Britain's literary celebrities that Corbyn directed Grant to imitate; and, subsequently, in the editor's call for Calcuttan 'public figures' to patronise Grant and emulate this format in the Indian metropolis. Of course, this chain only explains where the conceit of allowing 'native' sitters to sign their portraits may have originated, it does not fully explain the social or political motives for transposing this artistic format from Britain's literary elite, to Calcuttan 'public characters', and then to 'those denominated *Oriental*'. Indeed, Maginn's and Maclise's 'Gallery of Illustrious Characters' bore substantial political baggage. In her study of the anti-dandiacal movement, Ellen Moers claimed that 'the roots of the long, complex Victorian campaign against Regency thought and habits can be found in the closely printed, double-column pages of *Frasers*'.[37] Explicitly Tory, and staunchly opposed to the 'effeminate' Whig aristocracy, *Fraser's* 'Gallery of Illustrious Characters' formed a concerted strategy to define a new, anti-Byronic, and 'proto-Victorian celebritydom'.[38] Whilst Maclise portrayed Whig dandies slouched in ridiculous affectation and Maginn's biographical sketches were replete with barbed criticism, 'respectable' authors - most of whom were advocates of what would eventually develop into

[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] See: note 6. A number of albums of varying sizes and quality are held in the British Library.
[37] Moers, Ellen, *The Dandy: Brummel to Beerbohm,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p.167.
[38] Fisher, (2006), p.98.

Victorian Realism - were held up as the model of a new professionalism, rooted in 'manliness' and self-discipline. *Fraser's* thus built on the Byronic idea of 'literary celebrity' as embodied in the person themselves (rather than their literary product), but suffused this conception of the 'great author' with the values that have come to define the Victorian 'middling-sort'.[39] For Maginn, the literary celebrity had to present himself as independent of aristocratic patronage, in possession of an expertise unavailable to his reading public, and 'vigourous' rather than affected.

These traits were certainly taken up in Grant's portraits of Calcuttan notables. Indeed, Maclise's format seems almost uniquely suited to depicting Anglo-Indian society in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Not only was British India particularly militarised, but, following the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century attacks on 'nabobery', was composed of individuals highly cautious of the criticisms engendered by the display of 'luxury' or 'effeteness'.[40] William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, the Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy at the Calcutta Medical College, was portrayed examining a test tube in an unnecessarily virile lunge (*fig.*4:20), whilst Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert (husband to Eliza D'Oyly's sister Isabella Rose) was shown standing proudly erect beside a model cavalry regiment (*fig.*4:21). These sitters undeniably fit the 'manly', unaffected, and professional criteria for 'literary celebrity' that *Fraser's* 'Gallery' worked to define. The question, then, is to what extent Corbyn's *India Review* also promulgated *Fraser's* Tory politics?

Curiously, the answer appears to have been quite the opposite. Maginn included in *Fraser's* a substantial series of articles about the 'India Question' on the run-up to the 1833 charter renewal, beginning with a vicious attack on 'the ridiculous of Mr Buckingham'.[41] On the contrary, Corbyn's periodical staunchly defended the free press in India, bemoaning its current restrictions as the effect of 'party', and denouncing metropolitan editors as too easily towing the party line - stating that he could 'tell precisely, before they appear, the sentiments and the views with few exceptions of every Tory editor in London'.[42] Corbyn even included in the *Review* a long defence of one of the key champions of the Indian press, Thomas Turton Jr. (son of the Radical MP for Southwark Sir Thomas Turton), who at a 'free press dinner' held to celebrate the sweeping liberalisation of the Indian press in 1836, opened the speeches with a toast to 'the freedom of the press', before

[39] For the concept of the 'middling sort', see: Neale, (1972).

[40] On the highly militarised society of British India, see: Marshall, (1997), pp.89-108.

[41] Maginn, William, 'East India Company', in *Fraser's Magazine,* Vol.1, No.3, (April, 1830), pp.260-267, p.260.

[42] Corbyn, Frederick, 'T. E. M. Turton Esq.', in *The India Review*, Vol.4, (1840), pp.501-512, p.501.

proceeding to give an impassioned speech about the abuses of government that it checked.[43] Tellingly, this dinner ended with a toast to 'Mr Buckingham, the leader of the forlorn hope'.[44] Of course, Corbyn's support for the free press is not surprising given his interest as a periodical editor, but there are further clues that suggest that he may have held other Radical beliefs. He strongly advocated governmental support for the nascent Indian Museum - then the private collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal - contending that 'a national museum is considered a national engine of education' and pointing out that 'the rapid strides that have been made in physical enquiry throughout the world in the present age, have been compassed only by national effects' (an argument he supported in reference to the Louvre and Revolutionary Paris).[45] Equally, one of Grant's first imitations from *Fraser's* 'Gallery' was Maclise's portrait of Sir William Molesworth, a Radical MP and the editor of both the *Westminster Review* and the *London Review* - a principal organ of the Philosophical Radicals. Revealingly, Corbyn's accompanying description remarked that 'the ease of the celebrated artist's pencil is only excelled by the position in which the able editor concocts his valuable articles on political reform'.[46] The same statement seems just as relevant to Grant's portrait of Corbyn himself, which was accompanied by a biography that claimed 'whatever opinion may be entertained regarding the *soundness* of his views, little or no difference exists in the estimate of his *motives*. A strenuous reformer, in the most comprehensive sense of the word'.[47]

Whilst Corbyn thus appears to have been an advocate of reform, and potentially even sympathetic to a Radical agenda, I think that it is possible to construct a more precise understanding of his opinions by examining *The India Review's* serialised appraisal of *Modern India: with Illustrations of the Resources and Capabilities of Hindustan* - a rather dry account of the subcontinental economy written in 1837 by Corbyn's friend and Company civil surgeon, Henry Harpur Spry (1804-1842) (*fig.22*).[48] Spry's book opened by stating that the large corpus of publications related to 'Orientalist' knowledge-production - or works concerned with Indian languages, law, and antiquities - were not 'generally interesting, and do not tend to invite the great

[43] Corbyn, Frederick, 'T. E. M. Turton Esq.', in *The India Review*, Vol.4, (1840), pp.501-512. On the dinner itself, see: 'Free Press Anniversary Dinner', in *The Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register*, (July-December, 1836), pp.439-448. Turton was in India because he and his wife's sister had conceived a child, and the three family members had set sail to the subcontinent in order to hide the scandal from their family.

[44] 'Free Press Dinner', in *The Asiatic Journal*, Vol.XIX, (January-April, 1836), pp.180-182, p.181.

[45] Corbyn, Frederick, 'The Necessity of a Talented Curator being Permanently Attached to the Asiatic Society', in *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838), pp.518-522, p.519.

[46] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Sir William Molesworth', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.563.

[47] Anon., 'Biographical Sketches: Dr. Frederick Corbyn', in *The India Review*, (1843), pp.201-210, p.209.

[48] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Review of Modern India: with Illustrations of the Resources and Capabilities of Hindústan', in *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838), pp.743-745, and Vol.3, (1839), pp.123-129.

mass of the people to direct their attention to inquiries which would lead to national improvement in the East, and to commercial prosperity at home'.[49] In contrast, Spry's ambition was to detail the 'national importance of modern India', emphatically declaring: 'my sole aim is utility'.[50] This Benthamite language of 'improvement' and his specific focus on 'practical knowledge' was reinforced by an advocacy of *laissez-faire* policy for British India's recently liberalised economy. Spry's preface explained that the only subjects included in the work were those that he 'deemed of importance to persons anxious to invest capital in the cultivation, or to engage in the manufactures of, a luxuriant but neglected soil'.[51]

Corbyn's review of this extraordinarily Utilitarian account of India's economic prospects was glowing. He opened it by exclaiming how 'the liberal views of the author on most subjects, but especially as regards the Press in India, show that he is not one of those, who, to please certain political economists, will sacrifice his principles...this independence, we trust, will ever characterise the British Sojourner in the East'.[52] Nevertheless, his review did bear an unusual, yet remarkably prescient warning: India may offer Britain the economic prosperity Spry maintained, but Britain's possession of the country was precarious. Corbyn detected 'a flame yet in the native bosom which burns for national rights and independence',[53] and cautioned that 'the British Government must do more for the people, it must be more paternal in government towards its wretched and destitute dependents, and give the people greater interest in our rule before they will be content'.[54] He thus supported Spry's argument that 'native' civil servants must be professionalised and paid more, and criticised the Tory notion that 'independent enterprise is sufficient' for improving national prosperity, claiming that this may be true in a country like Britain, where 'commerce, manufactures, religious orders, judicial establishments abound, and...fill up the vast chasm between the prince and peasant', but it was 'totally inapplicable to India...in which industry is almost exclusively confined to agriculture'.[55] Notably, both authors agreed on the remedy for this issue: 'every statesman must see, or ought to see, the necessity of a middle class in society, who should be interested in the stability of the government...and every statesman has the power to form one, when he has the resources of a vast

[49] Spry, Henry Harpur, *Modern India: with Illustrations of the Resources and Capabilities of Hindústan,* (London: Whittaker, 1837), p.vi.
[50] *Ibid,* p.viii.
[51] *Ibid,* p.vii.
[52] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Review of Modern India: with Illustrations of the Resources and Capabilities of Hindústan', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), pp.123-129, p.123.
[53] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Review of Modern India: with Illustrations of the Resources and Capabilities of Hindústan', in *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838), pp.743-745, p.744.
[54] *Ibid.*, p.744.
[55] Spry, (1837), p.15-16.

empire like India at his disposal'.[56] For both Corbyn and Spry, free trade and the better management of India's resources held out the prospect of constructing an Anglo-Indian middle class, lifting the 'destitute dependents' into an enfranchised position of 'interest' in British rule, and consolidating the 'national importance of modern India' for future generations.

If Colesworthy Grant's stylistic format for *Oriental Heads* derived from a brazenly Tory understanding of 'proto-Victorian celebritydom', then *The India Review's* more Liberal political bent clearly altered their potential interpretation. Indeed, *The Public Characters of Calcutta* - or the intermediary stage in *Oriental Heads'* stylistic imitation of *Fraser's* 'Gallery' - certainly accorded well with Corbyn's belief in the advantages of consolidating an Anglo-Indian middle class. The album's material and artistic logic offered the possibility of an ideological compromise, with each independent portrait praising the individual for their 'manly' work ethic, whilst as a serialised totality, also demonstrating the wider development of a professional 'public' in India, with the majority of sitters working in civil institutions. Nevertheless, simply applying this interpretive framework to *Oriental Heads* clearly reduces the remarkable idiosyncrasy of this album, and ignores the evident racial politics that it contains. Fortunately, the ways in which Corbyn's and Spry's advocacy for an Anglo-Indian middle class related specifically to India's 'native population' (or those actually depicted in *Oriental Heads)* can be elucidated in relation to a second context that was equally intrinsic to the development of Grant's artistic career. This was the artist's previously unstudied role as secretary and drawing master to the Calcutta Mechanics Institute and School of Arts, to which I now turn.

iii. Middle-Class 'Improvement': The Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts

The idea to found a mechanics' institute in Calcutta originated with the ever-industrious Dr Corbyn and his friend the Reverend Thomas Boaz (*fig.23*), a philanthropist and the editor of *The Calcutta Christian Observer.*[57] A prospectus for the Institute was drafted by George Grant at a small

[56] *Ibid*, p.17.

[57] Information about this institution is contained in a number of archival documents, including: Mittra (1881), pp.12-15; Corbyn, Frederick, 'Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), pp.646-648; 'The Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (January, 1839), p.2; 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (February, 1839), pp.100-106; 'Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in

meeting that included Colesworthy and Henry Harpur Spry, held in January 1839 at the house of the Company civil servant Wale Byrne.[58] The prospectus was put to a public debate in Calcutta's town hall on the 26th of February that year, and the resulting proceedings were published for broader consumption in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register*.[59] Sir John Peter Grant agreed to act as the honorary president; Dr Corbyn and the Reverend Boaz were both appointed vice presidents; Colesworthy and his brother George became secretaries; and Spry and G. T. Frederic Speede - whose book on gardening the artist would go on to lithograph - sat amongst others on the committee. The institute purchased the use of a building opposite Government House that featured an elaborate 'Egyptian facade',[60] a glimpse of which can be seen behind Grant's depiction of 'palankeen bearers' in his *Domestic Sketch* (*fig.*24). Whilst the Institute's principal focus (as with Corbyn's *Review*), was the promotion of scientific knowledge, it also concerned itself with the 'arts' and their social utility. The Institute ran an extensive lecture course for its members, which included a lesson by George Grant on 'perspective and the importance of the arts of design'.[61] Additionally, Colesworthy was appointed the Institute's 'drawing master', providing classes that proved more popular than the official lectures. The program was split between 'elementary drawing' on Wednesdays, and 'perspective' on Saturdays, both during the hours of six and seven-thirty in the evening.[62]

In the metropolitan context, mechanics' institutes have been described as 'a downward extension of middle-class literary and philosophical societies', and 'an upward extension of the movement for the elementary education of children, which drew widespread support in the early years of the century both from Evangelical Conservatism and from Benthamite Liberalism'.[63] Their popularity owed to the re-emergence of lower middle-class aspirations following the stifling of social mobility during the reactionary atmosphere of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815).[64] As a result, they initially gained a somewhat Radical reputation, but by 1830

Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register, (March, 1839), pp.152-154; and 'Meeting of the Mechanics' Institution' in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (April, 1839), pp.190-194.

[58] Mittra, (1881), p.6.

[59] 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), pp.100-106

[60] Mittra, (1881), p.12.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.*, p.14.

[63] Kelly, Thomas, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), p.116.

[64] Although focused on the subject of 'patriotism', Hugh Cunningham provides a concise and informative account of social changes following the French Wars in: Cunningham, Hugh, 'The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914', in *History Workshop*, No.12 (Autumn, 1981), pp.8-33. More comprehensive works include: Emsley, Clive, *British Society and the*

Fraser's could include an article (which presumably Corbyn would have read) that stated 'there is no excellence, and no respectability, without labour'; accordingly, and in compliance with a rather hackneyed Tory conception of social hierarchy, mechanics' institutes could dignify this labour by increasing working-class knowledge of 'that station most suited to their own happiness and to the wellbeing of the community'.[65] Notably, the Calcuttan Institute deliberately attempted to avoid any accusations of Radicalism, accepting high-class patronage from Sir John Peter Grant (a decision deliberately avoided by some of the first, more Radical mechanics' institutes in London), and stating in their first lecture, given by the writer and editor George William Johnson, that 'there was a time when institutions like the present...were even denounced as schools of sedition...the experience of twenty years has shewn the fallacy of these fears'.[66] Instead, the political philosophy of the Calcuttan Institute was rooted in the growing association between the fine arts and industrial design - a trajectory which had been clearly articulated in the Select Committee Report on Arts and Manufactures published in 1835, and highlighted in the lectures that the prestigious artist Robert Haydon had given at the London Mechanics' Institute between 1835 and 1839.[67] This cultural shift relied on a number of interrelated ideas about the individual, the state, and the way artistic 'improvement' could benefit both. Accessible artistic education was lauded as a means to improve the quality of Britain's manufactures, thereby improving the national economy, and, in doing so, bringing social benefits to the lives of individuals. Moreover, benefiting individuals in this way had a reciprocal effect on the success of the state. As Johnson in his lecture to the Calcuttan Institute put it, 'in proportion as an individual (and nations are but aggregates of individuals) acquire a taste, a love for reading, for literature, for science, so in proportion does he become less prone to more vicious and degrading sources of amusement'.[68] Consequently, mechanics' institutes 'made these classes not only happier as men, but have added strength to the state, by rendering them more useful citizens...by making them more attached to their father-land'.[69]

French Wars, 1793-1815, (London: Macmillan, 1979); and Perkin, Harold, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), especially p.208.

[65] Hall, Basil, 'Capt. Basil Hall on Mechanics' Institutes', in *Fraser's Magazine,* Vol.1, No.1, (February, 1830), pp.40-44, p.41.

[66] 'Meeting of the Mechanics' Institution' in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), pp.190.

[67] On the Select Committee Report, see: Gretton, Thomas, '"Art is Cheaper and Goes Lower in France": The Language of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Arts and Principles of Design of 1835-6', in Hemingway, and Vaughan (*eds.*), (1998). Excellent accounts of the growing connectivity between the fine arts and industrial design include: Barringer, (2005); Eaves, M., *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy: Art and Industry in the Age of Blake,* (London, Cornell University Press, 1992); and Nichols, Kate, *et. al.* (*eds.*), *Art Versus Industry? New Perspectives on Visual and Industrial Cultures in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2016).

[68] 'Meeting of the Mechanics' Institution' in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), p.190.

[69] *Ibid*, p.191.

Chapter II's account of the ideological challenges encountered by the members of the Behar School of Athens should alert us to the fact that this early-Victorian idea of individual-national reciprocal improvement clearly contained a number of ideological bases that prevented its 'simple' transposition to India. Indeed, the way in which these issues played out can actually be traced remarkably well in a debate over the nature and purpose of the Institution held at Calcutta's Town Hall in February 1839. Pervading this discussion is a confusion over *who* needed to be improved (when the issue of race complicated the ideology's predominantly class-based logic), as well as which nation (Britain or India) would be the ultimate benefactor of this improvement. The least idiosyncratic proposals were devised by the broadly Liberal philanthropists like the Reverend Boaz and Doctor Corbyn, who simply transposed the improvement ideology into a more recognisable articulation of the 'civilising mission' than that which I traced in the *Proceedings of the Behar School of Athens*. Both speakers were formulaic: the 'native' Indian poor were the objects of the Mechanics' Institute's charitable ambitions, its establishment could function as a channel through which British scientific knowledge could be better implemented in the subcontinent, resulting in an 'improved' India that testified to 'benevolent' Britain's own national glory. Accordingly, Corbyn declared that the Institute was 'for the benefit of the poor', its foundation in accord with the 'bounden duty of every British sojourner to promote the interest and happiness of the people, and to instruct them in the arts of civilized life'.[70] Boaz added that the institution could raise 'the people of India in the scale of improvement', demonstrating how Britain had conquered the subcontinent for 'the accomplishment of some great object worthy of the character of the great and highly enlightened nation to which we belong'.[71] As contemporary scholars have stated on countless occasions, the rhetoric associated with the 'civilising mission' helped legitimise imperial conquest.[72] Redeeming past wrong through present benevolence, Sir John Peter Grant could even announce that 'whatever might be the circumstances under which English men first came to this country...now, that they were established here, it was a paramount duty incumbent upon them, to endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to diffuse that illumination of science and the arts, of which they themselves enjoyed so large a share'.[73]

[70] 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), p.102.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] On this subject, see: Fischer-Tiné, Harald, and Michael Mann (*eds.*), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India,* (London: Anthem Press, 2004).

[73] 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), p.105.

This conception of the Institute's purpose was not, however, universally shared amongst the members of its committee. Spry, whose *Modern India* had passionately advocated the construction of a middle-class public to fill that 'vast chasm between the prince and peasant', argued that not enough attention had been paid to 'another important class of our fellow citizens, who have not yet been alluded to...the great body of East Indians in the city'.[74] Spry here meant ethnic 'Europeans' born in India, a group he remonstrated for following 'one avocation - the pen'.[75] In accordance with his *laissez-faire* principles, he declared to the meeting that 'the principle with political economists, is to divide labour'; the 'advantage of the establishment of a mechanics' institute' would be its role in developing a diverse colonial economy within which an 'East Indian' middle class could prosper.[76] Spry's remarks stirred passionate rebukes, perhaps most interestingly from another committee member, Michael Crow, Deputy Collector of Calcutta and editor of *The Reformer*, who set out a more holistic vision of Anglo-Indian civil society, which I include in full:

> 'Although Europeans who might join the intended institution would largely benefit by it, those who were likely to derive the most permanent benefit from it, were his countrymen the Natives of India. He wished to be distinctly understood, that by Natives of India he meant not only those of his countrymen who were dressed in the costume of India, but also those like himself, in the costume of Europe. Dress, in his opinion, made no distinction, and he was not aware if any proper and definite line of demarcation by which those who were called Natives could be distinguished in their civil relations of life from those who were denominated East Indians (hear hear.) Every Native was an East Indian and every East Indian a Native. They both formed but one nation, and the few trivial distinctions which yet existed between them, would, he hoped, soon give way before the influence of education. (Cheers.) This was the nation then which would derive the greatest share of the blessings which were expected to flow from the establishment of a Mechanics' Institution in this country; it was his countrymen who would for the longest period reap the most precious fruits of this institution'.[77]

Crow's argument framed an understanding of the Institute that decried Spry's focus on specific ethnic groups, and even appeared to directly critique Corbyn's and Boaz's focus on Britain's national glory above that of the 'nation' that 'would derive the greatest share of the blessings which were expected to flow from the establishment of a Mechanics' Institution in this country'. Crow was presumably using the term 'nation' in its contemporaneous sense to mean 'a unified people' (with Europeans and 'natives' in India forming 'but one nation'), yet the way in which he defined this

[74] *Ibid*, p.103.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*

'nation' is fascinating for our purposes. 'Costume', that external and *visible* category of knowledge which had so characterised artistic depictions of foreign peoples, would, through the 'influence of education', have its importance subsumed by the binding effects of 'civil relations' - those common and *invisible* institutions of civil society that regulate an individual's actions and behaviour, such as the law or contractual obligations. Crow's argument thus approached closer to what I previously argued was the Constitutional Liberal position promoted by the members of the Behar School of Athens, in that he seems to have viewed the emergence and consolidation of civil society in the subcontinent as a means to claim a more autonomous form of 'nationhood' for Company India - associated, but certainly not unequally dominated, by Britain's.

Even so, it is crucial to frame Crow's arguments within the altered conception of 'improvement' and society predominant in the middle-class culture in which I have set the Institution's foundation. This necessity certainly becomes clearer in relation to a fourth position that can be detected within the discussion, premised less on aiding the 'poor' as a symbol of British benevolence, and instead on developing a 'middle class' of Indians in a manner akin to that proposed by Thomas Babington Macaulay in his 1835 *Minute on Education* - in which he infamously prescribed the formation of 'a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, - a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.[78] We find this stance most clearly in Sir John Peter Grant's contribution to the discussion. For him, there was a 'difference between institutions of this kind in Europe, and that which would be established here'.[79] In Europe, the aim of mechanics' institutes was to divert the 'attention' of 'the great body of men employed in mechanical occupations...from the pursuit of sensual gratifications to those of a mental character'; in India, however, their function would be to combat upper-caste 'Hindu prejudices' about the 'dignity of labour'.[80] In setting up this distinction, Grant compared the goal of the Institute to his own attempts to combat 'prejudices' at the Hindu College, an institution established under the guidance of Rammohan Roy for affluent but 'progressive' Indians, and at which Grant 'had occasion to deliver several lectures upon the laws of England and to point out to them that those institutes were grounded on, the great principles of moral justice and national laws, which formed the basis of every civil institution'.[81] Grant's aspiration, no doubt, was that these affluent young Indians would go on to support this particular

[78] Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 'Minute on Indian Education', 2nd February, 1835.
[79] 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), p.100.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*

understanding of civil society, and, through initiatives like the Mechanics' Institute, invest their 'interest' in the 'great openings' that trade liberalisation held out.[82] The journalist and author Joachim Hayward Stocqueler made this point more explicitly, explaining to the meeting how:

> 'It was too commonly supposed, by the class who would benefit by the Mechanics' Institution, that their education has fitted them for higher pursuits than those of the artisan, and that the adoption of such a calling was beneath them. There might be some excuse for the notion, inasmuch as the artisans, of India - the native artisans - were so immeasurably removed in the scale of society from those who were now to be encouraged to give their attention to the practical part of the arts and sciences; but that excuse would only refer to the past'.[83]

For Stocqueler and Sir John Peter Grant, the Institute was established not to aid Corbyn's 'poor' (or, at least, not to aid them directly), but to enfranchise an 'educated' class of 'natives' by incorporating them into the commercial society which *laissez-faire* advocates believed would develop in India during the late 1830s and 1840s.[84]

Colesworthy Grant did not contribute to the debate, so it is impossible to know for sure which side of the discussion he would have supported. Nevertheless, the issues raised at the 1839 meeting form a useful framework through which we can interpret a number of statements that the artist made in his own publications. For instance, in his *Domestic Sketch* he outlined a rigidly hierarchical understanding of Indian society, contending that it was, through the effects of 'caste', 'divided and sub-divided into classes or shades of rank and purity, resembling the list of precedence in the British Peerage, from the blood royal duke to the youngest sons of esquires'.[85] A 'kindly state of feeling' could develop between Europeans and 'natives' at the top of this hierarchy, just so long as the former would overcome 'prejudice and errors in regard to the people of India', and make instead a 'just discrimination and separation of the evil from the good'.[86] Indeed, European prejudices recur as a constant irritant in Grant's writings. Chastising what he considered an all-too-common characterisation of Bengalis as 'at a very low ebb in morality', he asserted on the contrary how:

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[82] *Ibid.*

[83] *Ibid,* p.103.

[84] There is no space to discuss the issue here, but the same link between 'native education' and trade liberalisation was being made in China, often by individuals connected to the East India Company. It would be insightful for further research to examine the issues at stake in this chapter within a broader imperial context.

[85] Grant, (1849), p.86.

[86] *Ibid.*, p.66.

> 'The "natives of Bengal" sometimes so collectively and sweepingly spoken of, will not need either exception, or advocacy, so humble as mine. I am happy in the acquaintance of a few native gentlemen of whose friendship and esteem I shall always be proud, and who, together with many of the rising generation, now educating, springing up, as it were, from a new soil, are, I trust, calculated to prove to their country, both "useful and ornamental".[87]

Grant's opinions appear to emulate his distinguished relative Sir John Peter Grant in praising an 'educated' group of upper-class Indians willing to enter a distinctly British civil society in Calcutta, and he certainly shows far less sympathy to the 'poor' than his patron Doctor Corbyn - indeed, even describing this class as potentially 'evil'.[88] Yet the artist equally argued that this 'kindly state of feeling' was not solely the responsibility of educated Indians, but that 'persons from Europe must submit themselves to an entirely new course of education, and must acquire a familiarity with Oriental manners, customs, prejudices and minds, ere they can understand or appreciate the people, - draw out, as it were, the good which is in them, or form the slightest correspondence of sympathy or feeling'.[89] Accordingly, Grant argued that the fleeting residence of Europeans in India resulted in them never truly developing the bonds and deeper understanding of Indian society that he considered vital for social harmony.[90] To an extent, then, the artist's opinions approached those expressed by Michael Crow at the debate over the function of the Mechanics' Institute. Grant was suggesting that India required a collective 'improvement' - both European and Indian - to raise a multi-ethnic but *educated* class of individuals into a happier state of union. Rather than constituting what Edmund Burke had described almost half a century prior as 'a nation of placeholders', the artist implored Europeans to conceptualise Anglo-Indian society as their own, and to 'invest themselves' more fully in the 'Indian soil'.[91]

iv. 'Useful and Ornamental': Colesworthy Grant's *Oriental Heads*

[87] *Ibid.*, p.65.
[88] *Ibid.*, p.66.
[89] *Ibid.*, p.68.
[90] *Ibid.*, p.67. 'Whether rich or poor, the Europeans are regarded as birds of passage'.
[91] Burke, Edmund, 'Speech on Opening of Impeachment' (15th February, 1788), in Langford, (1981-2015), pp.6:269-312, p.6:285. And Grant, (1849), p.67.

The two fundamental contexts I have traced for Grant's artistic and personal development allow us to better draw out the historical significance of *Oriental Heads*. To start with, it is evident that Grant's request for 'respectable individuals' with 'characteristics of their tribes or countries' was far more inclusive than earlier, eighteenth-century definitions of 'respectable natives' - which had predominantly been premised on the recognition of 'noble' lineage. Instead, Grant's request was taken up by a range of individuals occupying that 'vast gulf between prince and peasant' - by Indians with careers in public, commercial, and, frequently, educational institutions. Grant's sitters were essentially members of that class of 'natives' who Sir John Grant and Joachim Stocqueler believed 'would benefit by the Mechanics' Institution'.[92] Leafing through the album's pages, we find *Baboo* Tarachand Chukruburtee, 'author of a Bengalee & English Dictionary' and a committee member of the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute (*fig.*4:7); Madoo Ray, 'pundit' at the 'Hindoo College' (*fig.*4:8); *Pundit* Josedhiyan Missa, 'Professor of Mathematics at Sanscrit College Calcutta' (*fig.*4:25); *Baboo* Goorooperaud Bose, the 'late head native accountant at Bengal Bank' (*fig.*4:26); and Rev. Ter David Mackertick, 'Vicar of the Armenian Church' (*fig.*4:27). This list could certainly be extended. Dressed in 'native' costumes, but presented as individuals occupying the same middle-class careers as Europeans, the lithographs made visually the argument that Michael Crow had put forward during the debate about the Mechanics' Institute: 'dress, in his opinion, made no distinction, and he was not aware if any proper and definite line of demarcation by which those who were called Natives could be distinguished in their *civil relations of life* from those who were denominated East Indians'.[93]

Importantly, even when one of those 'respectable individuals' was a member of what traditionally would have been considered a 'noble' lineage, such as Maharaja Kali Krishna Bahadur (1808-1874), Grant still produced a portrait that was not so much concerned with the sitter's 'native characteristics' in a Romantic or 'medievalised' Orientalist sense (both of which certainly found increasing popularity in Victoria's later reign), but focused instead on the Maharaja's unusual position within Anglo-Indian civil society (*fig.*4:28). The artist portrayed Kali Krishna looking reticent, in three-quarter length and decorated with a peculiar collection of medals draped across his chest. These had been the subject of an article in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843, which revealed that they had been presented to the Maharaja as gifts from the Governor-General William Bentinck, King Louis Philippe of France (1773-1850), and 'William King of Holland' (1772-1843), all

[92] 'Meeting for the Establishment of a Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts', in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), p.103.
[93] *Ibid.*

as rewards for Kali Krishna's literary translations.[94] Grant had even captioned the Maharaja's portrait 'translator of Johnson's *Rasselas* and other works into Bengali and Hindee'. Of course, Kali Krishna's wealth and fame derived, in reality, from his grandfather Raja Nabakrishna Deb (widely known as 'Nob Kissen') (1733-97), a key betrayer of *Nawab* Siraj ud-Daulah (1733-57) at the 1757 Battle of Plassey, and a subsequent benefactor from a handsome reward offered by the victorious Robert Clive. The Maharaja thus belonged to a family whose fortunes were closely tied to British rule, and I would argue that this display of the recognition that monarchical Europe had bestowed on his 'education' was a novel and resourceful way of framing his privileged position as a 'native public figure' in accordance with the changing social values of Britain and Europe. Indeed, the portrait almost appears to express the 'public' values that underpinned *Fraser's* 'Gallery': Grant presented Kali Krishna as a keen mind, a member of the celebrated literary class, whilst at the same time his upright posture and his left hand's gentle contact with the sword hilt at his waist suggest his 'manly', 'vigorous' qualities. Quite unlike the feminised *nawabs* that English caricaturists depicted sprawled before 'exotic' *nautch* dancers, Maharaja Kali Krishna's notable place in Anglo-Indian society was instead figured as 'productive' within the parameters of *Fraser's* 'proto-Victorian celebritydom', thereby vindicating the Maharaja's wealth and status within the shifting values of the society with whose fortunes his family had entwined their own.

There are, then, clear similarities between *Oriental Heads* and the *Public Characters of Calcutta* - both adhere to a similar format, were released simultaneously, and appear to valorise the construction of a middle class in order to support the 'stability of the government' in India.[95] Yet this analogy falls just short of adequate, for *Oriental Heads* did still include the traditional 'types' found in other 'costume albums' of India - Grant simply gave these figures names and identities. Crucially, however, in the majority of instances where the artist did include the stereotypical kinds of labouring classes or religious oddities customarily incorporated into costume albums, he presented these sitters as subject to a number of 'civil codes' or 'institutions' that bound individuals to society. A series of lithographs depicting individually-named '*Sepoys*' ('native' infantry), for example, was accompanied by a sheet of text describing in some detail the individual careers of the sitters - emphasising the forms of state knowledge over the individual that military service produced. Indeed, the ordered expression of rank in the *sepoy's* military uniforms works as a potent metaphor for Grant's hierarchical vision of society. Individuals may have been named in the accompanying text, but in the image this individuality slowly dissipates into a background of

[94] 'The Armorial Bearings of Maharaja Kali Krishna Bahadur, of Calcutta', in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.7, No.1, (1843), pp.200-201.
[95] Spry, (1837), p.17.

identical bayonets, producing a vertical rhythm of similitude that functions as a potent visual metaphor for the military's 'discipline and order' (*figs.*4:29&4:30).

This point can be made more emphatically using a set of lithographs added to the series in 1844, which depicted a group of Dacoits (thieves) and that 'diabolical and extraordinary fraternity of T'HUGS' (*fig.*4:31).[96] Despite these sitters all being convicts dressed in the 'customary costume...alike to the inmates of a prison', each criminal was named in an attached sheet of text, which listed the central figure as 'Be'nee Ram or Futteh Singh', convicted in 1842 for a *dacoitee* committed in Bareilly District in 1839, and the second figure as 'Murdan Khan', convicted of 'assisting murder' at Gosaingunge.[97] Interestingly, Grant bemoaned that 'Rambul, alias Ram Sing, would, had his importance been known, [have] occupied a more conspicuous position...the estimate of his character being influenced by external appearances, which seemed to bespeak him "a fellow of no mark or likelihood"'.[98] This compositional misfortune was redressed in the text, however, which provided a remarkably detailed biography of Ram Sing's apparently notorious criminality: he was described as a native of Ulwar; we learn that his parents died when he was fourteen; and Grant extensively detailed his employment before noting the various locations where he had committed crimes, alongside the value of the goods stolen (including 'three and a half Lakhs' from Bajee Roa in Bithor!)[99] Crucially, I would argue that this minor accompanying text reveals one of the core underlying motives behind *Oriental Heads'* unusual format. For in the case of Ram Sing, physiognomy - or knowledge deduced from 'external appearances' - proved insufficient for communicating character. Instead, the sitter's interest to society was provided by a judicial biography generated by the colonial state's increasing capacity to gather knowledge about the individual. 'Costume' as a category of interpretation, and physiognomy as a practice of deducing information from external phenomena, are thus replaced in *Oriental Heads* by the systems of knowledge produced by the institutions that structured 'civil relations' in modern society - those bonds which, according to Michael Crow, did not distinguish between 'Europeans' and 'natives'.[100]

In some ways, then, the *Oriental Heads* was indeed a project to capture 'as complete as possible...the various tribes or classes of men who may be denominated *Oriental*', it was simply that Grant's conception of social totality was highly inflected by his understanding of the individual's

[96] 'Dacoits and T'hugs', explanatory notice frequently found bound with: Grant, *Oriental Heads,* (1842-1850).
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] Of course, it is widely acknowledged that European concepts of modern society did differentiate between 'whites' and Indians, and, in many cases, helped to consolidate or maintain colonial rule.

place within India's supposedly 'divided and sub-divided' hierarchy.[101] From the *Dacoit* criminals sketched during their penal transportation to Burma and given a detailed criminal biography (*fig.*4:32), to the portrait of Meer Muhummud Nusseer Khan, the recently deposed Umeer of Sindh (who was permitted to attach a family tree and 'personal narrative' of his military defeat *figs.*4:33&4:34), Grant presented each of his sitters as an individual, and thus subject to the various civil codes that defined the individual in early-Victorian thought. By presenting Indian society in this manner - and not as the 'collectively and sweepingly' categorised types that he had ridiculed in his *Domestic Sketch* - Grant made it possible for Europeans to undertake what he had described as the 'just discrimination of the evil from the good', to distinguish which 'natives' were 'worthy' of being enfranchised within the 'productive', middle-class society of post-1833 India.[102] I hope that it is already reasonably clear that this quite crucial distinction from previous costume albums was intrinsically related to Grant's involvement in projects like the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Arts, alongside the influence of his patron Doctor Corbyn, whose *India Review,* and, I would argue, *The Public Characters of Calcutta* series that it contained, promulgated the need to construct a professional middle class in the subcontinent. By presenting a hierarchy of Indian society, one which included 'natives' in middle-class occupations or nobles presented like Maharaja Kali Krishna in the trappings of an early-Victorian 'public character', I believe that Grant's *Oriental Heads* visually bore out the hope, so strongly expressed at the debate over the purpose of the Mechanics' Institute, that this middle class would include Indians who had been 'raised' by education.

Whilst it is certainly possible that Grant may have originally set out to produce a more traditional costume album of 'types' 'denominated *Oriental'*, the limiting visual logic of this genre would thus have proved incompatible with his own political ambitions. Instead, the artist chose to adopt an artistic format used in Britain to exemplify a new 'proto-Victorian Celebritydom', in which personal 'genius' was serialised into a collective totality that defined correct 'public' decorum - or, to quote Judith Fisher, in which 'personality could not be separated from public achievement'.[103] *Oriental Heads'* totalised vision of 'native' society was thus structured according to the same dialectic between the individual, society, and the state that we saw in the very first lecture given at the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute: 'nations are but aggregates of individuals', and education makes individuals not only 'happier as men', but adds 'strength to the state, by rendering them

[101] Grant, (1849).
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] Fisher, (2006), p.99.

useful citizens'.[104] Hierarchical, but structured at all levels by the 'civil relations' of the law and the economy, I think that *Oriental Heads* produced what we might impertinently call an 'Anglo-Indian Beehive' - a vision of society which certainly included menial jobs, but which was harmoniously organised according to a civil framework that Cruikshank far more didactically labelled 'the constitution', 'law and equity', 'trial by jury', and that great aspiration for middle-class India, a harmonious balance between 'agriculture and free trade' (*figs.*4:35-4:38).[105] Notably, Cruickshank even included 'invention' and 'mechanics' amongst the higher tiers of his reactionary social allegory (*figs.*4:39&4:40). Set within the context of its production, *Oriental Heads* thus provides a remarkably cogent visualisation of the Early-Victorian ideologies of 'individualism', 'improvement', and 'the dignity of labour' that structured the broader projects of Colesworthy Grant and his peers. Additionally - and perhaps most importantly to the broader argument of *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* - these ideas relied on the transnational emergence of middle-class values across the British Empire, developing a very specific understanding of society's relationship to the state, and challenging both the vestiges of the Company's patrician character and its intellectual basis in an early modern conception of political corporation.

To conclude my analysis of Grant's remarkably idiosyncratic album on this broader issue, I want to return to Corbyn's 'earnest desire to promote the fine arts', as I think this aspiration forms one final, but crucial, aspect of the story. Whilst harbouring views that ranged between Radical, Liberal, and even at times on a form of Tory Paternalism, I would argue that Corbyn's original interest in *Fraser's Magazine* resulted from its appeal in the 1830s to a middle-class audience for whom the dandiacal Whiggery of the Regency held no appeal. Instead, Maggin and Maclise had offered this audience an alternative culture - a literary culture of letters, periodicals, and print illustration - and thus an alternative conception of cultural capital. When Corbyn proposed that Grant was 'laying the foundation for the fine arts in India',[106] I would suggest that the artist was, in reality, laying the foundation for this new, middle-class culture of Victorian professionalism. Despite decrying the state of the arts in the subcontinent, Corbyn and Grant were thus vigorously constructing a material culture essential to an enormously important social and ideological shift in British India. They provided the cultural basis for practices and ideologies that consolidated the status of both India's professionalising bureaucracy and its private commercial community, and thus

[104] 'Meeting of the Mechanics' Institution' in *Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register,* (1839), pp.190; and *Ibid,* p.191.

[105] As is evident from his agreement with Spry's appraisal of India as 'almost exclusively confined to agriculture', finding a balance between primary and secondary industries was a key concern of Corbyn's, and a frequent subject of his opinion pieces in *The India Review.*

[106] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Commencement of Fine Arts in India', in *The India Review,* Vol.3, (1839), p.154.

dramatically shifted the ways in which artistic culture legitimised colonial rule - from the Civic Humanist inspired presentation of enlightened and benevolent rule under the Hastings administration, as well as the Regency grandeur of Cornwallis' tenure, to an understanding of the British Empire as underpinned by a concept of 'improvement' common to an international Liberal project. Moreover, Grant's *Oriental Heads* highlights the origins of a widespread indigenous participation in a culture that shaped ideas about civil institutions, and which would thus prove critical to the later history of the campaign for Indian Independence. At the same time, Grant's hierarchical vision of India ('resembling the list of precedence in the British Peerage'), alongside his portrait of Maharaja Kali Krishna displayed proudly bedecked with medals, undoubtedly anticipated Queen Victoria's 1877 Imperial Durbar and the Order of the Star of India - an alternative form of 'medievalised' state power that sought precisely to suppress the growth of indigenous civil society. Whilst scholars have thus seen the post-1858 British polity in India as an 'epistemological rupture' in the 'symbolic-cultural' expression of colonial authority, Grant's portrayal of the Maharaja and his 'gifts' within an album that nevertheless stressed the value of contractual modes of social organisation stresses the multiple ways in which the colonial self was constructed in relation to British authority throughout this period, alongside the protracted histories of how state power could be articulated through culture.[107]

Importantly, and just as Corbyn's advocacy of *laissez-faire* investment was predicated on the transnational flow of capital, this new middle-class artistic culture was understood as part of a interconnected global system. After all, it was 'gratifying...to the lovers of the fine arts to find that Mr Grant is not behind the artist in London'.[108] Indeed, this emulation was not solely a way to demonstrate metropolitan refinement to an Anglo-Indian audience, but to reflect such refinement back to the metropole. Corbyn explicitly referenced his 'London readers', and proudly foretold how 'as presents to friends in Europe, the *Oriental Heads*, we have no doubt, e'er long will be in great demand'.[109] A crucial historical development lay behind these remarks. During the 1830s, steam technology had entirely revolutionised communication between India and Britain, facilitating the sorts of networks that I discussed in relation to Robert Melville Grindlay in the Prologue. From

[107] Principle amongst these scholars is Bernard Cohn, who has argued that 'the twenty years after the desacralization of Delhi and the final suppression of the uprising of 1858 were marked by the completion of the symbolic-cultural constitution of British India'. See: Cohn, (1983), p.179. Margot Finn's oeuvre tackles these issues well. See, for example: Finn, (2006). Also useful, is: Stoler, Ann, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13 (May, 1992), pp.134-161.

[108] Corbyn, Frederick, 'The Author of the "Undying One" our Progress in Lithography', in *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838), p.758.

[109] Corbyn, Frederick, 'Mr Grant's First Series of Miscellaneous Sketches of Oriental Heads', in *The India Review*, Vol.3, (1839), p.355.

taking anything upwards of four months to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, and often with complications caused by the monsoon winds, 1838 saw the Company's new steam-cutter *The Atlanta* reach Bombay in a record forty-one days, and Calcutta in fifty-four.[110] With this time-lag so dramatically reduced, a greater connectivity could develop between the periodical cultures of London and the Company's Presidency cities. Critically, I believe that the shared set of middle-class values that this culture participated in sounded the last death knells for the sorts of corporate identities that I argued developed in relation to the artistic activities of the Behar School of Athens. Views like those expressed by Michael Crow at the debate over the social function of the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute were either replaced by the 'improvement' driven 'civilising mission' of Boaz and Corbyn, or the Macaulay-derivative conception of Indian 'education' proffered by Sir John Peter Grant. In both ideologies, Company India's 'independence of spirit' - so lauded by D'Oyly just a generation previously - appears to have dissipated in the mind-set of Anglo-Indians. What had clearly not altered, however, was art's importance as the material basis on which these reforms occurred, and through which they were publicly articulated.

[110] The best account of these remarkably understudied changes that I have found is a series of online blog-posts by Peter Mitchell at the University of Sussex. See:
http://blogs.sussex.ac.uk/snapshotsofempire/2016/03/07/under-pressure-steamships-global-power-and-communications-and-the-east-india-company-part-1/.

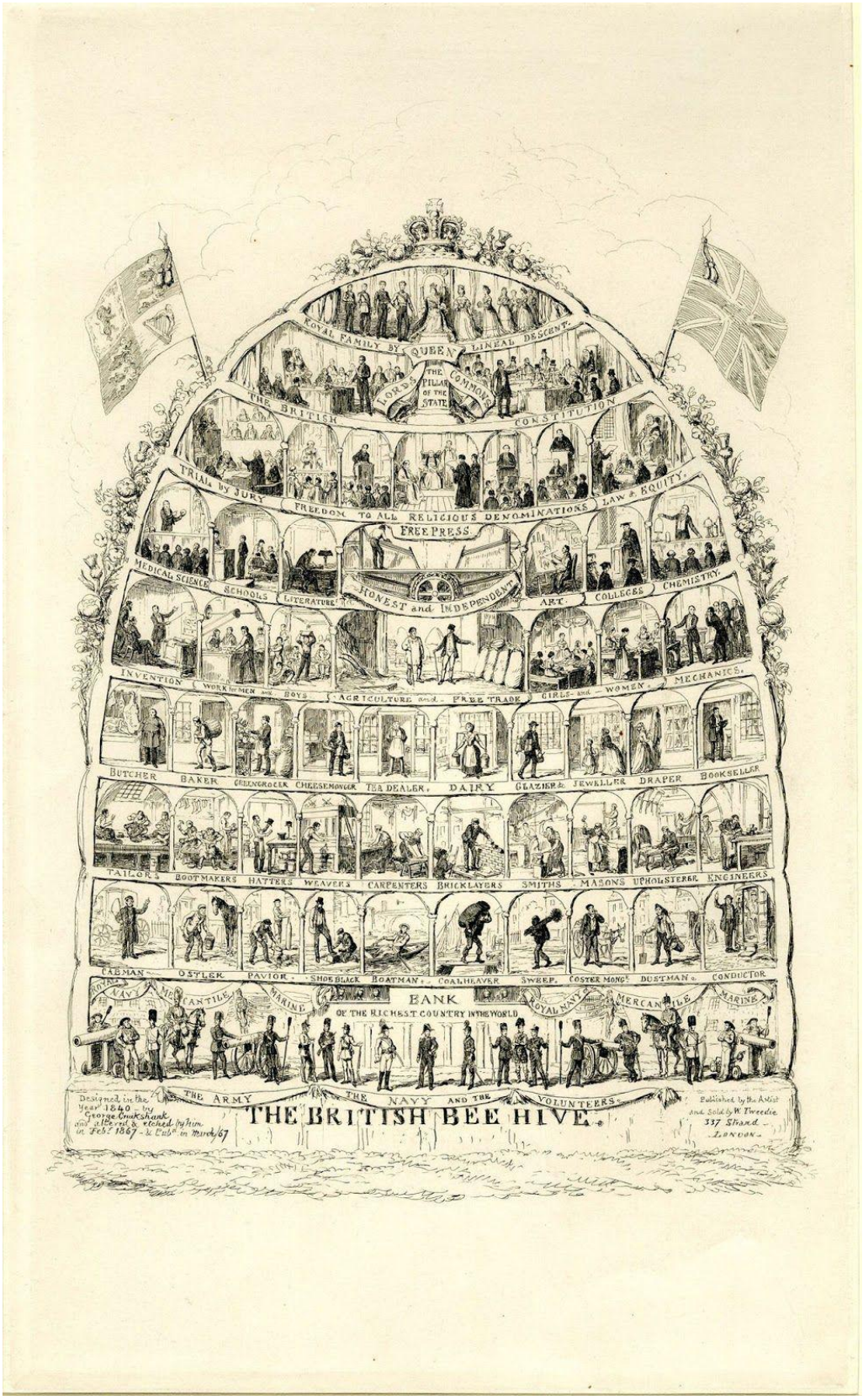


Figure 4:1: George Cruickshank, '*The British Beehive*', 1867 (etched from a design of 1840), etching, in the possession of the British Museum, London.

Figure 4:2: Colesworthy Grant, '*George Grant's Watch & Clock Shop in Calcutta*', 1849, lithographic print, published in: *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch: A letter from an Artist in India to his Mother in England,* (Calcutta: W. Thacker, 1849).

Figure 4:3: Colesworthy Grant, '*Wrapper for A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads'* (with detail of the '*Ordbhawn Fakir*'), c.1842, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

Figure 4:4: Colesworthy Grant, '*Ordbhawn Fakir*', c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

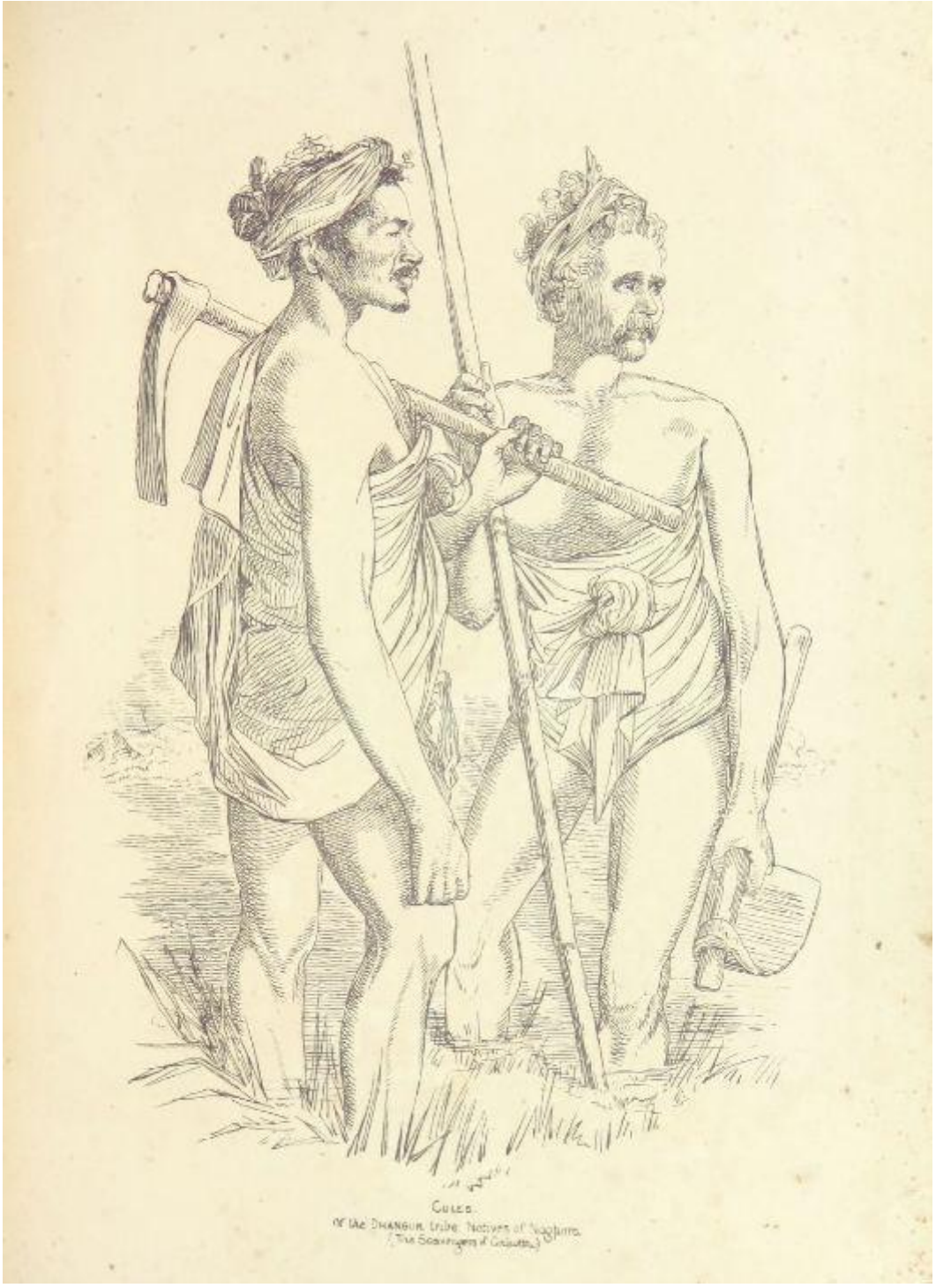


Figure 4:5: Colesworthy Grant, *'Cules'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

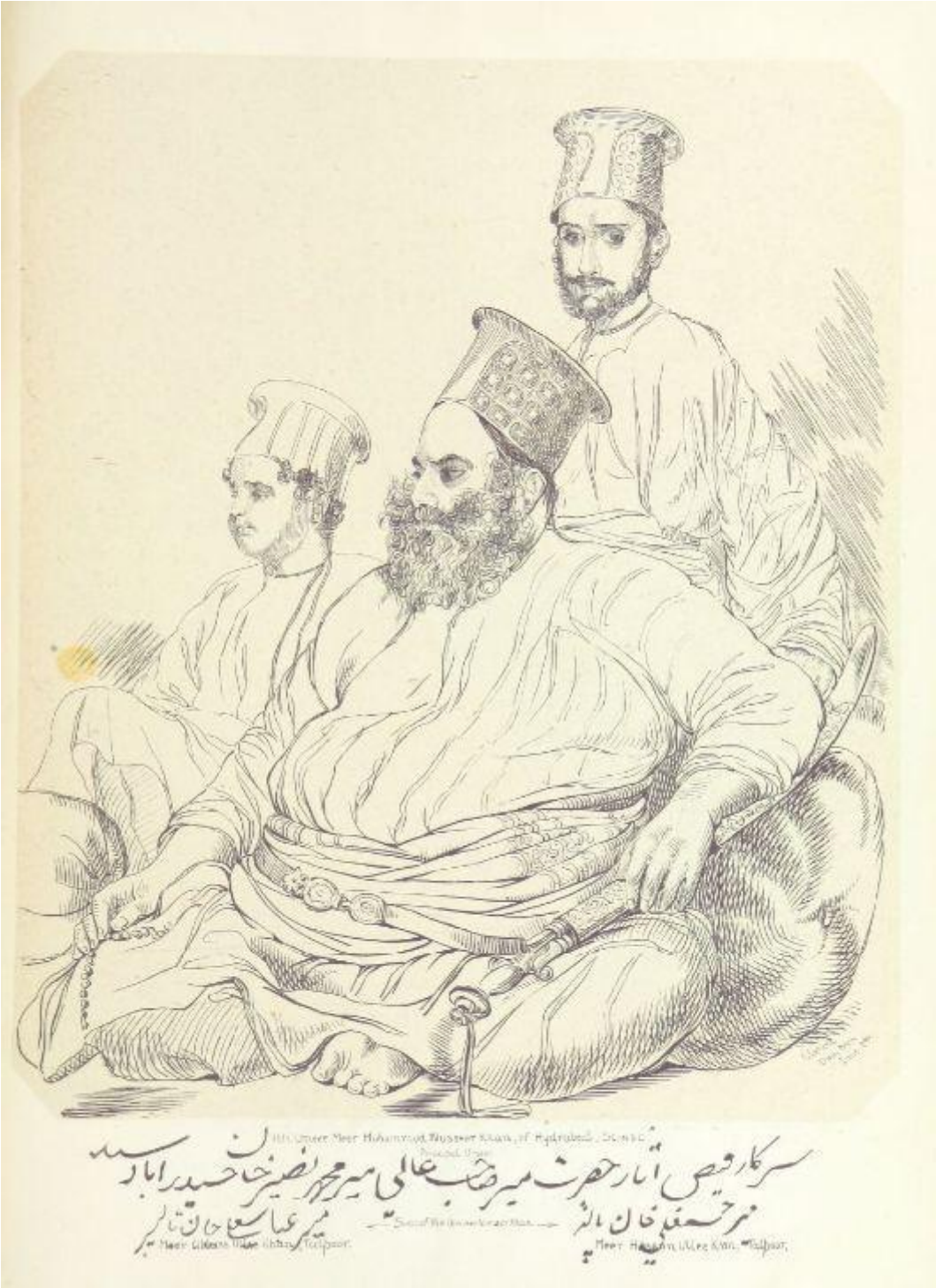
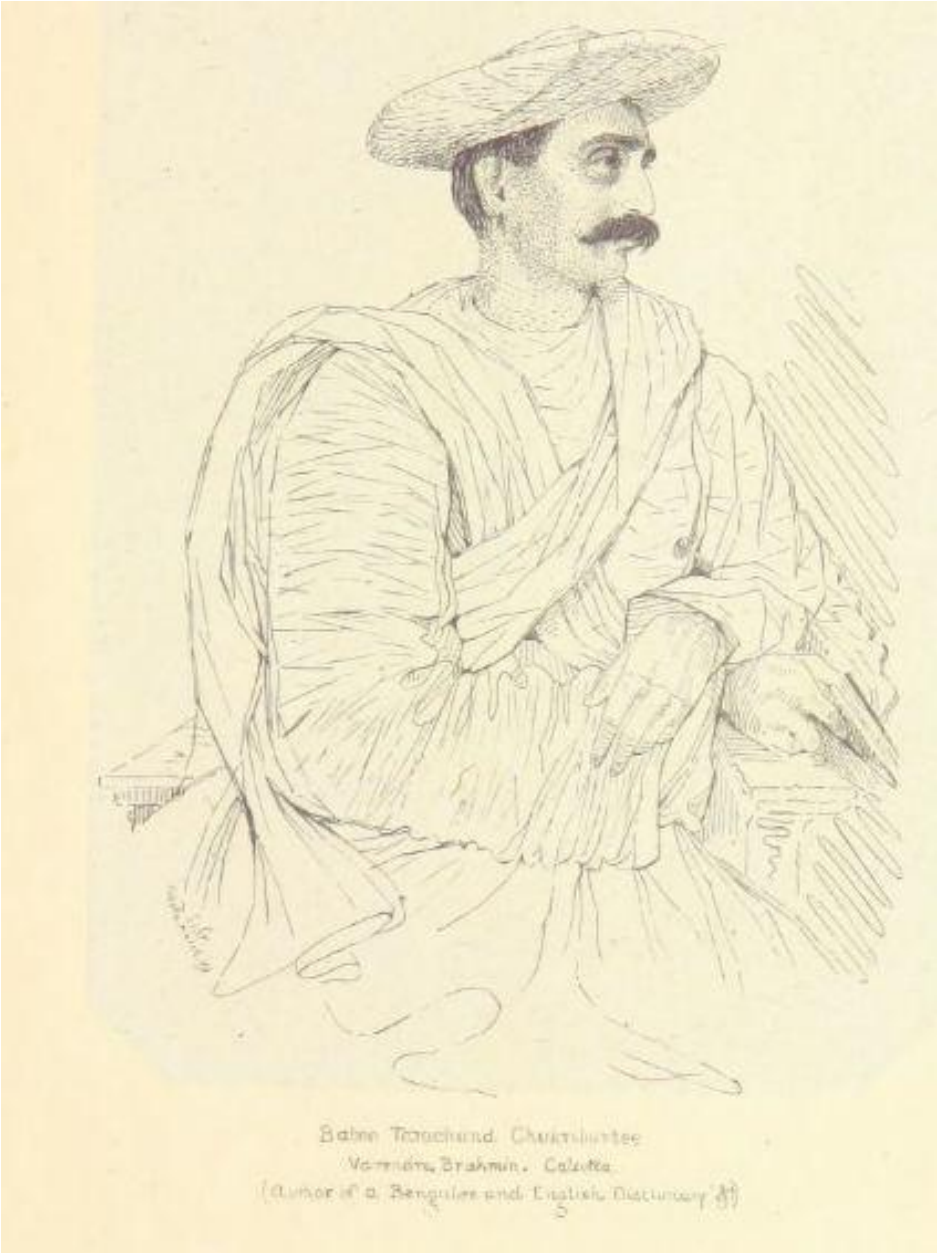


Figure 4:6: Colesworthy Grant, '*H. H. Umeer Meer Muhummud Nuseer Khan'*, c.1844, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).



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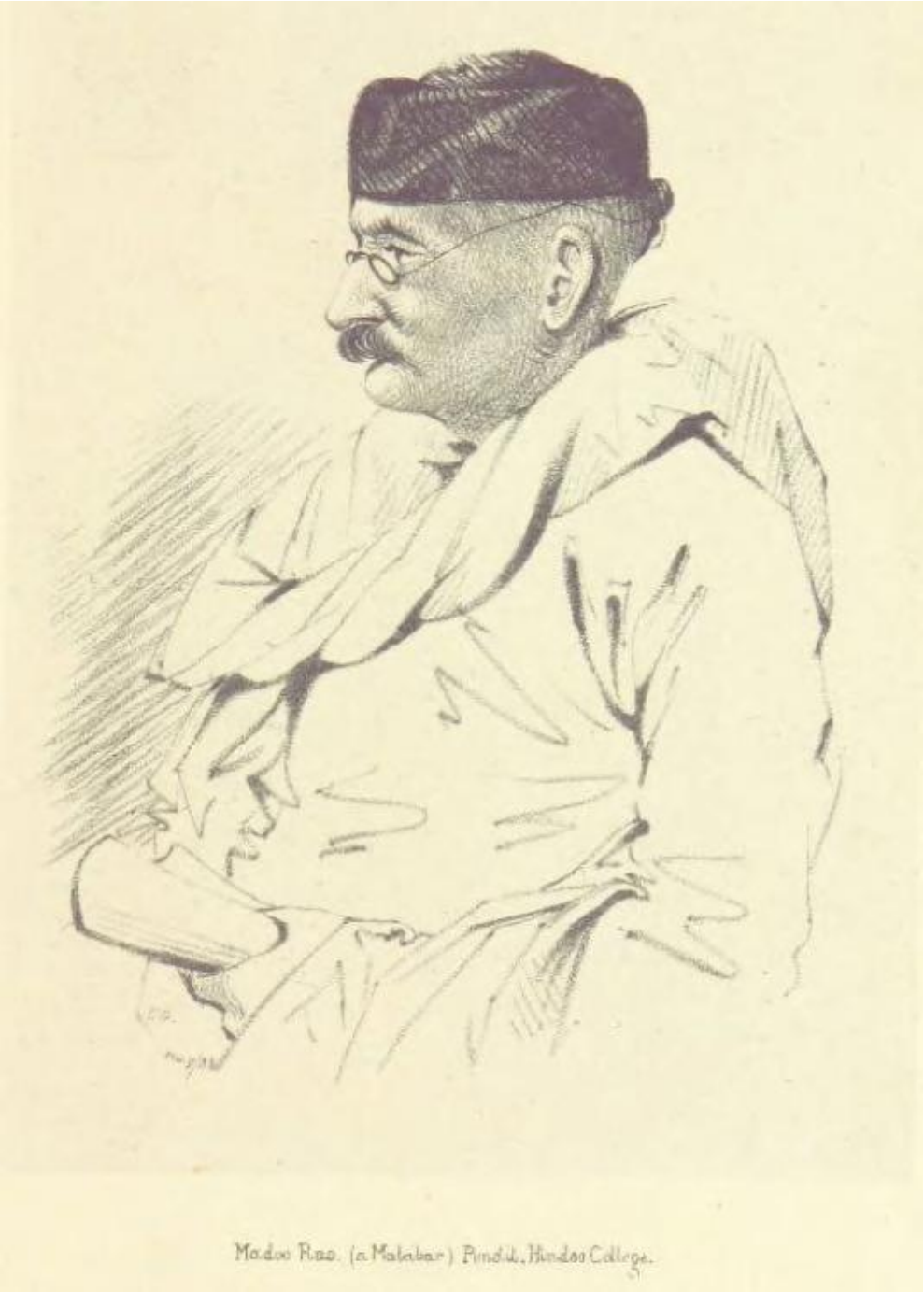

Figure 4:8: Colesworthy Grant, '*Madoo Rao'*, c.1838, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

Figure 4:9: Colesworthy Grant, '*Rustomjee Cowasjee Esq.*', c.1848, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

Figure 4:10: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Khajee Wullee Mahomed'*, c.1828-30, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, Patna.

Figure 4:11: Sir Charles D'Oyly, '*Nawaub Mendy Koolli Khan'*, c.1828-30, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, Patna.

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Figure 4:14: Christopher Webb Smith (after an original by Jairam Das), '*Indian Noble*', 1828, lithographic print, published on the Behar Amateur Lithographic Press, Patna.

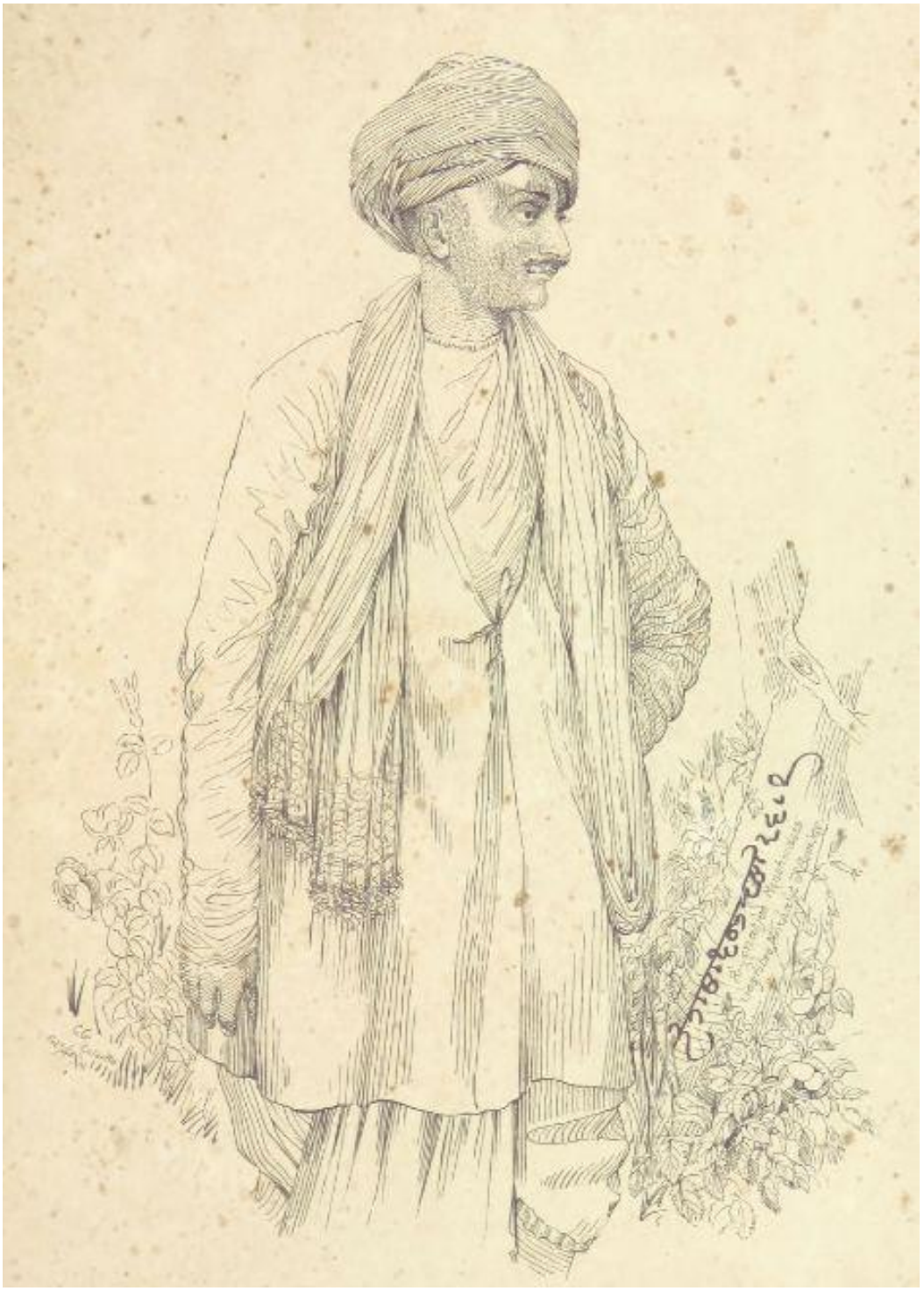


Figure 4:15: Colesworthy Grant, '*Rongonatjee Monohurdoss'*, c.1840, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

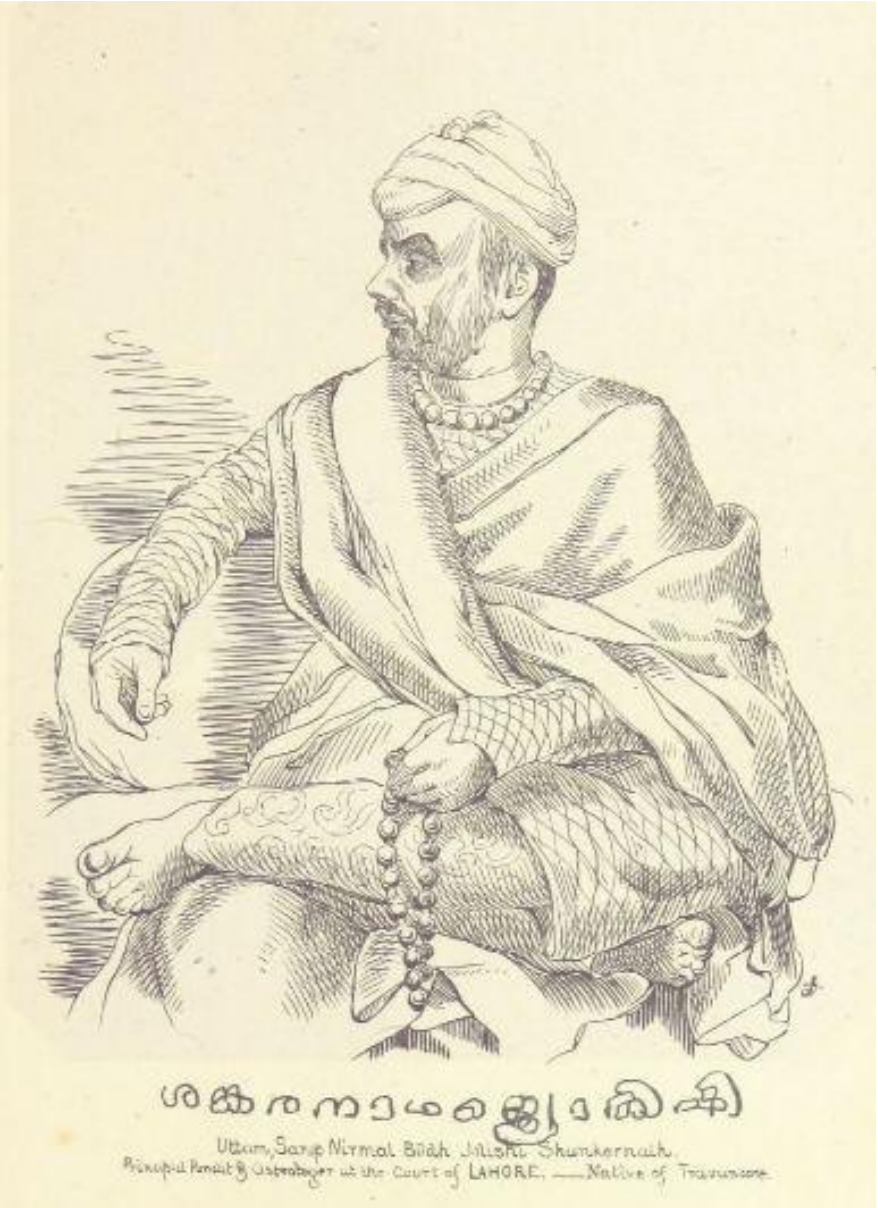
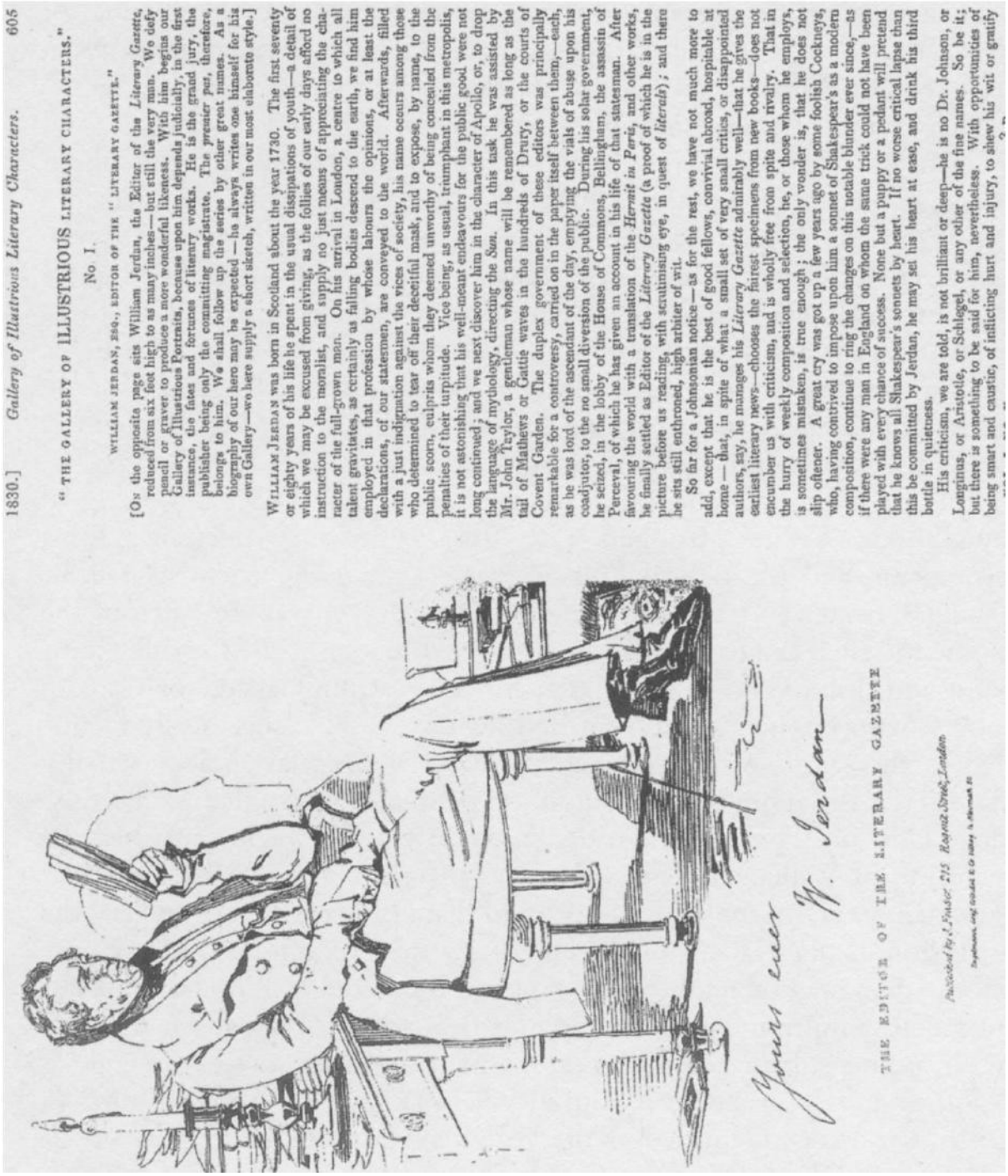


Figure 4:16: Colesworthy Grant, *'Uttam Sarup Nirmal Budh Jolishi Shunkernath'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

Figure 4:17: Colesworthy Grant, '*Dr. Frederick Corbyn',* c.1843, lithographic print, published in: *Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).



1830.] *Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters.* 605

"THE GALLERY OF ILLUSTRIOUS LITERARY CHARACTERS."

No. I.

WILLIAM JERDAN, ESQ., EDITOR OF THE "LITERARY GAZETTE."

[On the opposite page sits William Jerdan, the Editor of the *Literary Gazette*, reduced from six feet high to as many inches—but still the very man. We defy pencil or graver to produce a more wonderful likeness. With him begins our Gallery of Illustrious Portraits, because upon him depends judicially, in the first instance, the fates and fortunes of literary works. He is the grand jury, the publisher being only the committing magistrate. The *premier pas*, therefore, belongs to him. We shall follow up the series by other great names. As a biography of our hero may be expected — he always writes one himself for his own Gallery—we here supply a short sketch, written in our most elaborate style.]

WILLIAM JERDAN was born in Scotland about the year 1730. The first seventy or eighty years of his life he spent in the usual dissipations of youth—a detail of which we may be excused from giving, as the follies of our early days afford no instruction to the moralist, and supply no just means of appreciating the character of the full-grown man. On his arrival in London, a centre to which all talent gravitates, as certainly as falling bodies descend to the earth, we find him employed in that profession by whose labours the opinions, or at least the declarations, of our statesmen, are conveyed to the world. Afterwards, filled with a just indignation against the vices of society, his name occurs among those who determined to tear off their deceitful mask, and to expose, by name, to the public scorn, culprits whom they deemed unworthy of being concealed from the penalties of their turpitude. Vice being, as usual, triumphant in this metropolis, it is not astonishing that his well-meant endeavours for the public good were not long continued; and we next discover him in the character of Apollo, or, to drop the language of mythology, directing the *Sun*. In this task he was assisted by Mr. John Taylor, a gentleman whose name will be remembered as long as the tail of Mathews or Gattie waves in the hundreds of Drury, or the courts of Covent Garden. The duplex government of these editors was principally remarkable for a controversy, carried on in the paper itself between them,—each, as he was lord of the ascendant of the day, emptying the vials of abuse upon his coadjutor, to the no small diversion of the public. During his solar government, he seized, in the lobby of the House of Commons, Bellingham, the assassin of Perceval, of which he has given an account in his life of that statesman. After favouring the world with a translation of the *Hermit in Paris*, and other works, he finally settled as Editor of the *Literary Gazette* (a proof of which he is in the picture before us reading, with scrutinising eye, in quest of *literals*); and there he sits still enthroned, high arbiter of wit.

So far for a Johnsonian notice—as for the rest, we have not much more to add, except that he is the best of good fellows, convivial abroad, hospitable at home — that, in spite of what a small set of very small critics, or disappointed authors, say, he manages his *Literary Gazette* admirably well—that he gives the earliest literary news—chooses the finest specimens from new books—does not encumber us with criticism, and is wholly free from spite and rivalry. That in the hurry of weekly composition and selection, he, or those whom he employs, is sometimes mistaken, is true enough; the only wonder is, that he does not slip oftener. A great cry was got up a few years ago by some foolish Cockneys, who, having contrived to impose upon him a sonnet of Shakespear's as a modern composition, continue to ring the changes on this notable blunder ever since,—as if there were any man in England on whom the same trick could not have been played with every chance of success. None but a puppy or a pedant will pretend that he knows all Shakespear's sonnets by heart. If no worse critical lapse than this be committed by Jerdan, he may set his heart at ease, and drink his third bottle in quietness.

His criticism, we are told, is not brilliant or deep—he is no Dr. Johnson, or Longinus, or Aristotle, or Schlegel, or any other of the fine names. So be it; but there is something to be said for him, nevertheless. With opportunities of being smart and caustic, of inflicting hurt and injury, to shew his wit or gratify

THE EDITOR OF THE LITERARY GAZETTE

Published by J. Fraser 215 Regent Street, London.

Yours ever W. Jerdan

Figure 4:18: Daniel Maclise, with text by William Maginn, '*William Jerdan, The Editor of the Literary Gazette*', 1830, lithographic print, published in: *Fraser's Magazine*, (June, 1830), pp.605-606.

Figure 4:19: Colesworthy Grant (taken after Daniel Maclise), '*Caroline Norton, The Author of "The Undying One"*', c.1838, published in: *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838).

Figure 4:20: Colesworthy Grant, '*W. B. Oshaughnessy*', c.1838, lithographic print, published in: *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838).

Figure 4:21: Colesworthy Grant, *'Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert'*, 1838, lithographic print, published in: *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838).

Figure 4:22: Colesworthy Grant, *'Henry Harpur Spry'*, 1838, lithographic print, published in: *The India Review*, Vol.2, (1838).

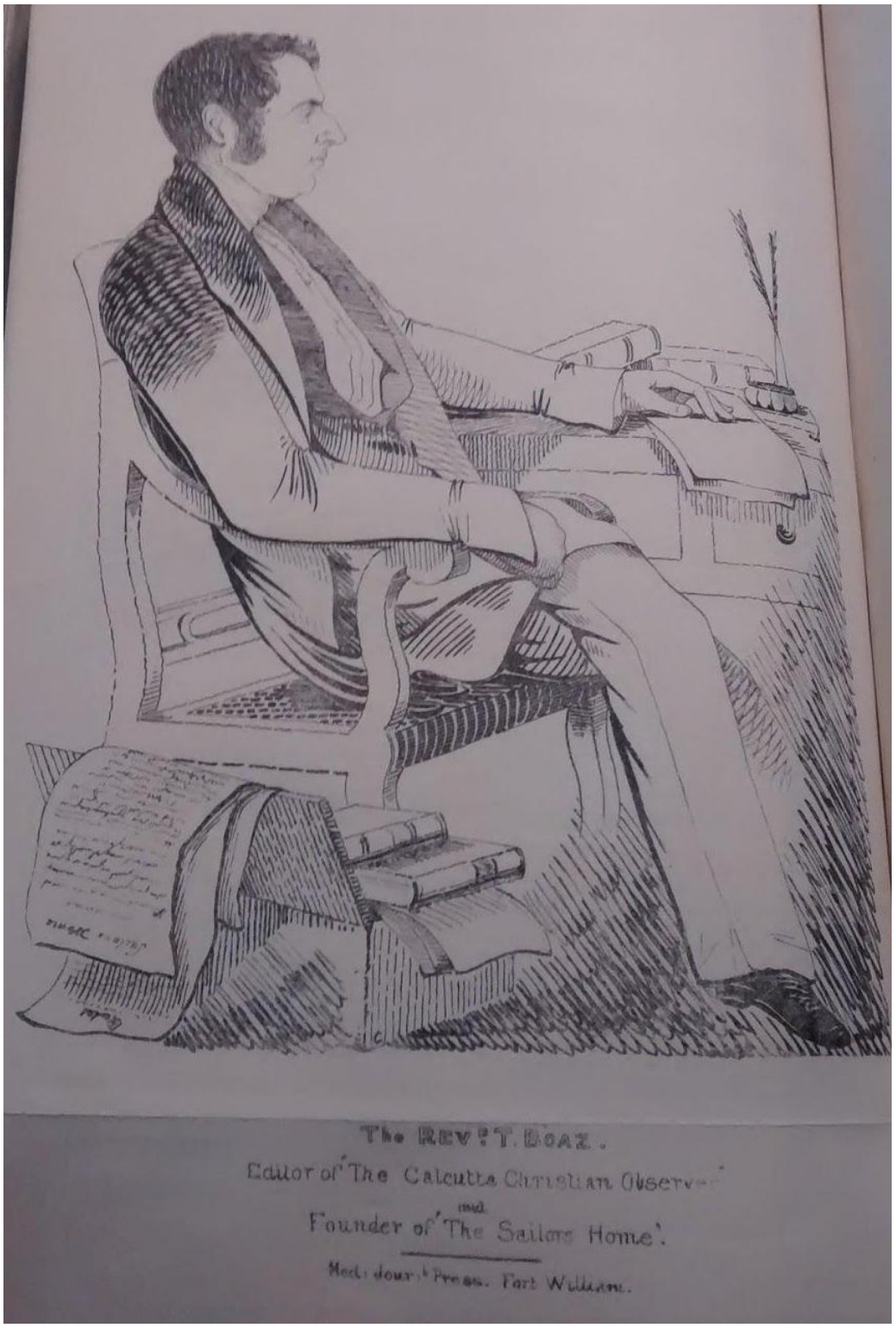


Figure 4:23: Colesworthy Grant, *'The Reverend T. Boaz'*, 1839, lithographic print, published in: *The India Review*,Vol.3, (1839).

Figure 4:24: Colesworthy Grant, '*Palankin Bearers*', 1849, lithographic print, published in: *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch: A letter from an Artist in India to his Mother in England,* (Calcutta: W. Thacker, 1849).

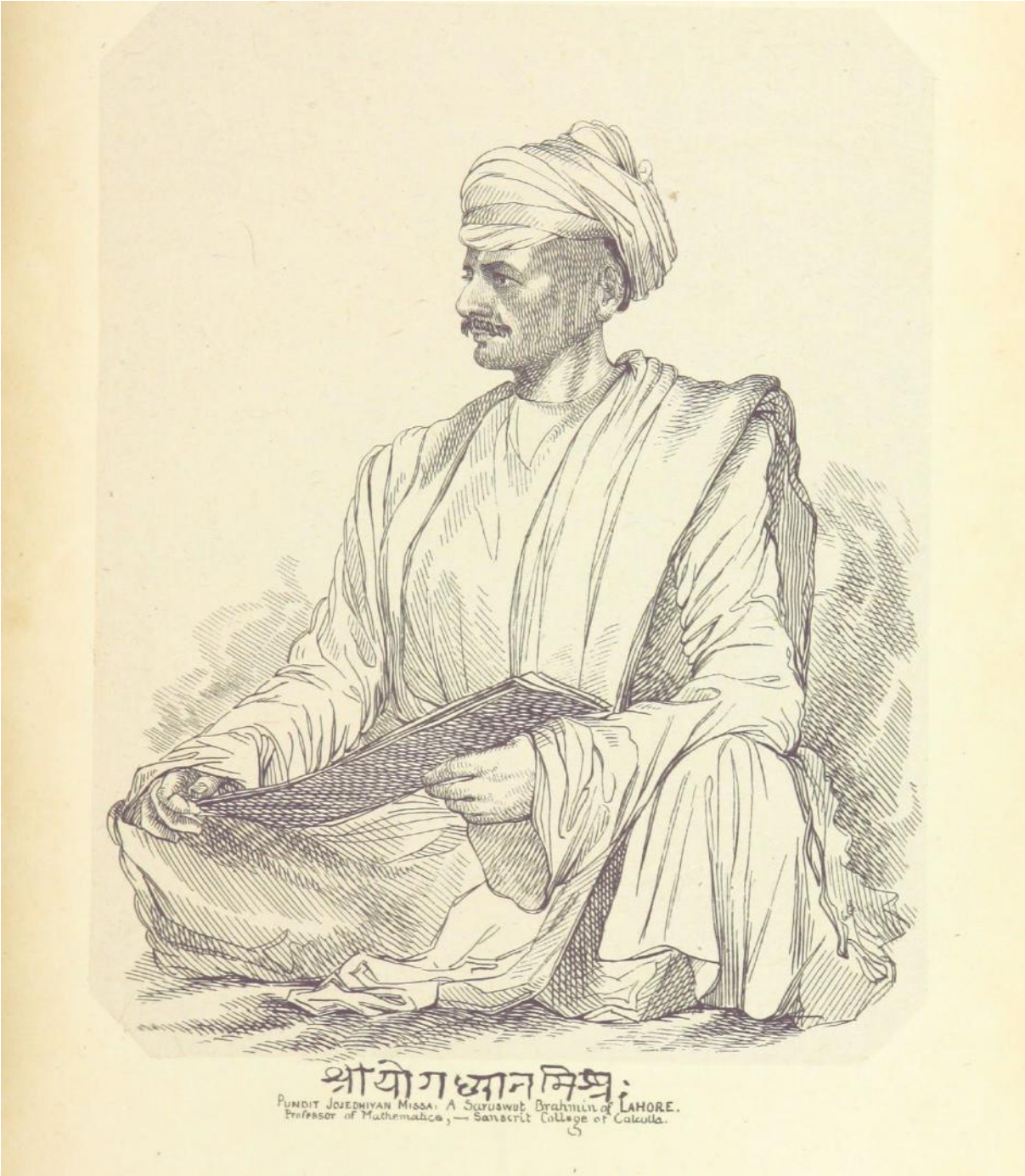


Figure 4:25: Colesworthy Grant, '*Josedhiyan Missa*', c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

Figure 4:26: Colesworthy Grant, '*Baboo Goorooperaud Bose'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

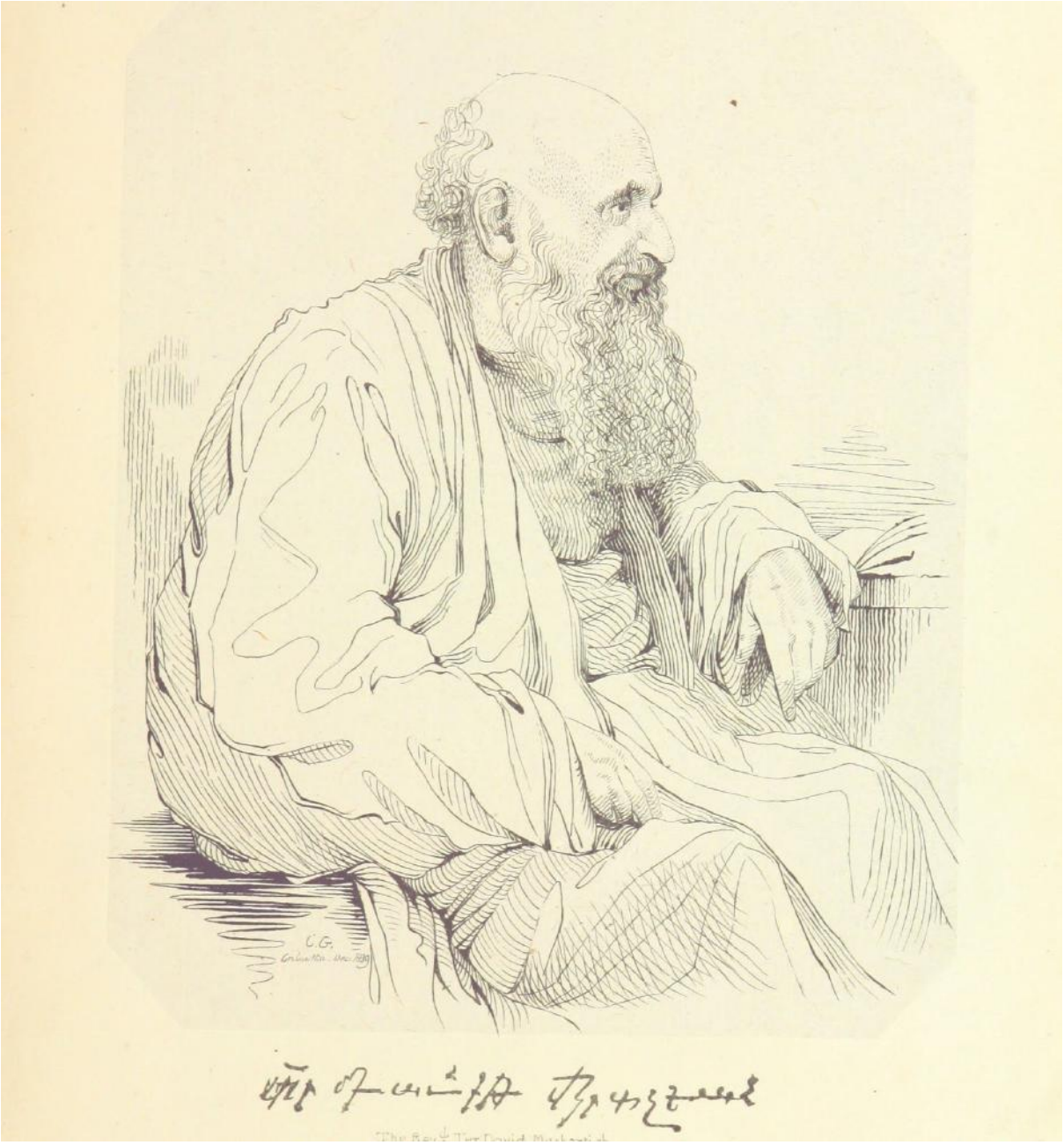


Figure 4:27: Colesworthy Grant, '*Reverand Ter David Mackertick'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

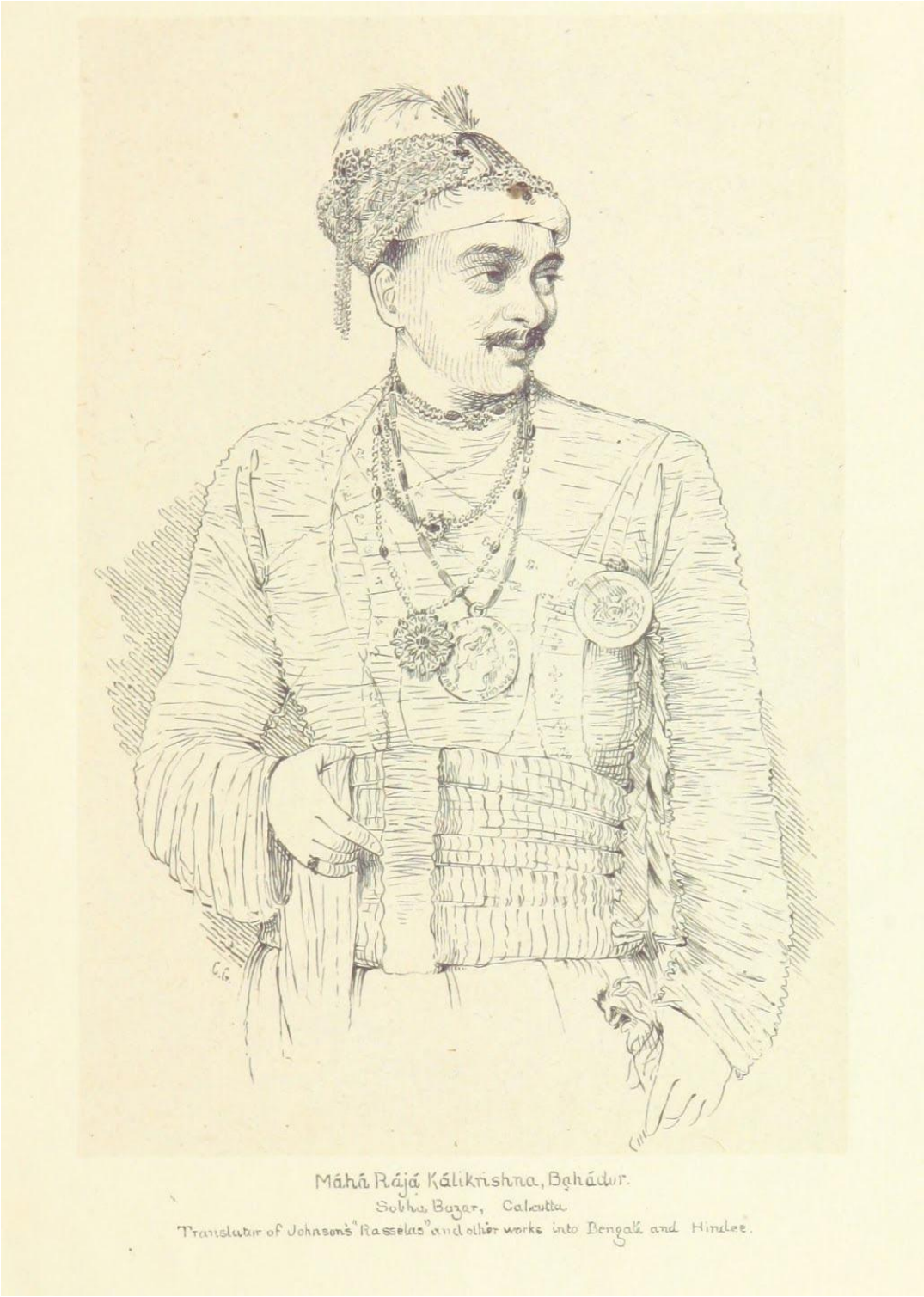


Figure 4:28: Colesworthy Grant, '*Maharaja Kali Krishna Bahadur*', c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

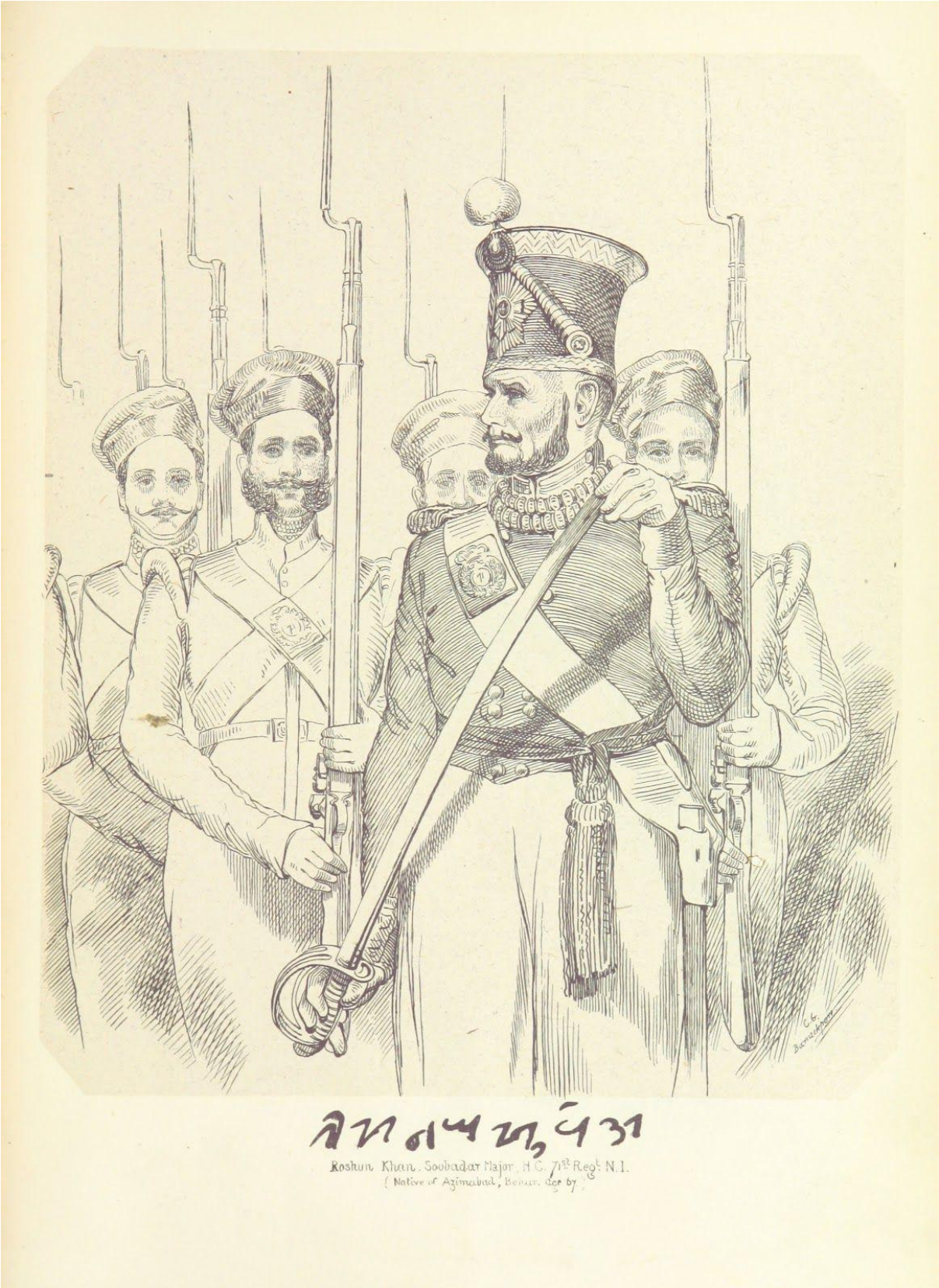


Figure 4:29: Colesworthy Grant, *'Sepoys'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

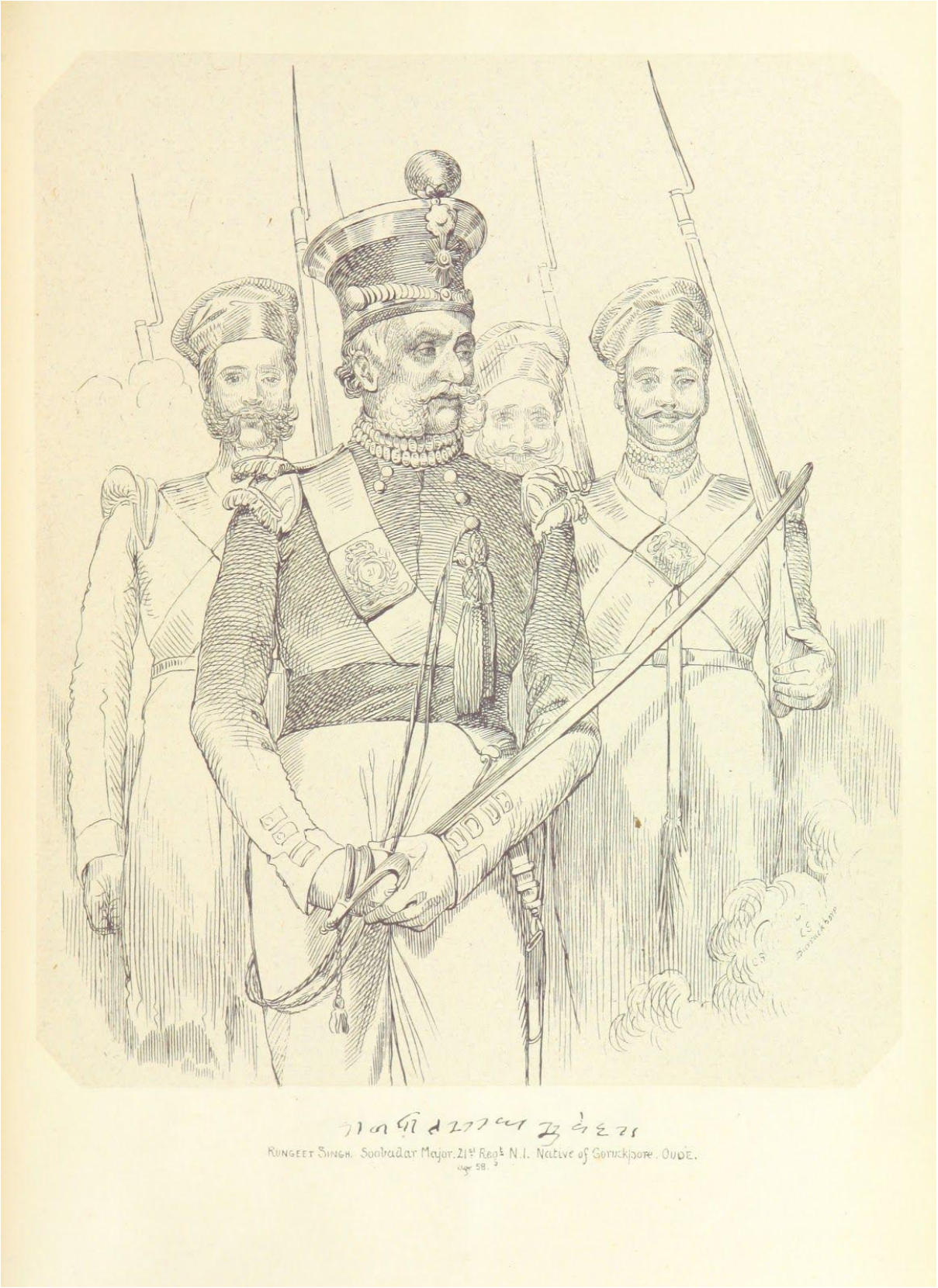


Figure 4:30: Colesworthy Grant, *'Sepoys'*, c.1838-50, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

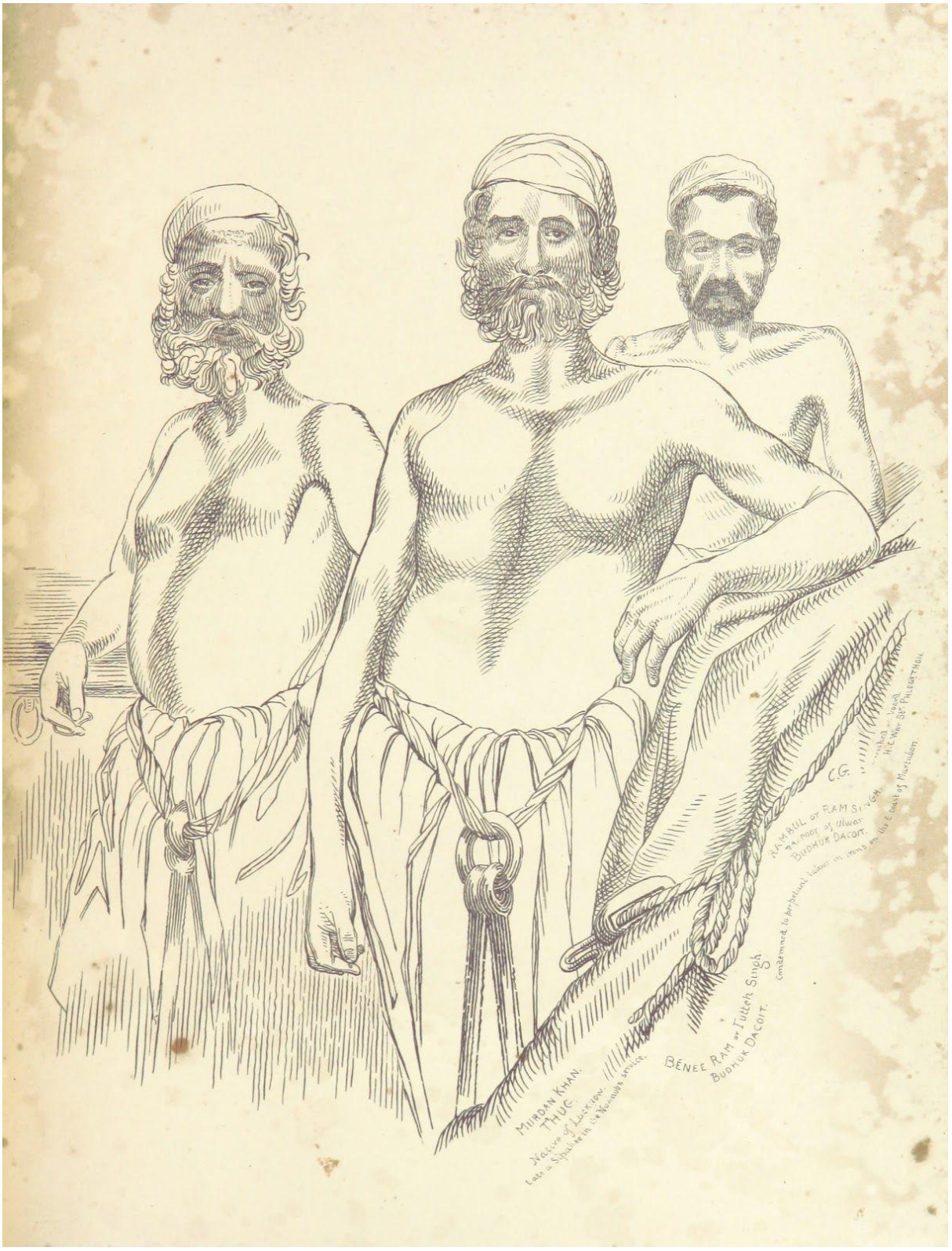


Figure 4:31: Colesworthy Grant, '*Thugs & Dacoits*', 1844, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

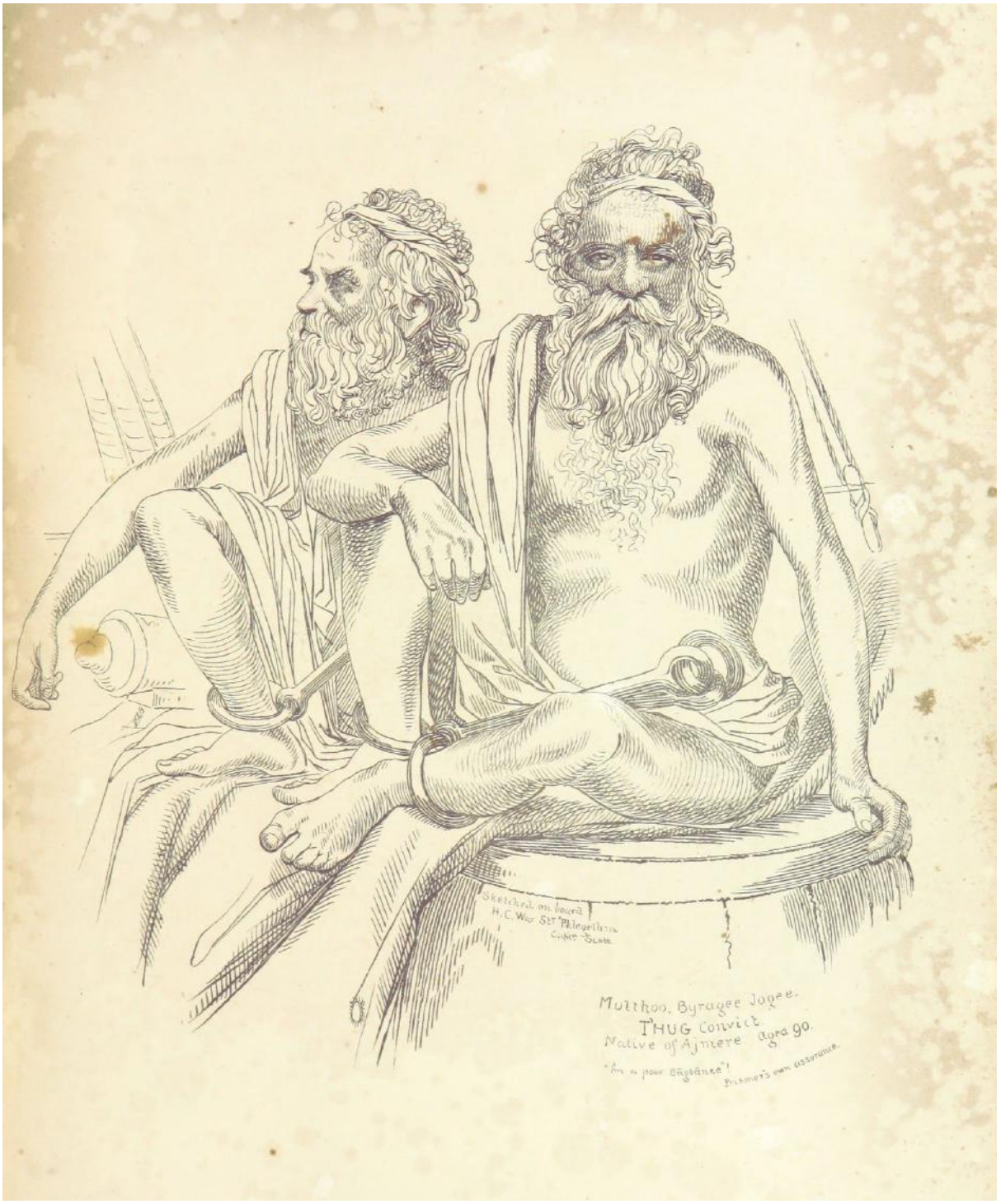


Figure 4:32: Colesworthy Grant, '*Thugs & Dacoits*', 1844, lithographic print, published in: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*, (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

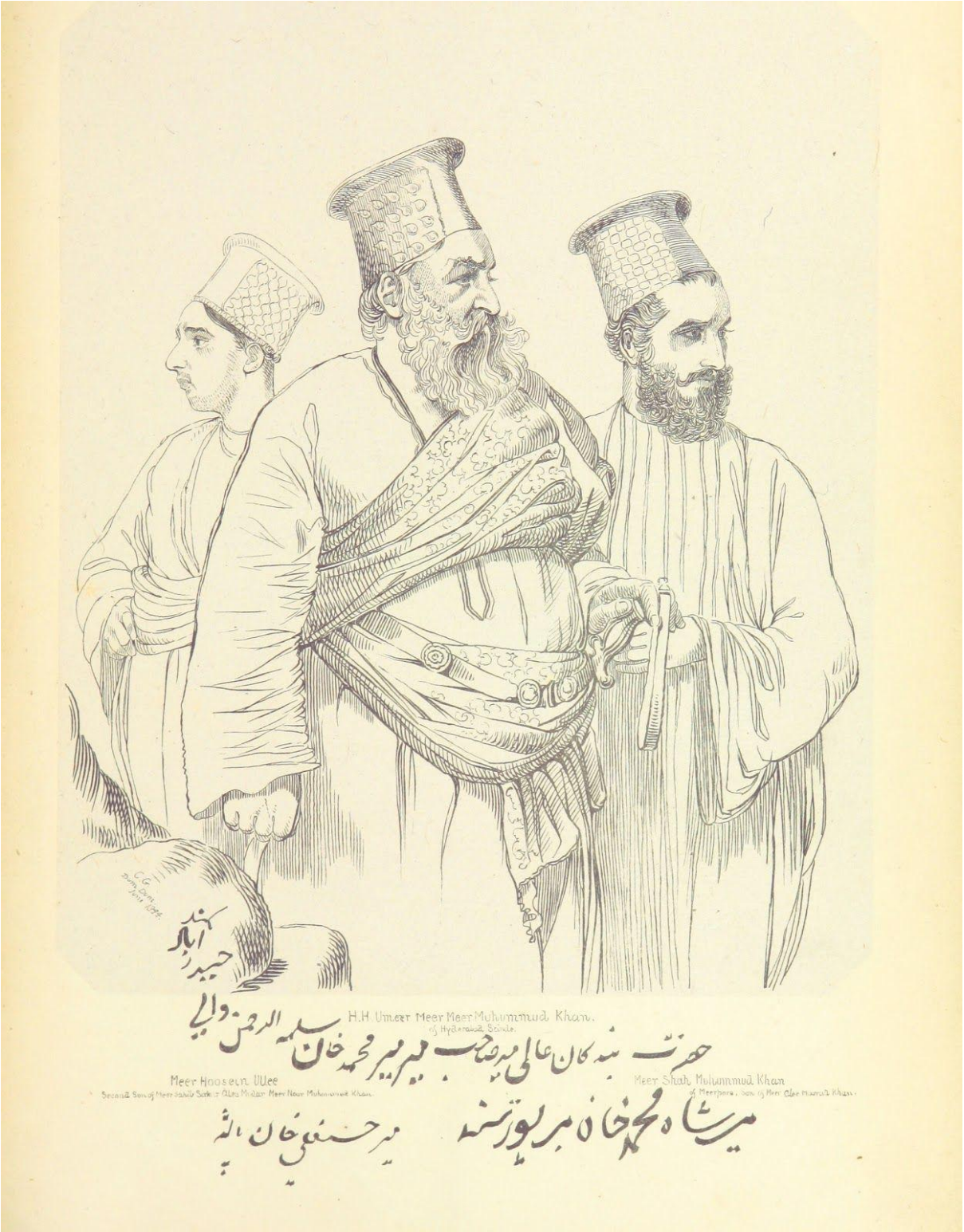


Figure 4:33: Colesworthy Grant, *'H. H. Umeer Meer Muhummud Khan'*, 1844, lithographic print, published in: *Dost Muhummud Khan and the Recent Events in Caubool* (and incorporated into: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*), (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).

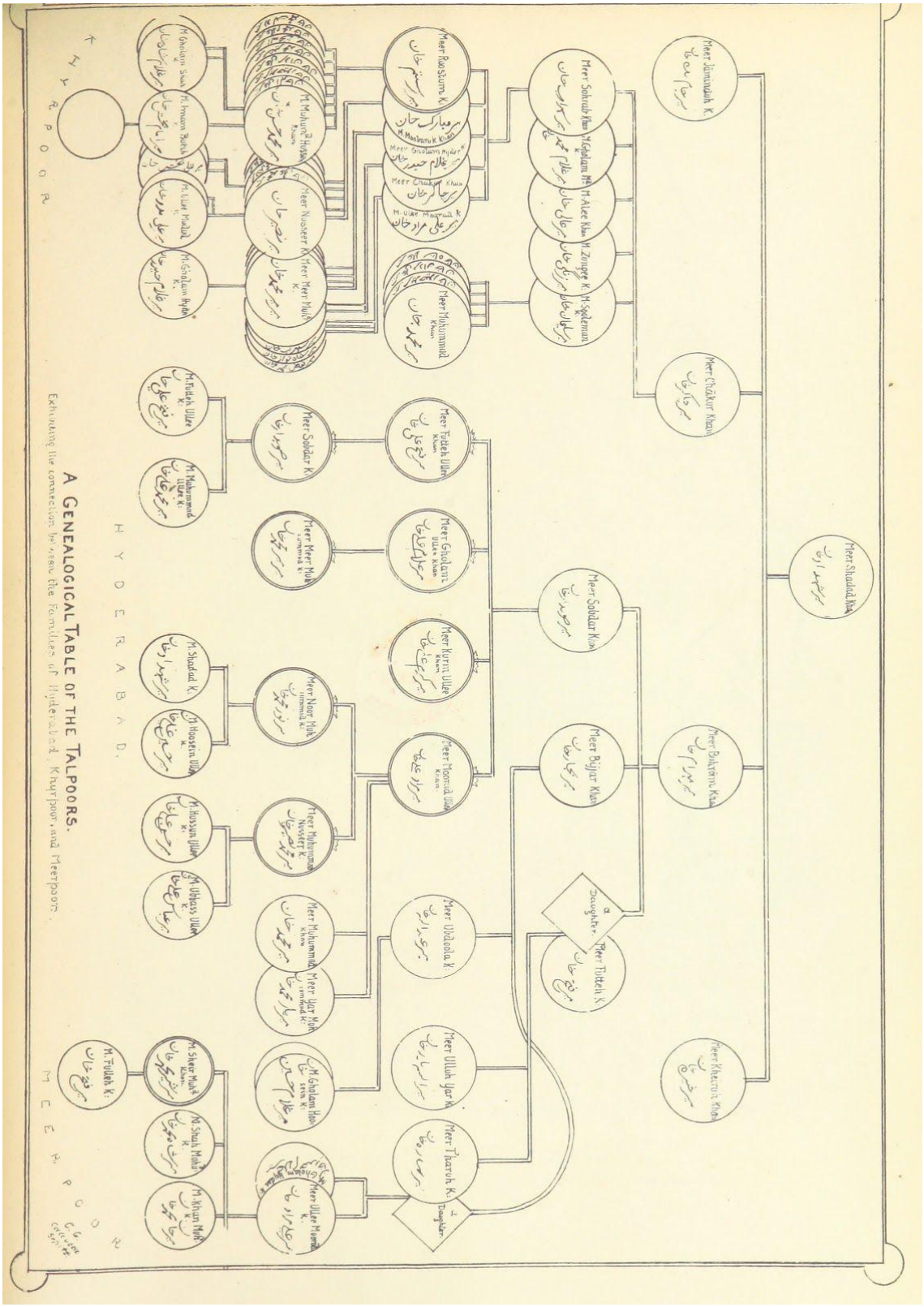
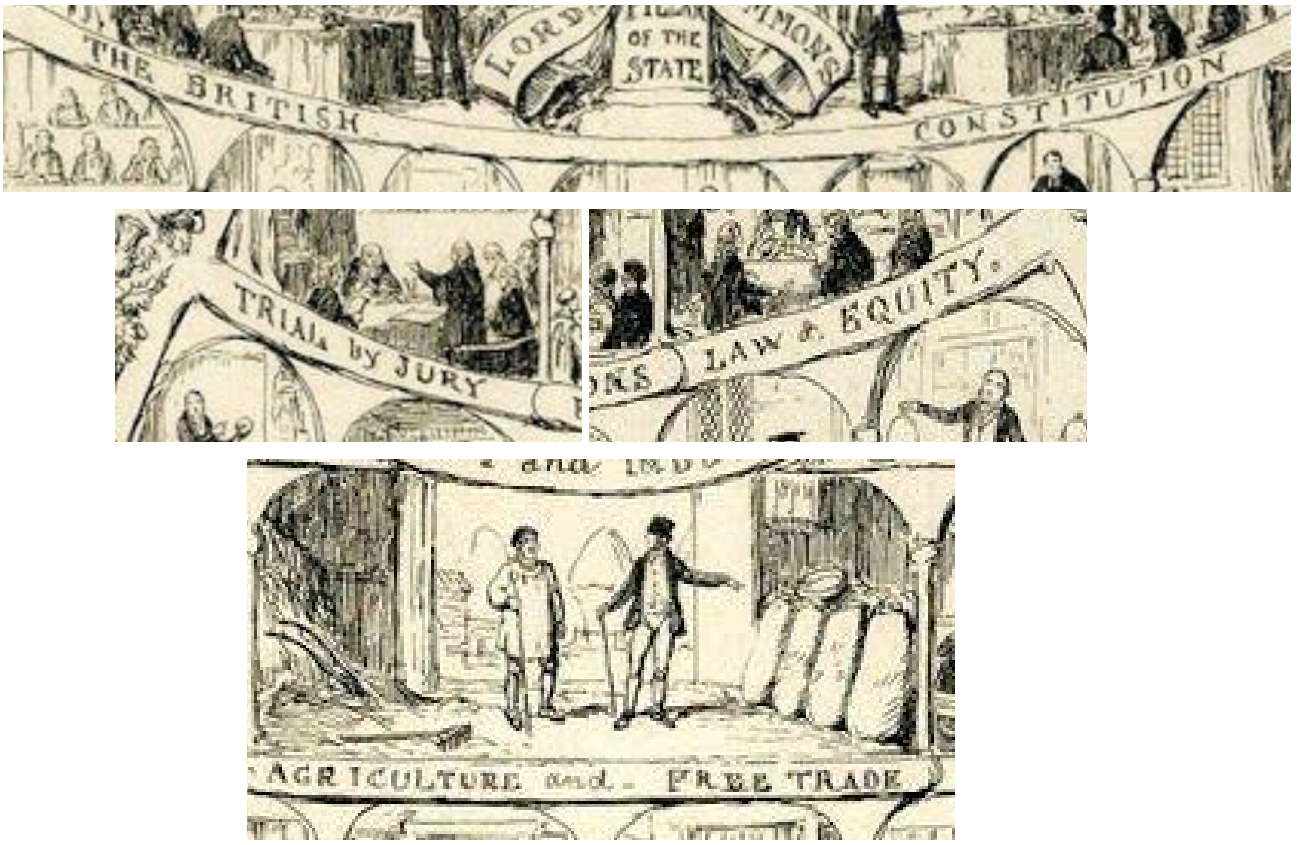
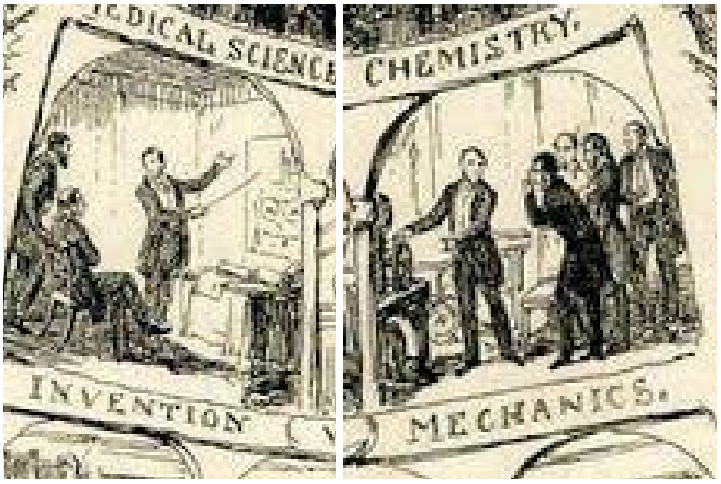


Figure 4:34: Colesworthy Grant, *'A Genealogical Table of the Talpoors'*, 1844, lithographic print, published in: *Dost Muhummud Khan and the Recent Events in Caubool* (and incorporated into: *A Series of Miscellaneous Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads*), (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1842-1850).



Figures 4:35-4:38: George Cruickshank, '*Details from The British Beehive',* 1867 (etched from a design of 1840), etching, in the possession of the British Museum, London.



Figures 4:39 and 4:40: George Cruickshank, '*Details from The British Beehive',* 1867 (etched from a design of 1840), etching, in the possession of the British Museum, London.

- *Conclusion* -

1. An 'Age of Equipoise'? Unfinished Murals on the Eve of Revolution

Long after Sir Charles D'Oyly had been buried in the now-crumbling graveyard at Livorno, and on the eve of the extreme violence that would rip North-Indian society apart over the years 1857-1858, a hub of artistic activity was once again developing in Patna. The dynamic instigator behind these developments was William Tayler (1808-1892), an avid amateur artist who had been appointed the city's Commissioner in 1855. Tayler was from an artistic family - his elder brother John Frederick (1802-1889) was an associate of the Old Water Colour Society alongside Henry Pyne, and was elected President in 1858. William himself took several pupils in India, and associated with a number of the Bengal Amateurs.[1] He had developed a friendship with D'Oyly's younger brother John Hadley, and enjoyed painting with Mary Fendall, John's second wife, whom he described as 'an enthusiastic amateur artist'.[2] Whilst working in Calcutta he had established a 'Brush Club' with members that included the former Athenian Major Henderson, as well as Chinnery's old pupil William Prinsep. And, by the time he arrived in Patna, he had published a series of lithographic prints that speak clearly to the concerns of the previous two chapters, entitled *Sketches Illustrating the Manners and Customs of the Indians and Anglo Indians Drawn on Stone from the Original Drawings from Life* (1842).[3]

Embodying the zeal of those pursuing Liberal reform in India, Tayler recorded how he 'had not been a month in the office when I began to direct my attention to the large and important question of native education'.[4] The consensus that the Company should introduce an English curriculum, he argued, was causing 'deep and growing dissatisfaction and excitement throughout Behar, particularly among the Mahomedans'.[5] Tayler's plan to combat these political tensions was to institute a 'Behar Industrial School', implemented through subscriptions donated by local *Zamindars* (landlords) who could be better trusted by the indigenous population to be protecting

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[1] Tayler, (1882), Vol.II, p.97, p.169.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.203.

[3] Tayler, William, *Sketches Illustrating the Manners and Customs of the Indians and Anglo Indians Drawn on Stone from the Original Drawings from Life*, (London: T. McLean, 1842).

[4] Tayler, (1882), Vol.II, p.198.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp.198-199.

'native' interests. Much like the Calcutta Mechanics Institute, this school would 're-establish the natural union between study and work, to give labour the honourable position which it ought ever to occupy...[and] in course of time, rouse the apathetic spirit of people, and raise their mind to higher and better things'.[6] Dr Frederic Mouart, a committee member of the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute, even wrote to Tayler expressing his 'most hearty wishes for your entire success'.[7]

Artistic practice formed a notable component of Tayler's alternative Indian curriculum, for despite the fact that 'the cultivation of art in the higher branches is not one of the urgent wants of society in Behar, a commencement of elementary instruction in these branches will not be premature or unsuited to the capacity and prospects of many of the youths of the province'.[8] As such, the Commissioner proposed including in the scheme a 'School of Art' that would provide drawing classes, as well as instruction in 'engraving on wood, works of design, photography, &c.'[9] Like the former Athenians that Tayler had become acquainted with in Calcutta, he clearly thought art possessed a key social role in 'improving' the morals and manners of the population, and would later bemoan how 'India at that time was not a country where art was appreciated'.[10] Indeed, following closely in the footsteps of D'Oyly before him, Tayler considered actively patronising indigenous artists a key means by which he might ameliorate this state of affairs, and sought extensive work from the city's most talented Indian painter, Shiva Lal (c.1817-c.1887) - a member of the Patna *Qalam* to whom both Jairam Das and Seodial had belonged. Shiva Lal was a commercially-minded artist, and had established an extensive workshop that mass-produced the typical scenes of Indian life and customs favoured by the European market. Moreover, he had also begun a lucrative business in portraiture, riding up to Bankipore in a palanquin to conduct first sittings, and then delivering complete portraits of his subjects at a later date.[11]

In 1857, on the eve of the Indian 'Mutiny', a friend of Tayler's called Robert Lyall, who was working as the Personal Assistant in Charge of Opium, offered Shiva Lal a rather unusual commission. Lyall wanted the Indian artist to produce a series of mural paintings to decorate the walls of the opium *godown* (warehouse) at Gulzabagh (*figs.*1-2), D'Oyly's former workplace. Essentially, this scheme would tie together two interrelated concerns - the improvement of the 'state of the arts' in India, and the social 'improvement' of the indigenous population - using a medium that during the period had become intimately connected to several discourses surrounding

[6] *Ibid.*, p.207.
[7] *Ibid.*, p.219.
[8] *Ibid.*, p.210.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Tayler, (1881), Vol.I, p.476.
[11] Archer, (1948), p.22.

the issue of 'national' educational reform. Indeed, 'public murals' had not traditionally been considered a particularly British enterprise. Yet in April of 1841, a parliamentary select committee appointed 'to consider the promotion of the fine arts of the country in connexion with the decoration of the Houses of Parliament' had, in emulation of the state-sponsored fresco projects decorating Ludwig 1st of Bavaria's Munich, also advocated a mural cycle for the Palace of Westminster. As the German art historian and critic Gustav Waagen (1794-1868) had told the Committee, one of the best means to consolidate a national school was 'the employment of artists in public buildings'.[12] Accordingly, and continuing the trend of writers anxious to remedy the ever-dire state of British art traced over the preceding chapters, 'public art' - and specifically wall painting - gained a new lease of life in British cultural discourse. For many writers and critics, art retained the capacities to improve and 'polish' individuals that Civic Humanist aesthetics had prescribed, but, in this later context, such capacities were 'democratised' and linked specifically to the reform of working-class education. In 1838, the *Monthly Chronicle* summarised this consensus by contending 'it is but lately that the importance of the fine arts, in a national sense, has been generally admitted among us', yet many now accepted that art provided 'a sound and effectual aid to popular education'.[13] Indeed, with this new moral imperative, authors such as Clare Willsdon have proposed that the century following 1840 witnessed what might be called a 'British Mural Revival'.[14]

It is undoubtable that Tayler and Lyall would have known about the Select Committee Report. Discussions about the scheme occupied the national papers and art journals for an entire decade between 1841 and 1851, and the public competition established to decide which painters would be offered the commission attracted over one million visitors from across the social classes - making it the most popular event of the decade.[15] Equally, if the Select Committee had determined that 'public murals' were the best way to raise the 'state of the arts' in Britain, it seems natural that Tayler's concerns over the 'dire' state of the arts in India would be met by Lyall's decision to provide extensive wall space to a 'native' artist. The Opium Assistant's patronage certainly accorded well with the advice offered by Martin Arthur Shee, the sixth President of the Royal Academy, who had warned the Select Committee 'if the object is to encourage the arts of our country, to elevate its character with respect to our rivals and neighbours, then...the proper mode would be to employ and

[12] 'Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures', *Reports, Committees, Misc.* (1835), v, p.387. For an excellent study of the Westminster fresco commission, see: Winter, Emma L., 'German Fresco Painting and the New Houses of Parliament at Westminster, 1834-1851', in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.47, No.2 (June 2004), pp.291-329.

[13] Cited in: Winter, (2004), p.308.

[14] Willsdon, Clare, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.3.

[15] Winter, (2004), p.327.

cultivate native talent'.[16] Unlike the state-sponsored scheme at Westminster, though, Shiva Lal's preparatory drawings - which are now held in the collections of the V&A - did not emulate the grand historical subjects or the religious themes drawn from German inspiration, but instead comprised nineteen vignettes detailing the various stages of opium production, delineated clearly with bold colours and minimal introduction of pictorial space (*figs.*3-21). Lyall's commission thus appears to have melded an interest in the 'improving' nature of 'public murals' with that other great influence on British cultural life during the central decades of the nineteenth century - the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Indeed, following the revolutions that swept across Continental Europe in 1848 - and during which Ludwig I's fresco schemes proved useless in preventing his forced abdication - the example of Munich gradually retreated from the British imagination.[17] Rather than pursuing the role of patron to grand murals, Prince Albert instead consolidated his involvement in the Great Exhibition with the further development of the South Kensington complex. Over the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain was thus to define itself through that combination of industry and arts that Tayler himself had so passionately advocated in his scheme for a Behar Industrial School, and which form an evident context for Shiva Lal's meticulous depiction of industrial processes. After nearly a century of flirtation with the notion of state involvement in the arts, Britain returned to a deep suspicion of state patronage, and the Nation's promotion of cultural excellence was bequeathed to private initiative. As this post-1848 cultural direction was lent legitimacy by the period's political stability, scholars have characterised Britain as sailing smoothly into an 'Age of Equipoise'.[18] Yet British India's fate lay in quite the opposite direction.

Several discourses associated with the Select Committee's support of 'public murals' even seem of particular relevance to both Lyall's commission and the evident concerns that Tayler had over the 'growing dissatisfaction' of the Bihari populace. In the political turmoil of the 1840s, with the working-class Chartist movement at its peak, the 'improvement' of public morality and manners that murals were understood to promote allowed the medium to acquire a unique governmental function. An ideology of paternalism is evident in nearly all reportage on the scheme. During the first competition exhibition, for example, a writer for the *Art Union* had reported seeing 'one woman, who was of low class, her bonnet flattened by the pressure of many a load, and her hands ridged with labour, yet when she turned away [from one of the competition entries] there were

[16] *Ibid.*, p.311.

[17] *Ibid.*, p.328.

[18] The classic periodisation originally derives from: Burn, William Laurence, *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964).

tears in her eyes'.[19] By 1845, a belief in art's capacity to incite in the working classes moral and emotional contemplation - and thus crucially foster self-improvement - led the journal to argue that 'the more the arts advance the more sociable do men become. As they extend, the political condition of a people becomes more assured, factions are less inveterate, controversy less hateful, revolution less tragical, authority less severe, and seditions less frequent'.[20] Shiva Lal's cycle may have focused on industrial processes depicted didactically, but, for Tayler and Lyall, claims like the *Art Union's* that 'public murals' could make 'sedition less frequent' may have added political prescience to the scheme's more general capacity for social 'improvement'. In their unusual position as agents of the colonial state, moreover, both Tayler and Lyall demonstrate how governmental intervention in the arts seems to have remained of interest in India at least a decade after mid-Victorian England altered its cultural priorities. With the Company effectively functioning at this point as an administrative bureau *of the* British State, however, the fresco scheme emphasises how the peculiar problems surrounding the governance of India resulted in artistic cultures with political resonances that contradict our current understanding of Britain's nineteenth-century cultural history. It would seem that the increasing expansion of the British State beyond the British Isles resulted in it acquiring multiple and often competing characteristics - particularly as it assimilated a corporation that, historically, had represented power culturally (and used the power of culture) as part of a deliberate process of state-building closer in kind to the example of Continental Absolutist states.[21]

Of course, Lyall's and Shiva Lal's schemes were never brought to completion. On the evening of the 3rd of July, 200 Muslims led by a bookseller named Pir Ali, who had been noted for his religious 'enthusiasm' and 'hatred for the English', unfurled a green flag and, to the march of drums, charged on a Roman Catholic Church in Patna's city centre. The 'Mutiny' that would rip apart the social fabric of north India had erupted in Bihar. Tayler ordered a contingent of 150 Sikh soldiers to march on the insurgents, but, before they could arrive, and believing he could 'over-awe the rioteers', Lyall had mounted a horse and rode out to meet the crowd.[22] He was immediately shot from his saddle. According to the last member of the Patna *Qalam*, Shiva Lal's own grandson Professor Ishwari Prasad, the mourning painter strode in tears to the house of his dead patron and

[19] Hall, S. C., 'Two Visits to Westminster Hall by Mrs. S. C. Hall', in *The Art Union*, 5, (1843), p.219.
[20] 'Art in Continental States', in *The Art Union*, 7, (1845), p.7.
[21] Blanning, (2002).
[22] Kaye, John, and George Bruce Malleson, *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, first published 1890), p.36.

took one last portrait of the fallen man.[23] The 'Mutiny' vindicated total reform of the East India Company. The 1858 Government of India Act transferred complete sovereignty and jurisdiction of South Asia to the Crown and Parliamentary oversight, and in the same year the Company was liquidated. Even that great cultural expression of Company power in London, the East India House and its extensive interior decorations of lavish marble statues and portraits, was demolished in 1861. Its foundations were later gutted for the construction of another garish headquarters for another multinational corporation heavily regulated by Parliament - Richard Rogers' 'inside-out building', the home of Lloyd's of London.

In the minds of Tayler and Lyall, however, art and culture clearly remained an instrumental component of British rule right until the eve of the Company's dissolution. Moreover, it is clear that the peculiar character of the Company's corporate structure - split schizophrenically between 'benevolent' government and profitable exploitation - continued to shape not only artistic production in the subcontinent, but equally the relationship between culture, colonial power, and the exigencies that accompanied the assimilation of Indian rule into the purview of the British State. Whilst previous art-historical accounts have cast the decades leading up to 1858 as an anomaly - a moment of cultural decline set between the flowering of the fine arts post-Plassey and the high noon of imperial grandeur that accompanied Victoria's assumption of Empress in 1876 - *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* has told another story. In the years between 1813 and 1858, art was intimately connected to the project to reform the East India Company that Plassey had precipitated, and which the Government of India Act rendered complete - shaping what I called an 'Age of Reform' that makes sense of the cultural gulf between the better researched periods it connects.

Of course, reform was not a simple process, but, as I have shown, involved a complex negotiation of cultural identities and imaginings. In the case of Sir Charles D'Oyly and the Bengal Amateurs, I revealed how art and material culture both worked within, but conceptually outgrew, the early modern ideas of corporation in which the East India Company had its legal and political foundations. Equally, I demonstrated that reform was not simply a one-way process - from Parliament to Company - but emerged in India during the 1820s as a threat to the British State's control over the subcontinent, with art potentially making sense of the identities and values that Constitutional Liberalism had produced in the Bengali context. Over the following two chapters, I then detailed the key demographic shifts through which a transnational middle-class culture developed in India, alongside the ways in which these changes led to a consensus supporting Liberal reform as a global imperial project. Both of these chapters substantiated my broader intervention in

[23] Archer, (1848), p.24.

the scholarship: if fine art patronage did decline in India, then new forms of artistic production simply took its place. Equally, these new forms of artistic production continued to exert a significant influence on the historical trajectories of British colonialism and state-formation in Britain and India, substantiating the wider scholarly consensus that art and culture have vital political histories.

Whilst *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* has therefore focused predominantly on the subcontinent, I want to conclude by returning to the broader literature dealing with the political nature of art in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain. For in the Introduction, I argued that the attention of this oeuvre has either been directed towards the political impact that the British State made on colonial cultures, or on the ways in which the cultural life of imperial peripheries influenced the formation of the British State. What I hope to have stressed instead is how the British State actually constituted only one of the 'imagined communities' constructed within the artistic and cultural worlds of the period, with the East India Company constituting perhaps its most significant 'rival'.[24] Exploring the manner in which artists and amateurs continued to develop peculiar forms of corporate identity as late as the 1820s emphasises the importance of an analysis that looks beyond categories derived from either a Weberian or Westphalian model of the nation-state, and instead emphasises the process through which the concept of the national state itself became 'naturalised' through the assimilation of alternative forms of political corporation. This not only foregrounds the politically significant histories of institutions or corporations governed, for instance, by familial networks or global capital, but couches an art-historical approach within the conceptual and intellectual history of the period. Whilst *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'* does not, therefore, refute the literature crediting British Art with a central role in the process of imperialism and state-formation, it has sought instead to emphasise the process through which categories like 'British art' gained conceptual significance in the first place - through the Nation-State's historical assimilation of alternative forms of associational and political community.

As a final comment on this approach, I want to note the relationship between what Douglas Fordham described as the 'political turn' in art history, and the future of this oeuvre's object of study - national politics and the cultural life of the nation-state. It is certain that the emergence of 'state', 'nation', and 'empire' as fundamental categories of art-historical analysis relates to the broader efflorescence in recent decades of historical scholarship concerned with the past and future of nationalism. Eric Hobsbawm, one of the most distinguished scholars to treat upon the subject, predicted that this sudden academic interest is a symptom of the nation-state's imminent demise -

[24] For the notion of the nation-state as an 'imagined community', see: Anderson, (1983).

Minerva's owl takes flight only at dusk.[25] European colonialism, the handmaiden of national consolidation in Partha Chatterjee's seminal account of the subject,[26] has declined in its traditional forms across the globe, whilst new technological and financial mechanisms have created a network of transnational corporations savvy to the political instrumentality of culture. Equally, and despite the fragmentation of twentieth-century supranational states such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, new supra- and multi-state actors have demonstrated increasing importance in determining contemporary global affairs. Whilst the 'political turn' thus urges art historians to focus on the relationship between art and the sites, mechanisms, and operations of the state and national politics, I therefore propose that a real 'political turn' in the history of British art must also attend to the countervailing forces that have both historically determined the formation of the British State, and look set to shape its future. In *Art in India's 'Age of Reform'*, these have included the globalisation of capital and the transnational history of class identities, migration and the *migratability* of national identity, and the social or conceptual life of non-national, corporate forms of associational and political community. When set in complement to the important historical framework that national history provides, I believe that this focus can offer a truly 'political' account of British art and its distinctive relationship to 'world art history'.

[25] Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[26] Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Figures 1&2: '*The Old Opium Godown at Gulzabagh*', author's own photography, Patna, 2016.


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PATNA OPIUM
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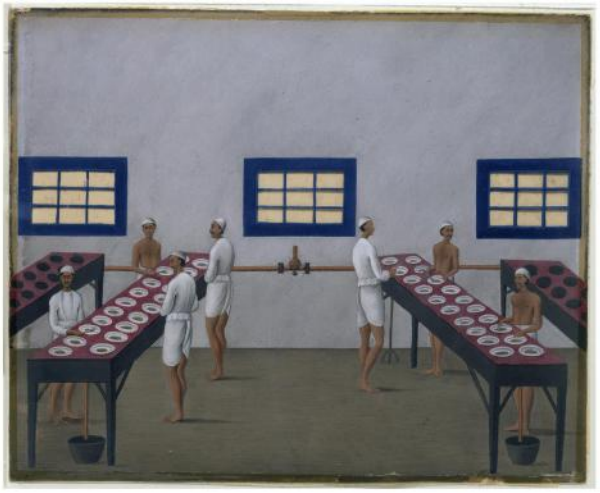

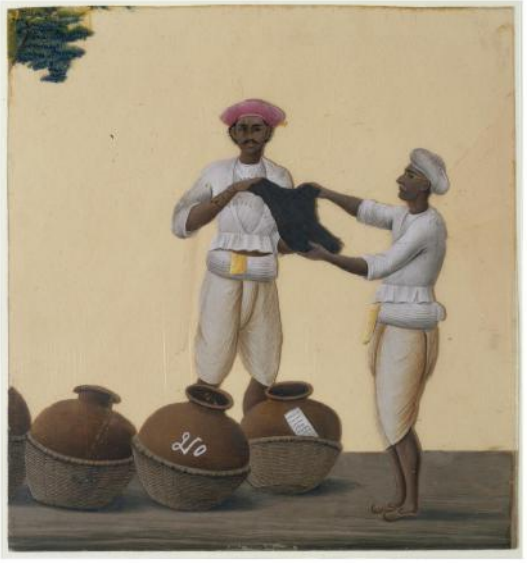

Figures 3-21: Shiva Lal, '*Processes in the Manufacture of Opium*', 1857, gouache on mica, in the possession of the V&A, London, South & South-East Asia Collection (07361:19/IS).

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