

**Representing Calcutta through Handbooks, 1840-1940:
Narrativizing City Space**

Arunima Bhattacharya

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of English

November 2018

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

© 2018 The University of Leeds and Arunima Bhattacharya

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous Leeds International Research Scholarship provided by the University of Leeds. It gave me the opportunity to discover myself as an academic, make new friends and acquaintances, and recognize my relationship with my home, Kolkata, through this PhD thesis.

My sincere gratitude is due to my supervisor Professor Graham Huggan, whose guidance has shaped this thesis and inspired me to persevere; to my teaching mentor and PhD advisor Dr. José Perez Diez, who has helped me keep things in perspective and maintain good humour; and to Dr. Richard Hibbit, who has created opportunities for me as a researcher and teacher where I thought none existed and has been a source of constant support. My sincere thanks also to Mrs Jamie Knipe, who has taken care to answer all my queries with kindness and compassion.

Special thanks to my friends here at the University of Leeds, who have been inspiring colleagues and generous companions; and to my housemates and comrades Angus Young and Sam Perks. Sam has also diligently proofread this thesis and I have greatly benefited from his probing comments. Gratitude is also due to Lara Choksey, Saira Fatima Dogar and Mara Alina for reading my chapters at short notice and for their incisive feedback. Anna Antonova, Dima Chami, Ruth Daly, Sreya Mallika Datta and Wei Zhou, I am truly thankful for your love and kindness. Warm regards and affection are due to my Women's Paths co-directors and brave friends, Clara Stella and Lourdes Parra Lazcano. Both of you have been warm, kind and sagacious. Special thanks are due to people who have become my family in Leeds: Saira Fatima Dogar for her selfless love and deep faith in me as a human being and researcher, and Jivitesh Vashisht for his presence, patience, generosity and companionship.

Finally, my love and gratitude to my family, my parents and my brother, who have allowed me to venture out, tolerated my absence and indulged my impatience and complaints with generous love.

This thesis would not have been possible without you, Sourit, and you know that. Thank you for your love, understanding and patience. I hope I make you proud.

Abstract

This thesis is an attempt to understand, through the sub-genre of the Calcutta handbook, the development of a major city--Calcutta, the capital of British India till 1911--in the colonial context. The Calcutta handbook is a transitional form that mediates between early imperial vade-mecums and the late-colonial standardized guidebook. The thesis argues for a connection between the formal logic of the handbook sub-genre as it evolves over time (1840-1940) and the changing modalities of colonial modernity in Calcutta. Its main contention is that the handbooks published during this time, when read against the grain of dominant imperial discourses of colonial surveillance, reveal the governmental strategies that work to make people, spaces and social institutions as well as literary and historical narratives comply with accepted hierarchies of power. The thesis uses the handbooks to explore the condition of colonial modernity through governmental strategies arranged around historiography, the regulation of the body in both public and private domains of the city, and the spatialization of historical and racial discourses through maps and other visual images attached to the handbook text. The governmental strategies at work in the formal structure of the handbooks are seen through the Foucauldian concept of order, which manifests itself in the managing of spaces and bodies in the handbook text. The silences of the text, however--its numerous elisions and omissions--suggest that the handbooks cannot fulfil the colonial will to order; rather, they indicate an anxiety at the heart of an increasingly threatened empire that finds alternative expression in the indigenous will to dissent.

Page intentionally left blank.

Table of Contents

Introduction	10
Chapter One: History, Heritage and Memory in the Calcutta Handbooks	48
Chapter Two: Managing the Body: Regulating Climate and Constitution in Colonial Calcutta through Handbooks	129
Chapter Three: The Spatial Organization of the City in the 'Calcutta Handbooks'	216
Conclusion	298
Bibliography	304

List of Illustrative Materials

Chapter 1	Pages
Fig. 1.1 Contents list (p. 1-2) of E.B. Eastwick's <i>Handbook of the Bengal Presidency</i> , published by John Murray (1882)	71-72
Fig. 1.2 Table of dialogues and measures from Eastwick's <i>Handbook of the Bengal Presidency</i> (1882), p. 73.	77
Fig. 1.3 Inscription on the marble statue of Lord Cornwallis, sculpted by J. Bacon, and housed in the west end of the lower saloon of the Town Hall built in 1804. Eastwick's <i>Handbook of the Bengal Presidency</i> , p. 91.	82
Chapter 2	
Fig. 2.1 Table denoting official use racial terms and the corresponding handbooks that use these particular terminologies.	137-38
Fig. 2.2 Table indicating servant's wages copied from <i>T. Black & Co's Hand Book</i> , p. 73.	201
Fig. 2.3 Reproductions from <i>Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta</i> (1906). They are publication records attached as an appendix to the text. pp. 44-46.	203-204
Fig. 2.4 The image is taken from Constance E. Gordon's <i>Khána Kitâb</i> (1913).	213
Chapter 3	
Fig.3.1 Contents list from H. A. Newell's <i>Calcutta the First Capital of British India</i> (1920) and John Barry's <i>Calcutta 1940</i> .	223
Fig.3.2 Map of the city of Calcutta, entitled 'Plan of the City of Calcutta', attached to the back cover of <i>Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta</i> (Firminger, 1906) (Thacker's Map).	226

Fig.3.3 ‘Plan of Calcutta’, attached to the front cover of <i>W. Newman’s Handbook of Calcutta</i> (1882), (Newman’s Map) showing the bridges that connected the city with its surrounding suburbs marked out with white arrows.	230
Fig.3.4 Map attached to the back cover of <i>Thacker’s Guide Book to Calcutta</i> , (<i>Thacker’s Map</i>) and marking out the main bridges constructed across the Circular canal (marked out in red); bridges on the Ganges (within blue squares); and the railway that connects Sealdah Station on the eastern extreme with Khidderpore docks in the south-west (marked with a red line). The red circles mark out the bridges across Tolly’s Nullah.	240
Fig 3.5 Map published in London (Jan, 1852) under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) by George Cox. Source: the online collection of Harvard University website. Series title: <i>Harvard Map Collection digital maps. Imaging the Urban Environment</i> .	243
Fig 3.6. Excerpt from the index provided on either side of <i>Newman’s Map</i> listing native hospitals, theatres and educational institutes (highlighted in blue) and government and private charity organizations (highlighted in pink). The list also mentions the religious institutions of the various migrant communities in Calcutta, such as the Jewish synagogue, the Armenian Church and the Greek Church, which have been highlighted in green.	244
Fig. 3.7 <i>Thacker’s map</i> again, highlighting bazaars, burial grounds, places of worship and the Maidan. The map also charts the ancient Pilgrim’s Way shown in the Census of 1901 (see appendix) along which the settlement of Calcutta developed.	248
Fig. 3.8 This map is provided as an appendix to the Plan of Calcutta in <i>Thacker’s Guide Book</i> (1906). It contains two maps of the Calcutta riverfront area. The one on the left represents the Old Fort William and its neighbouring houses and structures, dated 1753, and the one on the right is the representation of the same area, a prime location for imperial trade and commerce, dated 1905.	255

Fig. 3.9 Map showing all the mercantile houses such as godowns and business offices, in pink, and Government buildings, in red (attached to the back cover of Thacker's <i>Guide to Calcutta</i> , 1906).	257
Fig 3.10 Map of Calcutta attached to Tyson's <i>City of Palaces</i> (1932) and the 'Map of Calcutta' attached to the front cover of John Barry's <i>Calcutta 1940</i> (1940).	260
Fig. 3.11. Image of an advertisement from <i>Visitor's guide</i> (1927) which familiarizes the female traveller with the necessities of personal hygiene.	266
Fig. 3.12 Advertisement showing a detailed list of places of residence in Calcutta. (from Hicken, <i>Mid Pleasures and Palaces</i> , 1931).	266
Fig. 3.13 Includes three adverts for local hotels. All three examples mention special provisions for long-term/permanent lodgers. This arrangement appears common for British travellers resident in the city.	267
Fig. 3.14 The advertisement for 'Jabakusum' in Tyson's <i>Calcutta a City of Palaces</i> (1932). This marks a significant inclusion of indigenous products and hints at the market existing for local products tailored for Indian lifestyles.	268
Fig. 3.15 Table classifying handbooks based on publication dates and narrative features.	290-93

INTRODUCTION

Considerations of history

Travel narratives about British India have historically shed light onto the ideological framework of empire and colonial governance, informing generations of British readers' expectations of the 'mysterious Orient'. Calcutta, the capital of British India from 1772 to 1911, is a focal point of several of these narratives. The British Empire's 'second city' has also attracted a good deal of academic scholarship, with the idea of a colonial city having been explored from an urban historical perspective by (among several others) Pradip Sinha, P. Thankappan Nair, Swati Chattopadhyay and Partho Datta.¹ This thesis explores a specific sub-genre of travel narratives on Calcutta, that of the 'Calcutta handbook', which came to prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The moniker 'Calcutta handbook' refers to a selection of English-language guidebooks written for British and other European readers about the city of Calcutta, and issued by publication houses based in Calcutta and London.

While 'Calcutta handbooks' (the scare quotes will be dropped henceforth) take many forms, they are probably best understood as a *transitional* form that appropriates several different formats, ranging from memoirs and diaries to academic treatises and official documentation such as city directories. As a sub-genre, the Calcutta handbook anticipates the standardized Calcutta guidebook of the late 1930s, while retaining the functions and objectives of early imperial vade-mecums. My thesis aims to explore the formal, stylistic and thematic aspects of Calcutta handbooks

¹ Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978); Partho Datta, *Planning the City, Urbanization and Reform in Calcutta c.1800-c.1940*, (Delhi: Tulika, 2012), Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London: Routledge, 2005); P.T. Nair, *Calcutta in the Twentieth Century: Company Day's* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1989), *Calcutta in the Eighteenth Century: Impressions of Travellers* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1984), *Calcutta in the Seventeenth Century* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1986), *Calcutta: Origin of the Name* (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1985) and *A History of Calcutta Streets* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1987).

published during the period from roughly 1840 to 1940, using them to identify a network of discourses that sought to consolidate the rationale of colonial rule. While this rationale is only too apparent in many of the handbooks, the anxieties that accompanied it are often hidden; one objective of the thesis will therefore be to show what the handbooks reveal, but also conceal, as informational documents about Calcutta and the particular (changing) forms of colonial modernity for which it stands.

The Calcutta handbook thus becomes the literary conduit through which I look at impasses and contradictions in the history of British colonial practices in India, exploring such practices further to understand how they shaped the concepts of the ‘urban’ and ‘modern’ in relation to Calcutta, the colonial capital of British India.² Ostensibly, the handbooks structure the colonial city through a detailed appreciation of its topographical, infrastructural and socio-economic features, assimilating these into a broader narrative of progress and civilization. However, as my analysis will show, the handbooks’ diligent ordering and categorization of information also reveals traces of what might be called a general systems failure, which is registered in the various silences and omissions that reveal the strain of their constant cross-references to governmental order and control. These silences and omissions imply a failure to contain disruptive elements in a city that changed as it grew, and was not easily managed even by those who were most intimately familiar with it. The Calcutta handbooks’ stated mission to make the city more accessible to the British/European visitor or resident would thus soon push up against its own interpretative limits, with its copious maps, charts and tables—to adapt Ali Behdad’s work on the Orientalist guidebook—effectively ‘brush[ing] aside the colonial reality of the present state’.³

The Calcutta handbooks would fight shy, though, of the kinds of demonstrative exoticism that tended to characterise their Orientalist

² The question of the ‘literariness’ of the genre is addressed in the subsequent section, ‘Considerations of genre’, p.17.

³ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p.46.

guidebook counterparts; rather, they functioned more tactically as a kind of *colonial go-between*, a conciliatory compromise between the expectations projected onto the colonial city by the imperial civilizational project and the inevitable disillusionment encountered in day-to-day experiences of the lived reality of Calcutta. In acting as a go-between, the handbooks revealed the underlying tensions of empire, making apparent the very anxieties that impelled the emergence of such a sub-genre. After all, the handbooks were not just topographical guides to the city, but rather claimed to offer an authentic introduction to Anglo-Indian life in Calcutta, its social and political possibilities, religious propinquities and the economics of everyday life. In this sense, they embodied colonial governmental strategies that sought to define and limit both individuals' and communities' social and spatial experience of the city, with the reassuring albeit contrived objectivity of their controlling narrative seeking to manage the anxieties of colonial 'otherness' while upholding the foundational principles of colonial rule.

Existing critical inquiry on colonial handbooks written on British Calcutta is limited in scope.⁴ Individual titles from the sub-genre that I am describing here as the Calcutta handbook have figured as peripheral modes of inquiry in urban historical and colonial travel-oriented research on Calcutta. Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, for example, traces the influence of English railway guidebooks on vernacular guides advising the Indian population on the etiquette of railway travel and informing them about travel destinations and suitable routes. Mukhopadhyay identifies the innate tendency of the guidebook form to build criteria for the classification of travel sites, thereby creating a hierarchy of destinations based on whether places are considered or

⁴ Two examples of critical work that concentrate on guidebooks/handbooks as their primary subject of inquiry are Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, 'Colonised Gaze? Guidebooks and Journeying in Colonial India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 37.4 (2014), pp. 656-669 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2014.952972>> [accessed 29 September 2018] and Debraj Bhattacharya, 'Three Narratives on Modernity in a Colonial Metropolis: Calcutta During the Early Twentieth Century' in *Of Matters Modern: The Experience of Modernity in Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia*, ed. by Debraj Bhattacharya (London: Seagull, 2008), pp.242-270. A more recent publication on this subject is Pramod K. Nayar, 'Civil Modernity: The Management of Manners and Polite Imperial Relations in India, 1880-1930', *South Asia Journal of South Asian Studies*, 39.4 (2016), 740-757, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2016.1204513>> [accessed 15 October 2018].

not to be ‘worth visiting’, and with such classifications reflecting the social privileges of its upper middle-class readership as well as their monetary concerns.⁵ Meanwhile, in his examination of H.E.A Cotton’s *Calcutta Old and New* (1907), Debraj Bhattacharya argues that the text can be seen as ‘Cotton’s attempt to create a chronicle of what he understood as the various elements of a “modern city” and [to] demonstrate to readers that Calcutta was as much a modern metropolis as any other’.⁶ Bhattacharya critiques Dipesh Chakrabarty’s conception of multiple modernities, insisting instead that,

modernity was a global phenomenon [and that] what made [it] was the circulation of goods and ideas on a global scale. This was made possible by the spread of capitalism around the world and the communication revolution that coincided with it.⁷

Most recently, Pramod K. Nayar has written on the ‘discourse of civility’ formulated through etiquette books meant for western-educated Indians frequenting British social circles. These books, says Nayar, put down ‘norms of social interaction, imparting advice on rational hierarchic behaviour and cultural literacy’. Nayar interprets this discourse on civility as a regulating mechanism, ‘a mode of ameliorating the threat of the hybridised colonial subject by framing his cultural and social interactions within very particular modes of conduct while retaining the hierarchies necessary for imperial dominance’.⁸ Though I draw on similar themes and angles of inquiry in my thesis I ground my understanding of the formal logic of the handbook in its ability to enable and represent the evolving structures of mobility across the British Empire, structures that also contribute to the creation of strict categories of differentiation and control.

While the examples above show some interest in handbooks, there has been no sustained critical interest in exploring the handbook form in detail, nor much attempt to consider its hermeneutic significance in the context of

⁵ Mukhopadhyay, ‘Colonised Gaze?’, p.658.

⁶ Debraj Bhattacharya, ‘Three Narratives on Modernity’, p.246.

⁷ Ibid., p.15.

⁸ Nayar, ‘Civil Modernity’, p.740.

the events that would shape the character of the metropolis in the twentieth century. My own interest is in both: that is to say I want to attend to the logic of the handbooks' formal structure and its evolution through a specific period of time, but I also recognize that this can only be effective in relation to the specific historical events that lend relevance to that form. Consequently, the historical framework of this thesis is intrinsically linked to the interpretative and analytical strategies I will be adopting to study the handbooks and their role in representing colonial Calcutta. The three events that define the temporal structure of this thesis begin with the Revolt of 1857, also recognized as the First War of Indian independence, the partition of Bengal in 1905 by Viceroy Lord Curzon, and the consequent anti-partition movement with its emphasis on Swadeshi consciousness culminating in the shift of the colonial capital to Delhi, initiated in 1911 and completed in 1912.

It is generally acknowledged that the Revolt (interchangeably called 'Mutiny') of 1857 led to considerable destruction of Delhi's Mughal spatial heritage and a complete reorganization of city space along the lines of what Nayanjot Lahiri calls a 'memorialized landscape of heroism and conquest' by the British 'around the graves of dead soldiers and scenes of military action'. It was also 'a major watershed in terms of urban morphology and transformed the city's terrain'.⁹ The impact of the punitive measures adopted by the British after the events of 1857 ranged from town planning, which followed along the lines of surveillance and control, to an attitudinal change emphasizing exclusivity in social and cultural communication with Indians across the British Indian territories. As we will see, the handbooks written towards the latter half of the nineteenth century were intent on consolidating a racial hierarchy in the private as well as public spaces of British Calcutta through stylistic and formal features, such as the use of language and tables outlining the organization of domestic help. However, the thematic focus would later shift to a standardized historical narrative of Calcutta in the handbooks

⁹ Nayanjot Lahiri, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, 35. 1 (2010), 35-60 (p.36)
 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824032000078072>> [accessed 20 August 2018].

published in the first decade of the twentieth century. This shift in the form and structure of the handbook relied on an extensive historical narrative describing the advent of the British on the shores of the Hooghly River in the late seventeenth century (1690).¹⁰ The handbooks published in the first decade of the twentieth century were thus able to make a clear distinction between ‘Old’ and ‘Modern’ Calcutta and included detailed description of the social and political life of the city as it had developed since its founding.¹¹ The focus on historicizing Calcutta—on grounding a historical narrative in the material topography of the city—was of a piece with Lord Curzon’s ambition to chart the emotional and psychological investment of empire in the making of ‘Modern Calcutta’ by recovering traces of British history interwoven in the texture of everyday urban life (see Chapter One).¹² The culmination of this drive towards spatial historicization was the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, proposed in 1901 and completed in 1921. The partition of Bengal was annulled and the capital of British India was shifted to Delhi in 1911 under the increasing nationalist opposition, gaining ground in Bengal. Following the shift of the capital to Delhi, the memorial became incongruous—another reminder of the essential alienation of the ruling elite from the country they colonized.

Considerations of genre

In his *Calcutta 1940*, John Barry formulates a working definition of the handbook: ‘It is at once an historical survey of the city, a detailed guide to its present social, financial and commercial activities and a descriptive street

¹⁰ August 24, 1690 is the date noted in Job Charnock’s Log Book as the day he landed on the shores of the Hooghly, and this early settlement marked the genesis of what was to become Calcutta. Cited in Cotton (p.8).

¹¹ See the chapter titled ‘The Making of Modern Calcutta’, in H.E.A. Cotton’s *Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907), pp. 159-173.

¹² Curzon’s policy of building memorials to various events, people and sites of significance to British rule in India was a pan-Indian project, but concentrated on the principal towns in the Presidencies.

directory, planned on common lines'.¹³ During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several revised editions of handbooks appeared in close proximity as a way of keeping pace with rapidly changing city space.¹⁴ For example, W. Newman & Co., a major publishing house with offices in Calcutta and London, published three subsequent editions of *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City* in 1875, 1882 and 1892, and a separate title, *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta*, in 1927.¹⁵ Similarly, the beginning of the twentieth century, which marked about two hundred years of British settlement in the city (1690-1890), witnessed a prolific publication of handbooks.

In so far as the Calcutta Handbook genre is understood to have emerged as a response to the colonial situation in Calcutta, it is classed as a *cultural* text. But in terms of its *textual* arrangement, it can also be read as a literary narrative. The representational quality of the 'Calcutta handbooks' includes its imaginary scope, in the way that it creates a wider fictional expanse of Calcutta as a colonial cultural space and registers nineteenth-century city space in the mind of a twenty-first century reader. The information and history that comprise the handbook thus come to share the characteristics of a narrative. However, contrary to the imaginary expansion of Calcutta that is implied in the scope of the handbook, its generic properties attempt to map fixity onto the chaos of the city. Its information and advice are included within a framework, meant strictly for popular consumption, which is redolent of 'practical utility' and 'ready-to-use knowledge.'¹⁶ The literary quality of the handbook is manifest in its narrativization of Calcutta's history as a British city and the complex dynamics of otherness and belonging that it generates in relation to the city.

¹³ John Barry, 'Preface', in *Calcutta 1940* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940), p. i.

¹⁴ I am using the term 'city space' to denote the spatial experience of the materiality of place. The term denotes the spatial experience produced by everyday interactions and inhabitations of places, objects, monuments by people.

¹⁵ James Blackburn Knight, *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1875) and the subsequent editions that appeared in 1882 and 1892. See also *The Visitors Guide to Calcutta, Including Brief History, Up to Date Map, Illustrated* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927).

¹⁶ Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, 'Colonized Gaze?', p.658.

As a go-between form, the Calcutta handbooks drew on travelogues and memoirs written about the first century of British trade and administration in Bengal as well as the guidebook tradition that had developed in Europe in the late sixteenth century.¹⁷ These handbooks were non-fictional accounts comprising historical and everyday practical information about the city of Calcutta, and catering to the needs and standards of British travellers and residents.¹⁸ The *Anglo-Hindoostanee Hand-Book*, published in 1850, clearly states in its 'Preface': 'The work (handbook) is now cast upon anglo-indian [sic] public, with the hope that, however its avowed faults may be criticized, its merits will be fairly acknowledged, and that more particularly by those for whose use it is especially intended'.¹⁹ More specifically, the Calcutta handbooks brought together retrospective discourses of history, which emphasized British association with the genesis of Calcutta, with the immediacy and profusion of topical information on the contemporary topography of the city. Similarly, they combined a supposedly disinterested presentation of facts and figures with the subjective tone of gossip, rumour and friendly advice.

A rough estimate of the market demand for such books can be made from the 'Preface to the Third Edition' of W. Newman's *Handbook* (1892), in which the publishing house responded to the popular demand for an updated and revised edition:

Since the publication of our popular Hand-book [sic] to Calcutta nearly 20 years since, a very large number of copies have been sold;

¹⁷ See Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour, A History of the Guidebook* (England: Sutton Publishing, 2007).

¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume 1*, trans. by John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 97. For Lefebvre, who spent his career working on the problem of everyday life, the 'everyday' is defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialized, or structured activities have been singled out by analysis. 'Practical' here is an ideological construct of British colonial governmentality, which structured the 'colonizing body' and 'colonized space' to ensure easy surveillance and the control of the colonial regime.

¹⁹ *The Anglo-Hindoostanee Hand-Book; or, Stranger's Self-Interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India, with a Map of India, and Five Illustrations* (Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co., St. Andrew's Library London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill, 1850), p.10.

and it is still more gratifying to find that the demand is increasing, and that a further edition is called for.²⁰

As noted above, the beginning of the twentieth century would witness the publication of several revised editions because of the fast-changing geographical reality of the city. The frequent publication of revised editions rendered them cheap and easily available. The layout of the handbooks and their pricing were determined by their publication houses. Often advertisements formed a major part of the published material and would be page-marked in the Contents. For example, a chapter title 'Places to stay in Calcutta' would typically comprise a selection of advertisements of hotels in the city. Each book contained a sociological map of Calcutta showing the state boundaries of Bengal or Calcutta proper; streets, squares and public parks; major tourist attractions and the residences of the rich and famous. The pricing of such books ranged from Re 1/- to 3/- during the early 1900s. The Calcutta handbooks were published by important publication houses like Thacker, Spink & Co. and W. Newman & Co., publishers and sellers based in Calcutta and England who also published manuals for various services in the British administration as well as housekeeping manuals, books on the history of Indian architecture and religions, on Indian languages and on appropriate culture specific conduct in India.²¹

The typical handbook mediates the private and personal space of its readership. The invisible spaces constructed in domestic and private affairs are made predictable and socially navigable by the list of translations written in the form of, for example, 'Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Head Bearer', or 'A Lady and a Tailor' and 'A Lady and Maid or Nurse'.²² In this context, household guides become an important reference point in terms of their narrative pattern and thematic content. Most of the Calcutta handbooks have a section dedicated to household affairs, like the cost of everyday utilities,

²⁰ 'Preface', in W. Newman & Co.'s *Handbook to Calcutta*, (1892), pp. i-ii.

²¹ An example of a manual for a particular job profile is Sir Edmund George Barrow's *The Sepoy Officer's Manual*, 3rd edn (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1895). See the appendix attached to *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* (1906) for an illustrated list of publications.

²² *The Anglo Hindustanee Handbook* (1850), p. 351; p. 386; p. 387.

the number of servants required in an Indian household and their wages, or the jobs that should be assigned to each servant and the manner in which the master-servant relationship should be regulated. Charles Allen suggests that Flora Anne Steel's *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, first published in 1888, was Anglo-India's equivalent of Mrs Beeton's *Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping*, a popular household guide in England (1861).²³ Bachelors were expected to consult Major Shadwell's *Economy of the Chummery, Home, Mess and Club* (1904). The configuration of imperial power relations in the domestic/private space is a characteristic feature of handbooks and is borrowed from the generic pattern of advice manuals. For example, a chapter titled 'What It Costs to Live in Calcutta' states:

There are many who come to Calcutta besides casual visitors; some who take up new appointments and others who are transferred from the Mofussil. Amongst these new comers are a good few who prefer to run their own establishments instead of permanently residing at a hotel or at a boarding house. For such people this chapter should prove of interest. Servant's wages, market prices, the hire of furniture, the rent of houses and apartments, are given below in detail.²⁴

The typical handbook also provides extensive information on clothing, manner of address, customs and rituals regarding household work that are to be followed with Indian servants.

Judith E. Walsh reads Mrs. Beeton's famous book as having grown out of 'intersections of hegemonic domestic discourse and local (indigenous) home and family life'.²⁵ She identifies domesticity as a product of nineteenth-century bourgeois ideology, deeply imprinted with Enlightenment themes of order, reason and science.²⁶ In the context of colonialism, nineteenth-century

²³ For more information on conduct manuals and advice manuals, see Charles Allen, *Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1977), p. 63. Leonard Julius Shadwell's, *Economy of the Home, Mess and Club* (Calcutta: Thacker & Company, 1904).

²⁴ Glen Hickens, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931), p.89.

²⁵ Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learnt When Men Gave Them Advice* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

domestic discourse was created ‘through the dialogue and dialectic of metropole and colony and within each. In the colonies bourgeois domestic discourse and the practices to which it gave rise were incorporated into the civilizing mission of colonialism itself.’²⁷ Nineteenth-century conduct manuals such as *The Englishwoman in India*, *Tropical Trials* and *Anglo-Indian’s Vade-Mecum: Anglo-Indian Social Customs & Native Character* encouraged strict self-fashioning of the British man/woman to establish and perpetuate a ‘correct’ image of the Sahib defining authority and refinement in the Indian’s mind.²⁸

It is worth asking to what genre handbooks belong. John Frow defines the development of a genre as a ‘strategic response to the demands of a situation’.²⁹ He sees genres as revealing the systems of knowledge that are built into them. Following Frow’s statements, I posit the handbook as sub-genre ‘embodies’ the systems of knowledge that produce it, ‘acquires meaning’ from them, and is evoked by them. At the same time, the handbook provides a ‘strategic response’ to the same system that generates it.³⁰ In this and other ways, a genre develops as a set of relationships between the text and its readers. The narrative pattern of the Calcutta handbooks partially projects itself into the past so as to construct the history of the British in Bengal, and then adapts this heritage to organize and classify the city into categories of

²⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁸ For a list of conduct manuals, see the bibliography in S. Vimala, ‘The “Politically Correct Memsahib”: Performing Englishness in Select Anglo-Indian Advice Manuals’, *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 5.2 (2013), 282–302. Pramod K. Nayar argues that management discourses (advice manuals) ‘were directed at improving British life in India through assertion of control over land, cultural practices and people’. These books set down the norms of cultural interaction in the colonies. ‘Civility’, according to Nayar, operates as a mode of ‘organising social space, the nature of interracial interaction and the limits set upon ‘familiarity between the colonised and coloniser’ (2016, p. 744).

The conduct manuals referred to in the text are: Maud Diver, *The Englishwoman in India* (1909); Ralph Crane and Anna Johnston, ‘Introduction’ to Flora Annie Steel’s *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (2010); E. C. P. Hull, *Anglo-Indian’s Vade-Mecum: Anglo-Indian Social Customs & Native Character* (1878) and Leigh S. Hunt and Alexander S. Kenny, *Tropical Trials: A Handbook for Women in the Tropics* (1883).

²⁹ John Frow, *Genre. The New Critical Idiom*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 10.

³⁰ The phrases in quotes are what Frow borrows from various writers about the nature of genre: ‘genre “acquires meaning” from the kinds of situation it relates to. It embodies the type of recurring situation that evokes it, and [...] provides a strategic response to that situation’.

p.6.

useable information. Such information is then assimilated as practical advice informing economic transactions, social mannerisms and political perceptions that define the everyday lived reality of the colonial city. This content is shaped by formal features that the handbooks use to create an objective ‘truth effect’ to convey a sense of certainty.³¹ I use the term ‘truth effect’ to stress the rhetorical devices and use of language that set the dominant tone of the narrative, that of dependability, which in turn influences the book’s reception by its readers. In this context, it is probably best to see the Calcutta handbooks as a *sub-genre* insofar as they helped register a transition that the genre of the early Indian vade-mecums was undergoing in relation to the colonial governance and the government’s specific focus on Calcutta as the capital city. As a sub-genre, the Calcutta handbooks had to fulfil the double function of constructing a historical narrative of Calcutta as an example of British colonization and administration, and of providing detailed but simplified information on the city to their readers. Given that the requirements of tourists and residents were bound to be different, the handbooks had to incorporate within their narrative framework aspects that catered to both sections of their readership.

In order to locate the handbook in the literary and publication grid of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Calcutta, it is also necessary to understand its difference with allied genres. The Calcutta handbook can be estimated to have emerged as a more specific and topical version of guidebooks on Bengal in general.³² However, unlike guidebooks, which fashion their narratives according to the expectations of readers who are removed from the geographical location, handbooks are mainly albeit not exclusively addressed to the *inhabitants* of the place being described. Glen Hicken emphasizes this point as follows:

The publication of this brochure is a departure from the stereotyped and many reproductions of guidebooks which so often appear with a

³¹ Frow, p.2.

³² Bengal Presidency comprised the Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura, in addition to present-day Bangladesh.

steady consistency. The tourist for once must take a secondary place in *this guide* although his ‘wants’ are catered for in a manner befitting his position.³³

The Calcutta handbooks gave primary importance to residents who needed to ‘re-discover’ the city in terms of its past history, and supplied minute details of everyday life that might facilitate an easier lifestyle and comprehension of city space. In one such instance, Amal Home, the editor of *Calcutta Municipality Gazette*, wrote in his foreword to *Calcutta 1940* that he expected the ‘handy volume—at once a historical survey of Calcutta and a guidebook to this great city’—to familiarize the inhabitants of Calcutta with the city. As he enthused: ‘Our citizens who, I have always felt, know so little of the beautiful city in which they live, should also greatly benefit by it [the handbook]’.³⁴ However, the category of citizenship is a contested and multivalent category in colonial Calcutta, contingent on the seasonal migration of the government and on the general nature of a port city that serves as the landing spot for people travelling across eastern and northern India. *Mobility* thus emerges as a prominent analytical framework in understanding how race and class intersect to inform citizenship in British Calcutta (see Chapters Two and Three).

Ali Behdad’s *Belated Travelers* (1994) locates the discursive shift from ‘experience to information as the new mode of communication’, where the linearity of the travelogue’s narrative is critiqued as exclusionary and dominated by the discursive authority of the first-person subject.³⁵ Behdad traces the discursive shift from travelogues to guidebooks in the representational character of travel writing, and sees the latter as challenging the authorial subject whose experience provides a conduit of knowledge about the Orient. He also critiques the ‘hysterical’ discourse of the travel guide, arguing that ‘since it cannot derive its sense of completion from its central

³³ Glen Hicken, ‘Preface’ in *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931), p. i., author’s italics.

³⁴ John Barry, ‘Foreword’, *Calcutta 1940* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940), p. v.

³⁵ Behdad, p. 39.

presence of an author, the tourist guide must accumulate details to fill the empty spaces in its divided, categorized and classified information'.³⁶ Insecurity regarding the exhaustive and precise nature of information is present as well in handbooks, where the certitude of facts is put into question by frequent pleas to the reader to corroborate or correct the information provided: 'The publishers [...] beg the indulgence of readers for all sins of omission & commission [...] The assistance of the public is earnestly solicited, both in criticism and in suggestion'.³⁷

The inclusion of the reader in a circuit of information exchange ensures that the narrative of the handbook remains in a continual process of self-revision, thereby synchronizing with the changing dynamics of space and time that construct the city. However, the handbook's open structure—its plea to readers to corroborate information and historical facts—challenges its circumspect objectivity. The privileged traveller/narrator, whose subjective experience pre-empts all subsequent travellers and their experiences, is absent in the open narrative of a handbook; nor do the Calcutta handbooks mention a 'you', the reader, as experiencing the reality of Calcutta space in real time, as was the norm in early guidebooks. An important caveat seems necessary here. There are no existing studies on the readership of the Calcutta handbooks. Scattered references in handbook prefaces to the 'visitor' or 'resident' (British in both cases) as the projected reader are all I have to go on in this thesis. In any case, the thesis does not propose to examine the readership dynamics of the handbooks; rather it aims to look at the handbooks as material objects both produced by and themselves producing the discursive strategies of empire.

The tone of the Calcutta handbooks is typically neutral, in line with their function as a general frame of reference for the interaction between Calcutta's city space and its inhabitants. They give a voice to the city, reporting interactions on the various subjective, community-specific or

³⁶ Behdad, p.46.

³⁷ John Barry, 'Introduction', in *Calcutta 1940*, p. iii.

administrative levels that comprise the network of relationships city dwellers share with Calcutta. To explicate this with an example, consider Pat Lovett's introduction to *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (1927). Lovett, the editor of a newspaper published from Calcutta called *Capital*, discusses the city's dichotomous stance on development as follows:

The erasure of ancient landmarks may be regretted by the antiquarian, but the citizen who lives for the present with an eye to the future could not be content that his beloved city should lag behind the modern movement of rhythmic tension, which is the chief characteristic of the mechanized age in which we thrive.³⁸

As explained above, the sub-genre of the Calcutta handbook would arise in response to the ideological needs generated by the colonial urban space of Calcutta. In that sense, the typical handbook is primarily a *cultural* text, but in terms of its textual arrangement it is also a *literary* narrative. The early handbooks written after the 1857 War of Independence (Indian Mutiny) and before the onset of the twentieth century that I analyse here in reference to other imperial guides and historical narratives include Edward E. Eastwick's *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency, with an Account of Calcutta City; or Strangers Self-interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India, with a Map of India and Five Illustrations* (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., 1882); *T. Black & Co.'s Handbook of Calcutta* (Calcutta: T. Black & Co., 1864); *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: with a plan of the city, 2nd edn.* (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1875); 1882; 1892 and *Edmund Mitchell's Thacker's Guide to Calcutta: its High-ways and By-paths with a Chapter on the Government of India* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890). These handbooks are overtly symptomatic of the 'anxieties' of empire, sharing some of the features of early imperial vade-mecums. Aimed at a holistic view of Calcutta, situating it in the context of greater Bengal and Indian climate, culture and history, they typically include sections titled,

³⁸ *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta, Including brief History, Up to Date Map, Illustrated* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927), p. xii.

‘Season for visiting Bengal’; ‘Outfits’; ‘Hints to dress, diet, health and comfort’; ‘Chronological tables’; ‘Tables of Money’; ‘Castes and Tribes in the Bengal Presidency’; ‘Languages of the Bengal Presidency’; ‘Vocabulary and dialogues’; they then add a detailed section on Calcutta life. T. Black & Co., Newman and Mitchell include extensive sections on Old Calcutta and the early life of British settlers in the region, carefully constructing a narrative that grounds individuals, buildings and spaces in an enclosed and coherent narrative of ‘progress’ that emphasizes historical continuity and a sense of belonging. These handbooks are also mindful of Calcutta’s strategic position both socio-culturally and economically and look, indirectly at least, to influence British politics in the subcontinent. Mitchell’s book, for example, includes a chapter on the Government of India and its policies, which is paired with other chapters on everyday life in the colonial city. The tendency of these handbooks to bridge the gap between two different phases of imperial rule shows in the abrupt punctuation of the ‘official’ nineteenth-century handbook narrative with separate sections that provide ‘unofficial’ knowledge akin to ‘informal’ advice on Calcutta life. The turn of the twentieth century then introduces a more controlled version of the handbook’s engagement with the late-colonial task of adjusting expectations to the lived experience of colonial space. As will be apparent in the analysis that follows, the later Calcutta handbooks were published at a time when Bengal was rife with anti-colonial insurgencies against the government’s decision to partition the Bengal presidency. W.K. Firminger’s, *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1906) and H.E.A. Cotton’s, *Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907) are the two handbooks that belong to this period of strife. These two books are central, in turn, to my analysis of the *literary* qualities of the handbook narrative, particularly in view of Pierre Macherey’s argument that it is in the silences of the text that the ‘presence of ideology can be most positively felt’.³⁹ Both books, as will be seen, include extensive referencing of academic and

³⁹ Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge, 2006), p.32.

literary sources to describe the significance of buildings, sites and people. They depend on more obviously 'scientific' and 'objective' ways of demonstrating established discourses such as those of colonial hygiene and racial degeneration in the tropics that would have a direct bearing on the moral and social character of the natives. Such devices include demographic composition charts and tables of exchange rates and rate charts for servants; however, they do not include translation tables or dialogues. Nor do they include 'hints to dress, diet, health and comfort'. Generally, they convey a stricter tone that distances itself from the intimate and intersectional nature of interracial exchange. As I will also show, the handbooks that were published after the shift of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911 transitioned further into a more standardised format of imagining travel and life in Calcutta. These handbooks include, H. A. Newell's, *Calcutta, the First Capital of British India* (Calcutta: Caledonian Printing Company, 1920); W. Newman & Co., *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927); Glen Hicken's, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces: An Indispensable Pocket Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931); G. W. Tyson, *Calcutta: The City of Palaces* (Calcutta: Times of India Press, 1932); and John Barry's, *Calcutta 1940* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940). These later handbooks concentrate on a map and tour format and make no significant attempt to supply a narrative of Calcutta's history. The maps are increasingly standardized in line with the focused tour format; moreover, advertisements for places and things establish brand loyalties and standardized services, effectively obliterating all remnants of a subjective, improvisatory approach to private and health-related needs. However, these handbooks retain their earlier counterparts' sections on local types, providing a demographic analysis that champions racial and regional stereotypes and preserves the racial and class-based hierarchies that consolidate the 'rationale' of empire.

The representation of Calcutta in the handbooks does not follow the typical strategy of guidebooks where city space is removed at a distance, both geographically and in time, and analysed according to generic standards of

touristic evaluation. Instead—and this is one of their most intriguing aspects—the Calcutta handbooks would complicate the idea of ‘home’ for their British readers; several instances from the handbooks I will be reading here discuss the architectural and spatial affinity of Calcutta to London, the projected home of the British ruling class. The visual and social parallels between the metropolitan capital of the British Empire and the distant colonial capital of India heightened the ambivalence that characterized colonial territorial anxiety, which hinged on the complex cross-dynamics of desire and place.⁴⁰ This anxiety was also reflected in the architectural character of the city. G.W. Tyson, the author of one of the later handbooks (1932), remarks that the High Court of Calcutta was ‘built with one eye on the Strand and its Courts of Law’.⁴¹ The Calcutta handbooks highlighted the city’s British associations and attempted to achieve an approximation of the imperial metropolis, London, by focusing on the mirroring of street names and architectural motifs. As Tyson proclaims: ‘It should be remembered that the essential charm of the town depends very largely on the interest we take in the past of the English in India’.⁴² Therefore, much of how Calcutta was imagined socially and cartographically was premised on London, evoking a sense of familiarity if always fraught with the essential difference that characterized colonial space.

In chapter 1 and chapter 3, I will explore the spatial manifestation of colonial nostalgia through the way colonial heritage is constructed in the dominant handbook narrative. My argument in brief is that early twentieth-century handbooks, which documented a clear division between ‘Old Calcutta’ (1690-1890) under Company rule and ‘Modern Calcutta’ under the

⁴⁰ See Ella Shohat and Aamir Mufti, ‘Introduction’, in *Dangerous Liaisons, Gender, Nation, & Postcolonial Perspectives* ed. by Anne McClintock, Ella Shohat and Aamir Mufti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 1-14. I explore the idea of territorial anxiety further in Chapter 1, Shohat and Mufti discuss Home here as an idea around which the ‘nonallied nations fought the imperial family embrace’ (p.1). In each case the idea of home appears to be locked within a fundamental ambivalence—‘place or desire’. In the context of the Calcutta Handbooks a similar ambivalence characterizes the British association with the topography of Calcutta, which was highly derivative of London’s topography and other British influences.

⁴¹ G.W. Tyson, *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (Calcutta: Times of India, 1932), p. 3. ‘Strand’ and ‘Courts of Law’ here refer to locations and buildings in London.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.17.

aegis of the British crown, were subscribing to a rationale of linear time that highlighted a redemptive break from older social customs and political hierarchies while at the same time identifying the changing strategies of colonial rule as ‘progress’ and ‘development’—the effects of colonial modernity. However, as various destabilizing events of the turn of the twentieth century would make evident, the effects of modernity were felt in Calcutta through a series of crises: through growing discontent with colonial governmental measures to control and define its rule. In Chapter One I draw on Rodney Harrison’s description of the ‘relationship of heritage to modernity as a philosophical and political concept’ in order to better understand the persistent historicization of city space that the handbooks contributed to thereby, effectively establishing a narrative of heritage characterizing British Calcutta.

As Harrison argues further, ‘heritage is informed by the particular relationship between modernity and time, a sense of uncertainty, vulnerability and “risk”, and processes of ordering, classifying and categorising (or listing) that were developed in the modern historical sciences’.⁴³ Harrison’s analysis certainly rings true for late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Calcutta. The late nineteenth century registered several isolated instances of violence against colonial officials in Calcutta, such as the plague riots opposing draconian government measures to suppress the spread of the epidemic in the city, and the sustained demonstrations and public meetings that occupied city space and government buildings to register public dissent against the government’s decision to partition Bengal. These are just some of the events I will discuss in further detail during the course of this thesis, reading them as symptomatic of the crisis of urban modernity in colonial Calcutta. In the context of the handbooks themselves, which adopt specific narrative techniques to conceal the political and socio-economic impact of these events, this sense of crisis derives from the unravelling effects of a persistent *anxiety of empire*. The handbooks adopt the means outlined by Harrison above—

⁴³ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2012), p.11.

‘ordering, classifying and categorising (or listing)’—to construct a historical narrative of the British presence in Calcutta that resolves, or better, erases all traces of conflict and oppositions. Tour-oriented descriptions of the city superimpose the easy linearity of narrative associations onto actual city space, creating a version of the city that is cohesive and organized. My contention will be that this carefully manufactured historical narrative compartmentalizes the everyday lived reality of the city, with its administrative buildings, and churches, its social institutions and slums, assembled into ‘sites of memory’ that project a nostalgia that lays claim not only to the early years of British involvement in the making of Calcutta and by extension greater Bengal but also to a sense of belonging, a naturalization of the idea of Calcutta as home to its British rulers.⁴⁴

The city of Calcutta, unlike Delhi and the older cities of India is unique in that it can ‘claim to have a precise founding date’: August 24, 1690.⁴⁵ The foundations of British Calcutta are inextricably linked with the character and fortunes of its founder, Job Charnock.⁴⁶ Charnock was ‘the Honourable Company’s Senior Agent in Bengal’, and after several failed attempts at establishing the company’s factory at Hidgelee and Oolooberiah on the banks of the river Hooghly and Chittagong near Dacca, he made his famous ‘mid-day halt’ at Sútánuti.⁴⁷ Calcutta was consolidated by the British East India

⁴⁴ The phrase ‘sites of memory’ is in reference to Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller, ‘Beyond National Memory: Nora’s *Lieux de Mémoire* across an Imperial World’ in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp.1-18 (p.9).

⁴⁵ As Krishna Datta remarks in *Cities of Imagination: Calcutta* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2003), ‘Calcutta unusually among the major cities of the world can claim to have a precise founding date’ (p.10).

⁴⁶ Glen Hickens, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces*, p. xi. See also Job Charnock, *Diary and Consultation Book of Affairs of the Rt. Hon’ble English East India Company kept up by Rt. Worshipful the Agent and Council, beginning July, 16, 1690*, H.E.A. Cotton cites this as a source of information written by Charnock himself, in the chapter titled ‘The Founding of Calcutta’, (p. 9). Cotton’s book is cited in the next footnote.

⁴⁷ H.E.A. Cotton in his book *Calcutta Old and New: A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907) cites *Sir William Hedges Diary* as a source of information of early English social life in Hooghly (pp. 6-7). He also records Charnock’s failed resistance against the Nabob’s forces at Hidgelee and relates the story of Captain Heath, who arrived as reinforcement sent by the court of directors with orders to set up the Factory at Chittagong, and forcibly transported the entire English settlement in Bengal to Madras (p. 8).

Company out of three villages of Gobindapore, Sútánuti and Dihi Calcutta, after having obtained the imperial order to continue trade in 1691.⁴⁸ Pradip Sinha describes the growth of Calcutta as a process that ‘worked in an overall setting of dualism between the black and the white town’. The phenomenon of dualism, Sinha argues, ‘derived from the pre-colonial trading settlement pattern, (and) reflected the concern of the English with defence and security, manifested in the fort and the fence, and the concern of the “natives” about maintaining their own mode of social and economic organisation’. However, as the urban conglomeration grew the component units began to coalesce and interpenetrate, retaining the same elements of segregation or developing new ones.⁴⁹ Sinha identifies an ‘intermediate zone’ which he terms the ‘grey town’, inhabited by the ‘Portuguese, Greeks and Armenians of the pre-colonial period—which was considered a ritually impure zone by dominant social groups of the black town as is suggested by the original names of the localities of the area’.⁵⁰ Sinha’s description, which seeks recourse to a standardized identification of white and black in order to indicate racial difference and hierarchy, stumbles on the ‘grey’ intermediate zone. Sinha also states the association of the ‘pre-modern’ European migrants living in the city with the concept of ‘impurity’, with all its moral and corporeal implications. However, his commentary is limited to charting the evolution of these intermediary communities without defining them in relation to British governmental attitude to racial politics. As he comments:

The ethnic character of the cosmopolitan zone of the intermediate town was to a large extent derived from the intense concentration of

Similar record of Charnock’s adventures are found in Hicken’s ‘Introduction’ (1931, pp. xi-xiii) and W.K. Firminger’s *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906), pp. 5-11. Rudyard Kipling mentions Charnock’s mid-day halt in his poem ‘A Tale of Two Cities’, *Rudyard Kipling’s Verse, Inclusive Edition, 1885-1918* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922) < <https://www.bartleby.com/364/45.html> > [accessed 22 Aug 2015]. *Sútánuti* is variously spelled. I am following Rev Firminger’s spelling here, while Cotton uses ‘Suttanuttee’.

⁴⁸ As W.K. Firminger reports, the British were able to purchase the ‘right to rent the mauzas of Calcutta (Dihi Calcutta), Sútánuti and Govindpur for Rs. 1,300.’ But they also had to pay an additional amount of Rs 16,000 as ‘gratification’ to Prince Farruckshya, (p. 11). H.E.A. Cotton however states that the agreement was to pay ‘Rs 3,000 yearly by way of all dues’ (p. 11).

⁴⁹ Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Sinha, p. 7-8.

very small groups of people of diverse ethnic origins in an extremely limited area. These merchant groups continued the peddling tradition of maritime trade, though, by the mid-nineteenth century [...] (they) had moved towards the formation of a new firm-type of organisation such as the Greek firm of Ralli brothers, the Armenian Firm of Apear & Co. and the Parsi marine insurance companies.⁵¹

Sinha extends this description of 'complex ethnicity' to the 'various groups of so-called Eurasians'. Citing the case notes of Mr. Justice Hyde, a Supreme Court Judge, he traces the evolution of the term 'Eurasian' in legal parlance, differentiating 'Eurasians' from the original 'proper Portuguese' who settled in Chittagong (Bengal) before the British came to the region. He proceeds to list the various categories of Europeans, mixed-race people, Hindus and Muslims who, if not Christian in faith, were classed as Christian and Eurasian, mainly based on their eating habits. As Sinha states, the introduction of Catholicism through missionary institutions served as a 'levelling force [...] accommodating the lightest as well as darkest of skin pigments and [which], combined with the casual Luso-Indian attitude towards race, tended to force diverse categories, even some Protestants', within a single category'.⁵² However, the obsession with 'purity of blood' and 'respectability of descent' grew stronger over time as racial categorization became the sole determinant of social respectability.

In line with the early twentieth-century preoccupation with scientific racism, the ideological foundations of racial discourse shifted from hereditary causes to environmental determinism, which advocated social programmes and public health measures for the purposes of racial uplift (see Chapter Two).⁵³ This shift aligned itself with the evolving character of colonial

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.42.

⁵² *ibid.*, p.46.

⁵³ See the website of the *British Eugenics Society*, estd. 1907. The society outlines the hereditary and reform-oriented understanding of eugenics and also foregrounds its application to racial policing in colonized countries.

<<http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/tree/5233e5175c2ec5000000000e1>> [accessed 6 October 2018].

administration in Calcutta. *Reform* became the ideology that underpinned (late) colonial discourses of hygiene, counteracting the perceived physical and moral corruption of the native body through ‘corrective’ governmental measures. Such measures included the vaccination of the Indian population and the reordering of the material spaces of the city, particularly its Indian part. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, post-1900 Calcutta handbooks largely interpreted these measures in developmental terms, albeit taking care not to compromise entrenched race and class privileges. For example, the category of ‘whiteness’ was routinely invoked to justify the social and administrative reordering of colonial space while upholding the historical patterns of mobility (e.g. British families shuttling between England and India) through which the imagined purity of race was preserved (see Chapter Two).⁵⁴ Climate was another factor in protecting and defining race and class privilege—hence the peculiar nature of Calcutta as a *seasonal* capital of Empire, with British colonial administrators retreating to temperate hill stations during the scorching summer months.⁵⁵

In this and other ways, the Calcutta handbooks engaged with what might be called the everyday risks of colonial living, which included the imagined threat of racial degeneration as well as the all-too-real dangers

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Alison Blunt, ‘Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24 (1999), 421-40.

⁵⁵ Elias has criticised the ongoing tendency of western industrial civilisations to take the word ‘civilization’ for granted. In taking it as a given, such champions of the west have wilfully misunderstood the shifting nature of *habitus*, which decrees that civilization is a process subject to continuous change. Elias, in his ‘theory of civilizing processes’, shows how changes in behaviour and power are reflected in changes in personality structure, or *habitus*. Mennel and Gouldsblom define *habitus* as ‘levels of our personality makeup which are not inherent or innate but are very habituated in us by learning through social experience from birth onward—so deeply habituated, in fact, that they feel ‘natural’ or inherent even to ourselves’. Though it seems that our individual *habitus* guides our behaviour, it is important to consider that ‘*habitus* itself is formed and continues to be molded in social situations, marked by specific power differentials, and those situations, in turn, are embedded in larger social structures which change over time.’ Norbert Elias, *On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge*, ed. by Stephen Mennel and Johan Goudsblom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.15. In the context of this thesis, the process of ‘civilization’ is read as a process of modernization of the *habitus*, with the introduction of western cultural and industrial influences; however, it is also to read as a process rather than a fixed given that the natives had to achieve in order to be ‘civilized’—an argument central to the workings of colonial governmental projects (as also discussed in Deana Heath and Partha Chatterjee, cited below).

posed to physical health. Rather than advertising these risks, the handbooks sought to reassure their British readers by rehearsing the kinds of familiar rituals around everyday habits and objects that created an impression of ‘safe’ encounters with the multivalent spaces of empire. At the same time, these spaces of empire were fraught with tension as British/European bodies were placed in direct contact with the daily realities of urban colonial life. There are thus distinct limits to the effectiveness of the handbooks as technologies of management and control, which are also reflected in their own ordering strategies, for example their attempts to organize lived reality into discrete and readily comprehensible categories of information.⁵⁶ The ambitions behind such attempts would change over time, hence the tendency of early handbooks (Black’s *Handbook of Calcutta*, 1864) to rely on exotic tropes, while later ones (e.g. Hicken’s *Mid Pleasures and Palaces*, 1931) would move increasingly toward a standardized format that was considered more appropriate to modern-day Calcutta—a Calcutta seen, increasingly after the 1911 shift of the capital to Delhi, as both an important node within imperial circuits of capital and a global centre of trade.

Considerations of method

The concept of order as the rationale governing early twentieth-century colonial governmentality in Calcutta is central to my understanding of the function of handbooks as a literary sub-genre.⁵⁷ As argued above, one of the principal objectives of the Calcutta handbooks was to steer a path between the heady expectations generated by Calcutta as the colonial capital of India

⁵⁶ My usage of the term ‘technologies’ is derived from John Hutnyk’s application of this term in *The Rumour of Calcutta, Tourism, Charity and the Poverty of Representation* (London: Zed Books, 1996). Drawing on Foucault, Heidegger and Marx, Hutnyk refers to the technologies of representation and perception, which were inextricably linked with material technologies and intertwined with social relations and ideologies. An example of such a ‘technology of perception’ is photography, and how it ‘produced’ how people lived in the world (pp. 14-17).

⁵⁷ Michel Foucault, ‘Governmentality’, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Colin Gordon, Graham Burchell and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104.

and the inevitable disillusionment caused by living in a colonial city that was hard to navigate and equally difficult to understand. Gaps and discrepancies inevitably ensued: ideological incongruities that were also discernible in the formal structure and logic of individual handbooks themselves. One way of accounting for these gaps and discrepancies is to pursue an analytic strategy that privileges the *silences* in the text. As Pierre Macherey has famously argued, it is in the silences of the text that the ‘presence of ideology can be most positively felt’.⁵⁸

The most deafening silence that the handbook narrative creates is around Indian bodies and subjectivities. The presence of Indians—whether as domestic help in British households or as multitudes thronging the streets and public spaces of the city—is not part of the general concerns of the Calcutta handbooks. Handbook sections on food, clothing, domestic habits and hygiene-related instructions tend to treat Indian participants as either constitutively marginal or deliberately opaque. At the same time, the formal logic of handbook tables, charts and maps turns the physical presence of the Indian subject into an abstract entity; non-British and Indian subjects are typically reduced to population statistics or character types.⁵⁹ However, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, there are moments at which the objective tone and categorical structure of the handbook narrative is breached to introduce a tone of confidentiality and friendly advice. It is through such seemingly unimportant asides in the otherwise depersonalized narrative of the handbooks that the text acknowledges the essential intimacy that characterizes interracial interactions. Such moments indicate an unofficial recognition of the disorderly and digressive elements in the everyday life of the colonial city. In this sense, the handbooks hint at the failure, or at least limitations, of their own classificatory ambitions by acknowledging the various possibilities of digression and incongruity that characterize everyday colonial life.

⁵⁸ Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge, 2006), p.32.

⁵⁹ See Tyson, *City of Palaces*, p.19 and Newman, *Visitor's Guide*, p. 157.

To put this in a different way, the Calcutta handbooks serve as *conditioning narratives* that mediate between the ‘objective’ ambit of imperialism and the ‘subjective’ experience of the various individuals who work as representatives of the colonial system. In this sense, they operate as a mechanism for colonial officials to integrate themselves into their work environment while also conditioning themselves to any unforeseen eventualities that might arise from the subject’s unexpected encounters with the ‘other’ in colonial city space. Such procedures square with Michel Foucault’s influential concept of *governmentality*. Foucault describes governmentality as ‘how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor — all these problems’.⁶⁰ In this case the subject is a colonial administrator, a resident of Calcutta or a casual European/British traveller.

In the context of colonial Calcutta, all of these issues are inextricably entangled with the principles and practices of colonial rule. In order to arrive at an understanding of governmentality in the colonial context it is thus necessary to understand the implications of the term ‘colonial’ and how colonialism as a practice of power works to include or exclude the colonized. Intrinsic to such a study is an analysis of the ‘political rationalities of colonial power’ that give shape to colonial projects that ‘produce the effects of rule’.⁶¹ Closely following Foucault, David Scott defines the ‘political rationalities of colonial power’ as ‘those historically constituted complexes of knowledge/power that give shape to colonial projects of political sovereignty’.

One development of such political rationality is the perception of modernity as a break with older, ‘non-modern’ forms of life. Scott’s essay represents colonial modernity as a break or discontinuity with the ‘traditional organization of colonial rule characterized by the emergence of a distinctive political rationality — that is, a colonial governmentality — which produces

⁶⁰ Foucault, ‘Governmentality’, p.103.

⁶¹ David Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’, *Social Text*, 43 (1995), 191-220 (p. 193).

governing-effects on colonial conduct'.⁶² As will be seen, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Calcutta handbooks define progress through a break with 'Old Calcutta' and the nostalgia that the appellation implies. Progress and nostalgia, as Svetlana Boym has suggested, are symbiotically intertwined. 'Nostalgic manifestations are side effects of the teleology of progress. Progress [is] not only a narrative of temporal progression but also of spatial expansion'. According to Boym, progress has become the marker of global time to which all particularities of local culture succumb, 'making the populated world hospitable to [...] state-ruled administration bureaucracy'.⁶³ Given this premise, 'nostalgia [is] not merely an expression of local longing, but a result of a new understanding of time and space that [has] made the division into "local" and "universal" possible'.⁶⁴ Adapting Boym's argument to the colonial context of the handbooks, one can argue that nostalgia served to naturalize colonial rule by entrenching markers of British political and cultural conquest in the material and psychological spaces of Calcutta (see Chapter One). Boym's argument is also relevant to spatial understandings of Calcutta, for example by drawing attention to the patterns of mobility invoked by the handbooks' tour-oriented organization and their preoccupation with the infrastructural connections that linked the city with its contiguous areas as well as with the larger world.

The concept of *mobilities* is also central to my reading of the use of maps in handbooks (see Chapter Three). The maps attached to handbooks exist in a hierarchical relation to the literary texts to which they are appended. As might be expected, the dynamics of this hierarchy change over the course of the development of Calcutta handbooks as a sub-genre. I seek accordingly to study the genealogy of urban space through a series of maps that represent the changing materiality of the colonial city. At the same time, these maps also flatten out the particularities of colonial city space. For example, Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (1906) uses the scientific objectivity of

⁶² Ibid., p. 204

⁶³ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p.10.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.11.

cartography as a discursive tool that conveys an illusion of fixity to the verbal narrative that accompanies it. However, much of what is cartographically represented in Thacker (1906) disappears in Barry's version of the city map (1940), which highlights medical- and trade-related places in the city along with the customary tourist hotspots. Thacker's map makes explicit infrastructural extensions in and around the city (bridges, railways, etc.) that indicate increased mobility during the early 1900s indicating population growth, charting new patterns in the circulation of goods, information and people and Barry's map though a limited representation includes the infrastructural changes made by the Calcutta Improvement Trust that made mobility across the city a greater priority, consistent with Calcutta's emergence as a modern global city. The concept of mobility also informs my understanding of the term 'metropolitan modern' as a way of mapping the interrelationship of colonial Calcutta with London. As discussed earlier, Calcutta was frequently imagined in relation to London and this comparison was reinforced in the moniker, 'Second City of the empire'. Those elements of urban 'development', ranging from infrastructural features to cultural and political expressions, that I am calling 'metropolitan modernity' were underpinned by what Alan Lester has called, 'uneven geographies of truth'.⁶⁵ Further to this, Catherine Hall shows that peripheral colonies could be managed only through their connections with the metropole; consequently metropolitan identity and power were dependent on maintaining the 'gap' between the two places.⁶⁶ The features of 'metropolitan modernity' that the handbooks identify as features of colonial 'developmentality' are thus always preconditioned by colonial governmentality.⁶⁷ Colonial governmentality, as I

⁶⁵ Alan Lester uses this phrase in his review of Hall's book: 'Colonial and postcolonial geographies' a review of Catherine Hall's, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 29. 2(2003) 277-288.

⁶⁶ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

⁶⁷ My understanding of colonial urban development derives from Anthony D. King's definition of the term and its nuances. In *Colonial Urban Development, Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976) King explains the distinction between urban growth and urban development in terms of 'the latter [being] more consciously planned or directed'. As he further states, 'indeed it is this distinction which is one of the main characteristics of the colonial city, distinguishing it from those cities in

understand and use the term here (see also chapter 2), demonstrates this ‘gap’ in its uneven application of regulatory principles that undermine the emergence of the liberal citizen-individual who seeks to ‘know, decipher and act on themselves’. Instead, the relationship between state and subject is predicated on violence and fixed moral differences between the rulers and the ruled.

As will become apparent in this thesis, the historical trajectory of the Calcutta handbooks shows the changing spatial rationale of the colonial city over time. The handbooks also reveal what Scott calls the ‘micro-technologies’ of power that organize the details of everyday life. They regulate the ways in which city space is produced, but are also products of the same phenomenon they seek to mediate.⁶⁸ They likewise regulate the colonial subject, primarily the British Sahib and his family. This regulation encompasses the social being of the subject, but also his/her material existence: dress, food and language. Since many of their instructions pertain to interracial exchange, the handbooks indirectly regulate the native as well. A detailed textual analysis of handbooks can thus reveal, in Scott’s words, ‘colonial power’s point of application, its target and the discursive and non-discursive fields it sought to encompass’.⁶⁹

politically autonomous, democratic societies. [...] For much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries –the most rapid period of growth for the industrial city –vested interests prevailed in the competition for urban space, with the ‘planning authority’ performing either a negative or delaying function. In the colonial city there was rarely an “urban management” problem as planning authority and vested interests were one and the same thing.’ p.24. In keeping with this, my thesis seeks to understand the phrasing of urban features in the city’s topography and cultural milieu as ‘development’ in handbooks which were, as King argues, products of vested imperial interests. By locating the handbooks against the discourses of colonial governmentality, and in understanding ‘development’ as a means of generating mobility both of finance and ideas, I understand ‘development’ as a means of integrating Calcutta into the structured system of empire.

⁶⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

⁶⁹ Scott, p. 204.

Considerations of Modernity

The production of modern cities in the colonial context has been extensively discussed in critical urban studies, for example in relation to the development of new orientations in built environments, changing patterns of socialization and sociability, and shifting caste configurations. Such considerations often look to redefine the relationship between ‘public’ and ‘private’ aspects of city space and its influence on individual self-determination. As many of the existing studies attest, modernity in colonial Calcutta was fashioned in relation to unique conceptions of public and private space derived from the rural, mofussil roots of the new Indian middle class that populated the city. Sumit Sarkar, for example, distinguishes Indian colonial modernity from western forms of modernity by focusing on the synergy of colonial metropolitan forms with their rural counterparts: ‘Villages and towns were not all that rigidly separate from each other, for the new middle class had foot in both. It typically combined urban service and professional or clerical occupations with rentier income drawn from the countryside’.⁷⁰ Swati Chattopadhyay similarly critiques the assumption of a universal model of modernity:

It (colonial modernity) was contingent on the ‘translations’ inherent to the process of colonial encounter and formed in accommodation and conflict with Western ideals of individuality, progress and public and private life. The city was rendered uncanny in both colonialist and nationalist imagination by repressing and resurrecting traces of an unreasoning modernity.⁷¹

Chattopadhyay defines ‘unreasoning modernity’ not as lack of reason but in terms of ‘the realm of memory, myth and those aspects of experience that are not easily amenable to discourse or representation’.⁷² In my own analysis, I argue that the Calcutta handbook as a sub-genre emerged, at least in part, out

⁷⁰ Sarkar, *Modern Times*, p.284.

⁷¹ Chattopadhyay, p.3.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 3.

of a colonial consciousness of the uneven character of urban modernity: what Chattopadhyay terms 'unreasoning modernity'. The formal features of this particular sub-genre are thus typically improvisatory, drawing on the representational strategies of various related sub-genres such as household and profession-oriented manuals, city directories, and historiographical documents of colonial Calcutta.

Much like Sarkar, Chattopadhyay delineates structural changes in the city of Calcutta as a useful setting against which hierarchical constructs of western modernity can be deconstructed.⁷³ In a slightly different vein, Sudipta Kaviraj introduces the 'logic of modernity's reconstitution of identity' into the discussion, looking at how standard tools of Indian colonial modernity such as English-medium education and the implementation of the census created new types of belonging and 'made possible and even obligatory, people's "having" their identities in an altogether different way'.⁷⁴ Kaviraj describes the effects of the colonial governmental measures that made English the language of public life, which effectively excluded women and lower castes and created a dichotomy between the 'inside space' or 'home', which was characterized by sentimental domesticity, and the 'outside world' of politics. The other fundamental process of change set in motion by Indian colonial modernity was what Kaviraj calls 'one of enumeration: the transformation of a small, approximate, tentative conception of the social universe into the typical modern image of mapped and counted identities'.⁷⁵ In Kaviraj's analysis, the reconstitution of the self in colonial modernity is thus tied in with the taxonomic categorization of community into quantifiable sections and a discernible division between the public and the private.⁷⁶

⁷³ Chattopadhyay, p.5.

⁷⁴ Sudipta Kaviraj, 'Religion, Politics and Modernity', in *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *International Development Studies*, 11 (1994), 163-183 (p. 164)
<<http://ojs.ruc.dk/index.php/ocpa/issue/view/774/showToc>> [accessed 10 May 2018].

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷⁶ Sumanta Banerjee's *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Calcutta* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1989) conducts a similar analysis of the effects of colonial modernity on the culture and social categories of nineteenth-century Calcutta. Much

Such critiques discern the effects of colonial modernity on an Indian population that had to evolve alternative modernities in reaction to changes that came about during colonial rule.⁷⁷ In the more immediate context of this thesis, the development of the Calcutta handbook as a sub-genre accompanied an inevitable disillusionment with the processes of appropriating colonial space and territory that were part of the ordered and controlling logic of western enlightenment-oriented modernity. At one level, the handbooks essentially adhered to the dominant discursive and representational logics of colonial policy, which employed the familiar categories of quantification and categorization of city space and the individual subject. However, as will be seen, the handbooks also revealed (albeit involuntarily) some of the tensions inherent within these logics, tensions probably at their most conspicuous in their designated divisions between ‘public’ and ‘private’ space. This thesis understands modernity through the concept of mobility (see Buettner (2004); Blunt (1999); Urry (2007); Richards (1851)). The Calcutta handbooks would make visible these patterns of mobility and their cultural and social effects on those particular communities of people who participated in this network of travel and benefited from it. The modernisation of Calcutta was narrativized and periodized in the handbooks’

of his work delineates the complex hierarchies of the public and private space divide as it emerged in the social space of the city.

⁷⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that the colonised tried to evolve such alternatives as a way of making themselves at home in a world defamiliarized by colonial capitalism. See ‘Adda: A History of Sociality’, in *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 180-213 and ‘The Difference—Deferral of a Colonial Modernity: Public Debates on Domesticity in British Bengal’, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 373-405. See also Bill Ashcroft, ‘Alternative Modernities: Globalization and the Post-Colonial’, *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature*, 40.1 (2009), pp.81-105. Ashcroft argues that globalization may (now) be characterized by the multiplicity of its modernities and postcolonial theory provides a way to understand why this is so.

S. N. Eisenstadt, in ‘Multiple Modernities’, *Daedalus*, 129.1 (2000), pp.1-29, claims that the concept of multiple modernities is a refutation of the triumphalist theories of modernization of the 1950s, which assumed that all industrial societies would one day converge. The so-called classical theories of modernization (Marx, Durkheim and Weber) all posited a cultural program of modernity, which had its origins in Europe but was expected to become universal in time. Yet the progress of modernisation showed that “modernity” and “westernization” were not identical.

depersonalised narrative.⁷⁸ Modernity's cultural counterpart, modernism, emerged in the handbooks as a set of regulating structures both in the public realm of the city and the private space of the home.

In the extended analysis that follows, I will be using the term 'metropolitan modern' to designate the topographical features, cultural institutions, demographic categories, and infrastructural networks that enable the circulation of goods and people, which constitute the public aspect of understanding and representing city space. Meanwhile, I have assigned the term 'domestic exotic' to those aspects and sections in the texts that deal with the private space of individual interactions and the various intimate ways of accustoming oneself to the difference that Calcutta poses. These categories are symptomatic of the ordering principles central to the governmental measures that structure the material topography of the city through urban planning and are also integral to the social construction of 'the Englishman' and the individual self-determination of the ruling subject.

As will be seen in later chapters of this thesis, the early handbooks incorporated a lot of information on personal hygiene and the setting up of domestic space. Instructions varied according to season and terrain and ranged from medical advice to suggestions for community cohesion. With the political shift from East India Company rule to the rule of the Crown after 1858, and the consequent shift in political ideologies of colonial governance, there was a perceptible reorganization of the material topography of the city. The handbooks reflected this change, representing the shifting modalities of a corporate colonialism based on factory trade and governance to a complex network of imperial trade equipped with a 'civilizational' rationale of rule. Early handbooks like those of T. Black (1864) and Murray (1882) used purportedly objective taxonomic tools of lists and tables to enclose Calcutta's irreducible alterity within a controlled and regulated format. This format was necessary to reinforce British identity in Calcutta as a marker of the modern

⁷⁸ See Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present*, (London: Verso, 2002) for his 'Four Maxims of Modernity', pp.15-96.

and the urban—a modern and urban presence that was contrasted with the haphazard chaos of the disease- and crime-ridden native sectors of the town. The handbooks thus became boundary markers, symptomatic of regimes of control and order that had been established over difference, making it less of a threat.

Later handbooks from the early 1900s did not feature translation tables or advice on appropriate behaviour with servants and Indian subordinates. These handbooks were more focused instead on constructing a historical sub-text to the public space of the city. However, in the handbooks published in the late 1920s, the personal and domestic re-emerged in advertisements. Advertisements in the earlier handbooks pertained to the publications issued by the respective publishing houses, such as in Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (1906) and Newman's *Hand Book of Calcutta* (1882; 1892). However, in the handbooks published post-1920 such as Newman's *Visitor's Guide* (1927) and Tyson's *City of Palaces* (1932) advertisements became part of the textual content, indicating the development of trade networks and the circulatory nature of late imperial capitalism enabling the easy availability of goods and services.

At roughly the same time, growing nationalist consciousness in the native population made its way into the language and narrative of handbooks. Going back to G.W. Tyson's text, we find the author apologizing to the 'patriotic Indian' for glorifying the British imperial past of Calcutta: 'to the patriotic Indian it may appear a little hard but the fact is that even for Indians Calcutta is an artificial place of residence'.⁷⁹ The word 'artificial' negates native dwellers' claim on the spatial reality of Calcutta. As opposed to the 'artificial', the metropolitan experience is defined as 'authentic' for the British resident/traveller. It is this urban authenticity that the handbooks arguably strove to capture in their narrative. The metropolitan modernity that is manifested in infrastructure—social and civic amenities—is further invested with the emotional quotient of an authentic British experience of and in

⁷⁹ Tyson, p.17.

Calcutta. The concept of the 'authentic' thus comes to define the relationship between the metropolitan modern and the domestic exotic, where the 'exotic' is framed in terms of the familiar and assimilated into the authentic experience of the modern metropolis. The 'authentic' also functions as a means of negotiating anxiety about the exotic other. The Calcutta handbooks as a genre evoked the exotic by setting the colonial history of the city against its geographical present. The handbooks familiarized the exotic by engaging with colonial 'systems of knowledge' within the scope of their open narratives. In a typical Calcutta handbook, the exotic is evoked in images of native servants, unfamiliar terrain and inclement weather conditions, and is then systematically familiarized through the language of command and lists and maps arranging copious information in familiar patterns of order.

The term 'exotic' is used here to neutralize difference into a homogeneous 'Other' which is then objectified and assimilated into the systems of knowledge that produce the experience of Calcutta. Graham Huggan defines the conventional understanding of exoticism 'as an aesthetic perception – one which renders people, objects and places strange even as it domesticates them, and which effectively manufactures otherness even as it claims to surrender to its eminent mystery'.⁸⁰ But it is as much a political as it is an aesthetic practice, and 'this politics is often concealed, hidden beneath layers of mystification'.⁸¹ The ideological practice of exoticizing the familiar hinges on the concept of ordering city space and engaging both the political and aesthetic dimensions of colonial geographic reality. However, the exotic is not distanced in the past 'as a recreational, leisurely tour of exoticism available to a wide range of readers and choc-full of pleasure, exhilarating experiences, and picturesque encounters—encounters to be produced by the tourist, not simply described by a narrator'.⁸² This would perhaps be true of guidebooks about India in general, but in the Calcutta handbooks the exotic

⁸⁰ Graham Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 13.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸² Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, p. 42.

exists in the folds of everyday life as a set of practical associations. This thesis interrogates the uses of exotic in constructing the colonial modern as a viable category for ordering social practices and spatial reality.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, handbooks as a sub-genre emerged in other presidency towns as well such as Bombay, Madras and Delhi.⁸³ However, this thesis focuses on Calcutta because of the distinctive socio-political history of the city, especially at the turn of the century, which would result soon after in the shift of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911. The city of Calcutta offers a distinctive perspective into the effects of modernity in the colonial context through this political disjuncture.⁸⁴ The political vacuum created by the sudden shift, which was meant to curb the consolidation of anti-colonial insurgency in Bengal, altered the texture of urban consciousness in the city. The effects of this shift were reflected in turn in the representational strategies adopted by the handbooks written post-1920. As I will go on to show, this period of transition in Calcutta synchronized with the advent of the handbook as a significant sub-genre, called upon to serve a distinctive purpose in relation to imperial politics of surveillance and control. Chapter One will examine the framing of an 'official' history of Calcutta in the handbook narrative. The handbooks analysed in this chapter contextualized Calcutta's history in the material topography of the city, much in keeping with the dominant colonial rationale of rule. But by reading against the grain of this standardized history, I will highlight how a selective representation of the past in these handbooks rendered certain important events of nationalist protest into arbitrary acts of violence. By focusing on the conceptual idea of

⁸³ For example, see E. B. Eastwick, *Handbook of the Bombay Presidency. With an Account of Bombay City* (London: Murray, 1881).

⁸⁴ This thesis does not argue that the effects of class-based and racial hierarchies embedded within British colonial rule were unique to Calcutta. Rather, it looks at the handbook genre as a vehicle for a larger global imperial network of which Calcutta was a nodal point. Calcutta seems distinctive compared to other Indian cities that served as comparative constellations because of the socio-economic, cultural and political context of the Swadeshi movement, which emerged in the wake of the Bengal partition of 1905 and the consequent shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911. The handbooks, I argue, were responsive to major changes in the ideologies of rule that accompanied British governance in Calcutta during this historical period, revealing the conflicted processes through which colonial modernity and urban cityscape emerged in this city during the early years of the twentieth century.

'home' in the context of a worldwide empire that mobilized a huge number of goods and people, I will explore how nostalgia for an 'Old Calcutta' was manufactured in the handbook narrative and deployed to contextualize the colonial spatial architecture of the city. By spatializing history in concrete terms, the Calcutta handbook as a sub-genre thus came to supplement the governmental project of *naturalizing* empire in the colonial city.

Chapter Two will shift focus from the historical narrativization of city space to the representational management of the various bodies that inhabit that space. The temporal focus of the chapter also shifts from the narrative construction of 'Old Calcutta' to the Calcutta of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and to the lived reality of the colonial everyday. The chapter revives colonial and postcolonial concerns of race, whiteness, mixed-race subjectivities and the spatialization of 'polluting' influences, connecting the moral structure of colonial rule with the late Victorian emphasis on scientific racism in the context of the Calcutta handbooks. The chapter draws on the intricate crisscrossing of governmental strategies that traversed the domestic and public life of colonial Calcutta. Territorial anxiety in this context manifested itself in the corporeal body and the intricate rituals and codes of conduct that superimposed a controlling structure on the religious, social and cultural practices of Calcutta society. The chapter studies the historical construction of racial hierarchies that cut across class privileges and systematically excluded 'ethnic' bodies that were denied both physical space and the possibility of political representation.

Chapter Three charts the relationship between the materiality of city space and the use of maps as a supplementary representational tool in handbooks. This chapter contextualizes the previously discussed ideological structuring of Calcutta's historiography and the micro-management of the subject's interaction with its spatial environment in the material manipulation of city space, triggered by the geopolitical insecurities of empire as well as the coercive influence of imperial capital. The chapter studies maps as cultural texts that effectively re-describe socio-political and economic worldviews. The analysis explores the hierarchical relation between maps and the 'literary'

(verbal) text of the handbooks. The chapter traces the evolution of maps in Calcutta handbooks and relates changes in cartographic representation to the changing parameters of colonial rule explored in earlier chapters. These maps are then studied in relation to contemporaneous urban planning schemes and connected them with the discourses of progress and development represented in this particular sub-genre.

As the focus on changing patterns of mobility in its final chapter attests, this thesis effectively replicates colonial circuits of travel through the handbook sub-genre. The early handbooks' emphasis on historiography essentially documented modes and patterns of travel (people, goods, ideas), while the sub-genre as it developed came to embody a basic colonial ideological contradiction between the incessant movement of goods and people that characterized colonial trade and regulatory, increasingly desperate attempts to maintain fixed boundaries of race and class. By studying the specific modes of representation adopted by the Calcutta handbooks, this thesis seeks to demonstrate the contradictory practices of colonial ideology in a peripheral literary genre.

CHAPTER ONE

History, Heritage and Memory in the Calcutta Handbooks

Introduction: Calcutta handbooks and the historic turn

As I argued in my introductory chapter, contemporary travelogues and guidebooks deal in the business of commodifying experience and culture, and are sold in various formats to target audiences so as to ensure, in relation to the changing present, a continuous reinvention of the past. Images of the past are created and consolidated in keeping with the appeal, availability and format of the particular form of representation chosen. For example, the selection and filtering processes that are intrinsic to the construction of cultural heritage often allow for the development of traces of myth and nostalgia in travel narratives.⁸⁵ In this chapter, I explore spatial manifestations of colonial nostalgia and its relationship with the anxiety of empire through the way colonial heritage is constructed in Calcutta handbooks, connecting this to some of the larger principles and patterns informing the so-called 'historic turn'. I use the phrase 'historic turn' to identify the sudden surge of interest in the history of Calcutta at the turn of the twentieth century. This academic interest in Calcutta's history overlapped with the British government's insistence on developing an official historiographic narrative of Calcutta that identified a select archive of resources in celebration of the colonial heritage of the city. This strategy gathered force under Lord Curzon's viceroyalty as a means of integrating the narrative of empire into popular consciousness, which was becoming increasingly attuned to anti-colonial nationalist protests. The Victoria Memorial was a material manifestation of

⁸⁵ Grete Swensen and Karoline Daugstad, 'Travels in Imaginary Landscapes: An Analysis of Four Cultural Historic Guidebooks', *Géographie des guides et récits de voyage*, 3 (2012), 2-22 (p.3).

this strategy; however, public disaffection towards the colonial government intensified, and frequent violent protests during the anti-partition movement in Bengal led to a shift of government to Delhi in 1912. This led in turn to a significant waning of interest in historical research about the city of Calcutta in the late 1920s, as its handbook representations came increasingly to focus on the cosmopolitan character of a large port town that contributed to the global network of imperial capital. In this chapter, I will argue that the handbooks supplemented the political strategy to ground Calcutta historically, using a variety of narrative techniques and strategies to create the notion of Calcutta as a ‘heritage space’.

The presentation of cultural heritage in the Calcutta handbooks has two principal uses. First, it serves as a source of historical knowledge,⁸⁶ that is to say it makes visible the traces of time in objects, monuments and environments that work together to create a linear narrative of spatial experience.⁸⁷ The process of constituting cultural heritage usually invests space with a rationale of cause and effect, harnessing arbitrary events, objects and spaces to a continuous narrative that fills in the gaps for an apparently seamless transition from one event to the next. The second aspect of cultural heritage I want to highlight is what Swensen and Daugstad call ‘the contemporary use of the past’. This aspect focuses, in their words, on ‘the present needs that cultural heritage meets and the particular ways in which the past can be interpreted to fulfil various purposes’.⁸⁸

The discourse of cultural heritage, Swensen and Daugstad insist, is ‘hardly permanent and fixed in time, [and] changes continuously occur in

⁸⁶ Victoria Peel and Anders Sorensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 32-36.

⁸⁷ See Rodney Harrison’s ‘dialogical’ model of heritage, which is ‘seen as emerging from the relationship between people, objects, places and practices, and [...] does not distinguish between or prioritise what is ‘natural’ and what is ‘cultural’, but is instead concerned with the various ways in which humans and non-humans are linked by chains of connectivity and work together to keep the past alive in the present for the future’. Harrison argues that this model, above all, emphasizes the *connectivity* of ‘people, landscape and things’. *Heritage: Critical approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 4-5.

⁸⁸ Swensen and Daugstad, p.3.

accordance with broader societal changes'.⁸⁹ As will be seen in this chapter, the use of heritage in the Calcutta handbooks is in step with Harrison's analysis of the relationship between heritage and modernity, in particular the overriding feeling of uncertainty—the sense of crisis—that is produced by unprecedented socio-political, humanitarian, environmental and economic changes brought about by late modern society in accounting for heritage as a global cultural phenomenon.⁹⁰ Harrison links this sense of crisis with the 'role of ordering, classifying and categorizing in modernity'.⁹¹ This corresponds in turn to what Sara Suleri calls 'the ostensible unreadability of the colonial subcontinent',⁹² an anxiety that surfaces in the 'colonial will to cultural description, which demonstrates an anxious impulse to insist that colonized peoples can indeed be rendered interpretable within the language of the colonizer'.⁹³ As will be seen, the Calcutta handbooks, especially those published around the turn of the twentieth century, located what Harrison calls modernity's 'memory crisis' in the colonial era, and their temporal divisions between 'Old' and 'New' (modern) Calcutta was one of the many categorizations they effected in order to make sense of colonial modernity.

In what follows, I explore the role of these handbooks in constructing an official heritage for Calcutta as 'the second city' of the British Empire, and examine the discourses that played into this historiographic exercise. However, the way the handbooks tended to view official heritage is different from Harrison's definition of the same: 'the series of mechanisms by which objects, buildings and landscapes are set apart from the everyday and conserved for their aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or recreational values'.⁹⁴ Rather, the Calcutta handbooks were intent on investing socio-political institutions, government buildings and lived places with an historic significance that connected the everyday mechanics of imperial rule with the

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp.3-4.

⁹⁰ Harrison, p. 3.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹² Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 6.

⁹³ Suleri, p.7.

⁹⁴ Harrison, p. 14.

progressivist narrative of development and civilization. They emphasized historical continuity by creating a nostalgic longing for the early glory of the British settlement in Bengal through a memorialized narrative of city space, thereby naturalizing imperial rule as an intrinsic part of the history of Bengal. However, as we shall see in the course of this chapter and in the thesis as a whole, they also articulated a ‘memory crisis’ that manifested itself in terms of the challenges posed by unprecedented technological advances, but also sought refuge in terms of a felt nostalgia for ‘home’. The handbooks combined this nostalgic longing for ‘home’ through descriptive elements in their narratives that celebrated the proud past of British architecture, but also served as rhetorical structures that domesticated the exotic by folding the unfamiliar spaces of the colony into the ordered designs of familiar Britain: ‘back home’.⁹⁵

The sub-genre of the Calcutta handbook can therefore be seen as complicating the relationship of cultural heritage to historiography within the context of the colonial city of Calcutta in the period from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The handbooks, which first appeared on the publishing scene during the 1840s, preceded a comprehensive historical account of Calcutta as a city; rather, they sought to package heritage for both urban residents and tourists in a necessarily condensed, and frequently congested, form. They had to work within a stipulated format of restricted scope and size, but were expected nonetheless to provide a balanced diet of geographical, cultural and historical information that pleurably combined verbal and visual text while hoping to excite curiosity for a particular place. As previously explained (see Introduction), my study of handbooks in this thesis is not limited to their effectiveness as accounts of tourism during a particular historical period; nor, in the particular context of Calcutta, does it attempt to write a historical narrative of the evolution of the genre.⁹⁶ Instead, it tries to

⁹⁵ The Government House in Calcutta, built after the architectural plan of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, is an example in point. It is curiously serendipitous that Kedleston Hall was Lord Curzon’s family seat, and as Viceroy of India he would reside in its replica as well.

⁹⁶ It does attempt, however, to identify how the handbooks’ narrative style and content changed in response to politically and socially significant events such as the 1857 revolt and

explore the relationship that this form of writing had at the time (and to some extent still has) with the development of dominant historical narratives of British rule in Calcutta, and the discourses that accompanied them. This inquiry is important, first, because Calcutta was the official capital of the Raj from 1772 to 1911; and, second, because the Calcutta handbook as a sub-genre appeared on the literary scene in close proximity to several major historical texts about the city that were published at more or less the same time.

These two genres--historical accounts and the Calcutta handbooks themselves--were replete with intertextual references, consulting a common pool of resources and people in order to construct their individual narratives. One contention in this chapter will be that communication across these two very different genres responded to a perceived crisis in the changing rationale of colonial rule during Curzon's Viceroyalty (1899-1905), which looked to create a composite narrative of Calcutta that eulogized the capital city as an exemplar of urban modernity. Whereas 'straight' historical accounts often had a limited market from publishers' point of view, handbooks viewed the city with both an outsider's detachment and a resident's familiarity. They were also potentially a collector's item for people who had already worked in or visited Calcutta and lived in the city. The armchair traveller was therefore only one of several possible audiences for such accounts (see also Introduction).

The chapter begins by tracing some of the commonalities between handbooks and historical texts about Calcutta, which developed simultaneously at the turn of the twentieth century. It then moves on to study the structure of history in the Calcutta handbooks, leading to an analysis of the various uses of history in them. The chapter section dedicated to the structure of history discusses some of the discourses that determined what would count as the 'history of Calcutta', the different categories and taxonomies to be employed in this history, and the creation of an archive that

the later rise of the Indian National movement that culminated with the shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911.

would facilitate further inquiries into the city's past. This section also looks at how the historiography of the city was implemented to promote colonial policies, which in turn helped to shape the Calcutta handbooks' attitude to history. The 'Uses of History' section that follows examines how history was deployed to create hierarchies of space, mapping the city along a number of readily identifiable socio-political, economic and racial divides. It also looks into how this systematic construction of history determined the subject formation of both the colonizer and the colonized.

History in handbooks

Early accounts which attempted an extensive historical study of Bengal as a province included Luke Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan, with a Short Sketch of the History of Bengal from 1738 to 1756 and an Account of the English Affairs to 1758* (1770), and Charles Stewart's *The History of Bengal* (1813). Such accounts either concentrated on Islamic rule in Bengal up to the defeat of Siraj-ud-dowlah in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, or dealt with the first arrival of the British in Bengal province.⁹⁷ These books were not, nor had they any intention to be, narratives of Calcutta's history as the capital city of the Raj; rather, they sought to document the early socio-political and economic stance of the British in Bengal. The political ideologies that would shape later works such as Thomas Babington Macaulay's historical essay 'Lord Clive' (1840) or J. C. Marshman's *History of Bengal Compiled for the use of Youths in Bengal* (1868) were still nascent in the early historiography of empire.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, these influential books on the history of Bengal were the ones generally cited as primary sources in the Calcutta handbooks as well

⁹⁷ Luke Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan, with a Short Sketch of the History of Bengal from 1738 to 1756 and an Account of the English Affairs to 1758* (London: W. Strahan, 1770).

⁹⁸ Charles Stewart, *The History of Bengal from the First Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of that Country by the English A.D. 1757* (London: Black, Parry and Co., 1813); J.C. Marshman's *History of Bengal Compiled for the use of Youths in Bengal* (London: Murray, 1857).

as in latter-day historical narratives on the city, and they contributed to a lively interaction between the two sub-genres.

Charles Stewart directly connects the significance of his own historical work with the pleasures of travel, emphasizing that history provides an informing narrative context for a geographical locale that helps create a meaningful experience for travellers who might otherwise be limited to visual appreciation of the places and people they encounter:

Every Traveller in a foreign country must be sensible, with how much more interest he views the monuments of antiquity of whose history he has acquired a previous knowledge, than those vestiges of former times which, from his ignorance of the events connected with them, he can only contemplate as useless heaps of ruins, or admire merely for their romantic situations or picturesque beauties.⁹⁹

Stewart's book anticipates the uses of history in early twentieth-century Bengal for British readers who were on the move across the subcontinent, either travelling from the plains to the hills in the summer months and back again in the winter, or wandering across the country as a whole. Stewart advertises his work and its relevance for 'those who are looking forward to Bengal as their place of sojourn for several years', suggesting further that his is a work that will 'prove both instructive and interesting' to travellers to as well as residents in the Orient, reminding them of scenes from Bengal 'where many of them will probably acknowledge they have spent the happiest period of their lives'.¹⁰⁰

However, early historical narratives such as Stewart's were not free of the biases and assumptions that would be challenged in later historical analyses. For example, Stewart laments the lack of 'any account of the state of civilization, or of the progress of the arts and sciences', attributing this lack to:

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.i.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp.ii-iii.

[a] despotic government where the tyrant was everything, and the people of no political consequence. [...] In a state where every individual was a soldier, and educated from his childhood in military habits, it is not to be expected that the historians, generally pensioners of the monarch, should adorn their pages with a detail of circumstances not suited to the taste of their readers.¹⁰¹

Colonial historiography has pointed to the dearth of positivist work on the history of pre-colonial India.¹⁰² Accounts of the pre-colonial historiography of India that saw the country as bound up in 'military habits' and statecraft contradicted many of the later findings of the Asiatic Society and Orientalists, such as Sir William Jones. Nonetheless, the behavioural profiling of the natives of Bengal in later handbooks (among other documents and accounts) tended to describe the locals as 'effeminate', 'sentimental', and 'lacking enterprise and military prowess', very much at odds with how Stewart describes the people of Bengal.¹⁰³

Much of the contemporary critique of the making of colonial cultural heritage, and the writing of histories of colonized societies since the early days of colonial empires, takes its cue from Edward Said's seminal theorizing on Orientalism.¹⁰⁴ The hegemonic nature of colonial administration in commissioning monuments and writing histories that appropriated local sites to serve colonial interests was already discussed in my introductory chapter, though it will continue to loom large throughout the thesis as it proceeds. The larger point I want to make here is that cultural heritage, in both its tangible and intangible forms, effectively served as a precursor to Indian

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.ii.

¹⁰² Minute by the Honourable T.B. Macaulay, dated 2nd February 1835. Sourced from Bureau of Education, Selection from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). Edited by H. Sharp. Calcutta. Superintendent, (Government Printing, 1920. Reprint. Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965) pp.107-117
<<http://www.mssu.edu/projectssouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Macaulay001.htm>> [accessed 10 May 2018].

¹⁰³ Edward E. Eastwick, *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency, with an Account of Calcutta City with Maps and Plans* (London: John Murray, 1882), pp.34-36. The sexual aspect of the colonizer/colonized binary is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

historiography dating from the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ The very concept of 'heritage', along with the definition of what constituted the cultural heritage of a colonial metropolis like Calcutta, was manufactured in relation to a global understanding of the term. However, the concept of heritage was (and continues to be) contested territory in India, as in other former British colonies.¹⁰⁶ A direct imposition of the global concept of heritage is problematic in the colonial context, not least because any discourse of heritage constructed by the colonial rulers was almost by definition a selective assemblage of objects, sites and ways of life that excluded local perspectives.¹⁰⁷

The handbooks to be considered in this study are T. Black & Co.'s *Handbook of Calcutta* (1864); Edward E. Eastwick's *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency, with an Account of Calcutta City; or Strangers Self-interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India, with a Map of India and Five Illustrations* (1882); W. Newman & Co.'s *Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: with a plan of the City* (1st edn, 1875; 2nd edn, 1882; 3rd edn, 1892); Edmund Mitchell's *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta, Its High-ways and By-Paths* (1890); W.K. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to*

¹⁰⁵ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines 'tangible heritage' as follows: 'Tangible heritage includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture'. 'Intangible cultural heritage', on the other hand, comprises 'traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts'. <www.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003> [accessed 15 May 2016]. For further reading on tangible and intangible cultural heritage, see Yahaya Ahmad, 'The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12, 3(2006), 292-300.

¹⁰⁶ The dialogic concept of heritage as discussed by Harrison is not applicable here since what is counted as 'heritage' is determined, not just by the logic of human interaction with space, but also by the more specific ways in which the built environment contributed to the colonial history of Calcutta. Heritage, in this sense, feeds the colonial mythology of progress.

¹⁰⁷ To read further on these objects' and sites' incorporation into the discourses of colonization and imperialism in colonial India, see Richard Goebelt, 'The Memory of Lord Clive in Britain and Beyond: Imperial Hero and Villain' in *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 136-152 and Thomas R. Metcalf, 'Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910' *Representations*, 6 (1984), pp. 37-65; 136-152.

Calcutta (1906); H.E.A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New, A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (1907); H. A. Newell's *Calcutta, the First Capital of British India: An Illustrated Guide to Places of Interest with Map* (1922); Glen Hicken's *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (1931); G.W. Tyson's *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (1932); and John Barry's *Calcutta 1940* (1940).¹⁰⁸ As is evident from the publication dates given above, these handbooks spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the more recent among them reaching well into the twentieth. However, to place them in relation to historical accounts of Calcutta written during this period, one has to begin with such works as W.W. Hunter's *The Annals of Rural Bengal* (1868), which lays down the tenets of research in the rural governance of Bengal since pre-colonial times,¹⁰⁹ and J. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Records of British India: A History of the English Settlements in India* (1878), which draws its material from records of the Home Department in Calcutta and other presidencies. Tellingly, Wheeler's book is not exclusively about Calcutta; he begins with the British settlements in Gujarat and Madras and only then moves on to Calcutta, dedicating chapter-length accounts to particular events such as the capture of the city by Siraj-ud-dowla in 1756 and its retrieval by Clive in the battle of Plassey in 1757.¹¹⁰ Like Stewart before him, Wheeler regrets the fact that there is very little material to comment upon the social life of the early British settlers in Bengal. But he insists that much of his narrative 'throws

¹⁰⁸ T. Black & Co.'s *Handbook of Calcutta* (Calcutta: T. Black & Co., 1864); W. Newman & Co.'s *Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: with a Plan of the City*, 2nd edn (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1882), 3rd edn (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1892); Edmund Mitchell's *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta, Its High-ways and By-Paths* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890); H.E.A. Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907); W.K. Firminger, *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906); H. A. Newell, *Calcutta, the First Capital of British India: An Illustrated Guide to Places of Interest with Map* (Calcutta: Caledonian Printing Company, 1922); Glen Hicken, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931); G.W. Tyson, *Calcutta: City of palaces* (Calcutta: Times of India, 1932) and John Barry, *Calcutta 1940* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940).

¹⁰⁹ W.W. Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal* (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1868). Hunter is cited as the source for 'Caste and Tribes in Bengal Presidency' in Eastwick's *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*.

¹¹⁰ J. Talboys Wheeler, *Early Records of British India: A History of the English Settlements in India as Told in the Government Records the Works of Old Travellers, and Other Contemporary Documents from the Earliest Period Down to the Rise of British Power in India* (London: Trubner and Company, 1878), pp. 147-384.

considerable light upon the progress of affairs during the transition period, when the company's servants were beginning to exercise a political power in India'.¹¹¹ He cites his sources categorically—'collected extracts from the works of old travellers and other contemporary authorities'—which, according to him, 'bring out the workings of the English element amongst the native population'.¹¹²

Wheeler's account is typical of its time in adhering to a western positivist historiography that required a careful documentation of sources so as to ensure the 'objectivity' of the narrative. The list Wheeler provides anticipates the dominant traits of his narrative.¹¹³ Apart from the Home Records archive, he uses the following:

- 1): The letters of English envoys who went on missions from Calcutta to Delhi as far back as 1715. This correspondence was discovered in Madras during the investigations of 1860 and 1861.
- 2): Extracts from *Hamilton's Travels* (circa 1720), which furnished graphic pictures of 'Old Calcutta' life, as well as sketches of all the European settlements in Bengal at the time.
- 3): Holwell's *Narrative of the Tragedy in the Black Hole* (1756). Holwell was one of the sufferers of that terrible catastrophe, in which a hundred and twenty-three persons were stifled to death in a small dungeon, with only twenty-three surviving until the next morning.¹¹⁴

C.R. Wilson's *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal being The Bengal Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (1895) refers back to the same archive, 'Bengal Papers for years 1711 to 1717'.¹¹⁵ Wilson also refers to Holwell as the most reliable source for the Black Hole incident. A selection of

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p.iii.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 'Preface', p.i; p.v.

¹¹³ See E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Penguin, 1990) for discussion on the 'objectivity' of history and its 'cause and effect' narrative technique.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.vi.

¹¹⁵ C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal being The Bengal Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (London: W. Thacker & Co, 1895), p.2.

travellers' tales and events sourced from government records is repeatedly referenced in nineteenth-century historical accounts and handbooks alike. This resulted in a standardization of certain narratives as the received version of history. In the same vein, selected historical narratives that emerged at the turn of the twentieth century came to determine what constituted the colonial archive. These archival sources, as Ann Laura Stoler argues, should be recognized not as 'sites of knowledge retrieval', but as 'sites of knowledge production'.¹¹⁶ To take one conspicuous example, H.E. Busteed's book *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (1882) is acknowledged time and again in the prefaces to the Calcutta handbooks as a primary source of archival material, although it was no more than a loose collection of reported anecdotes, court proceedings, letters and government records on significant events in Calcutta's cultural history: a hitherto undocumented aspect of British life in Calcutta found only in memoirs and travelogues.¹¹⁷ In his second edition, Busteed mentions that the book was 'originally written for Calcutta readers specifically' and was 'mainly a mere gossiping volume of light reading'. However, he does account for his sources: 'The following sketches have been gathered in many instances from perishable sources not easily accessible, such as old graveyards, decaying newspapers and records, and similar chronicles'.¹¹⁸ He regrets that the Indian weather is unsuitable for the preservation of historical evidence, and concludes by insisting on the trustworthiness of oral accounts from people who have lived through and experienced a bygone age.¹¹⁹

In a similar manner, the Calcutta handbooks I analyse in this thesis would all contribute in their different ways towards standardizing an accepted list of archival resources. For example, in the preface to the third edition of W.

¹¹⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.87-109 (p.87).

¹¹⁷ As discussed below, Lord Curzon cited Busteed's book as the main source of his interest in the Black Hole incident in the speech he delivered on the day he ceremoniously unveiled the replica of the previously removed Holwell Monument on December 19, 1902. See Marquis George Nathaniel Curzon's *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy & Governor-General of India 1898-1905* (1906), p. 442. Busteed is also mentioned as a source in Firminger (1906), Cotton (1907), Newell (1922), and G.W. Tyson (1932).

¹¹⁸ H.E. Busteed *Echoes from Old Calcutta being chiefly Reminiscences of the days of Warren Hastings and Impey* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; London: W. Thacker and Co., 1888), p.vi.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. vi.

Newman and Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta (1892) it is mentioned that for 'the main facts in the "Historical Introduction" and "Calcutta in the Olden time," we are largely indebted to the published lectures and articles by Rev. James Long and the late Professor Blochmann.' The 1875 (first) edition does not mention Busteed as his book was published later, but it is registered as a source in the acknowledgements of the fourth edition (1927). This attests to the fact that the handbooks were keeping abreast with contemporary publications on Calcutta's history and incorporating them into their narratives. The publishers of the third edition likewise go on to extend their gratitude to C.R. Wilson: 'Our best thanks are also due to Mr. C.R. Wilson, M.A., Professor in the Presidency College, whose name has become famous in connection with the latest discoveries among the ruins of the Old Fort.' This handbook also obtained rights to publish what the authors insist is 'the only authentic map of the Old Fort yet published, and also an Appendix, containing his valuable notes on the actual site of the Black Hole, etc., etc'.¹²⁰ Walter K. Firminger, in the later *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (1906), also mentions C.R. Wilson's contribution to the handbook: 'To the late Mr. C. R. Wilson [...] I am also under a grave obligation, not only on account of the use to which I have placed his valuable writings, but also for information generously bestowed while he was still with us'.¹²¹ He then goes on to mention some of the works of his friends and contemporaries--'Sterndale, Hyde, Hunter, Wilson, Hill, Long and the *Sketches from the Calcutta Gazettes* have been of the greatest use to me'¹²²--also citing newspapers and periodicals from earlier decades as his principal sources, for instance '*Calcutta Review*, the *Bengal Harakuru*, and Hickey's ill-famed newspaper.'¹²³

Freedom of the press had been a sensitive issue among the policy makers of the Bengal presidency and, by extension, greater India. The newspapers Firminger names were all involved in anti-absolutist stances

¹²⁰ All the quotations from *W. Newman and Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta* are from the 'Preface' to the Third Edition (1892), pp .i-ii.

¹²¹ Firminger, p.iv.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. vi.

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.vii. 'Harakuru': spelling as quoted in text.

against the government of the Company and, later, the Crown. *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* (1780), the first journal published weekly, started as a compendium of commodity prices in the Calcutta markets, sales and auctions, listing the arrival and departure times of ships as well as fires, thefts and accidents in the city, and mentioning places where traders and stores could advertise their goods. The journal would later become embroiled in a legal tussle with the East India Company after making a series of criticisms of Governor-General Warren Hastings; Hickey was accused of libel and scandalmongering and thrown into jail. Governor-General Wellesley later oversaw the framing of the first set of press regulations in 1799, which curbed the freedom of the printed word until 1835 when Governor-General Metcalfe passed a new Press Act allowing the largely free circulation of opinion in print. However, this liberal stance would undergo a reversal when widespread agitation against the indigo farmers swept across the Bengal countryside, and the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 to enable a vigorous policing of the vernacular press.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, another prominent broadsheet of the day was *The Calcutta Review*, edited by John Kaye, also the editor of the Calcutta daily *Bengal Hurkaru*, and the goals of which are described by Sen and Paul as 'truthful expositions of some of the principal questions affecting the interests of the people of British India', its target audience being 'the emerging English educated Bengali middle class'.¹²⁵ The sometimes overtly political stance of popular press publications such as these created a pointed contrast between the more regulated form of the handbook and prominent strands of contemporary public opinion.

The Calcutta handbooks, like other guidebooks of the time, can thus be seen as *exhibiting*, but also to some extent *determining*, what counted as the 'cultural heritage' of the city. Not surprisingly, the dual and conflicting

¹²⁴ For a detailed discussion and analysis of Hickey's career, see P. T. Nair, *Hickey and his Gazette* (Kolkata: S & T Book Stall, 2001) and Debashis Aikat, *Risking Official Displeasure: The Trials and Tribulations of India's first Newsweekly in 1780* (Paper presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, August, 1997)

¹²⁵ Krishna Sen and Debapriya Paul, 'Archival Press Project: "The Calcutta Review"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 37. 2 (2004), 233-273 (pp. 233-234). 'Hurkaru': spelling as quoted in text.

perspectives of the colonizer and the colonized invested objects and sites with conflicting significance. No less unusual was the fact that the parallel development of the Calcutta handbooks and major colonial historical works on Calcutta buttressed a distinctly pro-imperial version of heritage and an accompanying historical narrative that derived legitimacy for said objects and sites from the shifting discourses of colonialism. Hence the political rationale post-1857 reinterpreted the previously criticized beginnings of empire to justify violence, intrigue and treachery as utilitarian and an inexorable case of social Darwinism. Culture—nothing if not a fluid concept—thus came to take on the ambivalence that is frequently held as characterizing the colonial *mise-en-scène*.¹²⁶ When the handbooks delineated a specific narrative or ‘package’ of heritage to be marketed as the dominant representation of the city, they contributed towards what might be called an institutionalization of culture.¹²⁷ Such institutionalization occurred through the association of various monuments, statues and sites, themselves invested with cultural significance, with the discourses that shaped the everyday reality of colonial governance. As will be seen in more detail below, the handbooks referred back to historical accounts in order to substantiate the significance of a given object or site and incorporate it into the grand narrative of empire. The object or site was thus caught in a two-way process of deriving significance from the prevailing political rationality of empire while lending its own material existence to the sustenance of dominant narratives of colonial power. As I will now show, the Black Hole monument is a great example of such a two-way process in that its significance as a monument of cultural heritage was subject to both the changing political discourses of empire and the prevailing norms of governmentality.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ See Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990) and Sara Suleri (2013).

¹²⁷ For a study of the institutionalization of art and its links to history and identity, see Tapati Guha Thakurta, ‘Lineages of the Modern in Indian Art: The Making of a National History’ in *Culture and the Making of Identity in Contemporary India*, ed. by Kamala Ganesh, Usha Thakkar (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), pp 71-107.

¹²⁸ Foucault describes ‘governmentality’ as ‘how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best

Partha Chatterjee has provided an incisive analysis of shifting interpretations and perspectives of imperial rule in India through a detailed discussion of the topography of Calcutta and, more specifically, the historical topoi of the Holwell monument and the Black Hole.¹²⁹ Holwell erected the monument in 1757 in order to commemorate the suffering and death of the British prisoners who had fallen victim to the callous whims of the ruler of Bengal, Nawab Siraj-ud-dowlah. Chatterjee considers the representation of the Black Hole tragedy across British and native (vernacular) narratives, beginning with Holwell's elaborately titled *A Genuine Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen, and Others, Who Were Suffocated in the Black-Hole in Fort William, in Calcutta, in the Kingdom of Bengal; in the Night Succeeding the 20th Day of June, 1756*.¹³⁰ Directly contradicting Holwell's 'genuine narrative', Chatterjee cites James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817), where the historian goes on to write a 'judging history' of the 'depraved and worthless religious and political institutions of India as well as the corrupt and ineffective practices introduced by its new British rulers.'¹³¹ Mill was highly critical of Clive and Hastings, blaming the incident of the Black Hole on British penal practices.¹³² Mill further criticized the plotting and intrigue that led to Siraj's overthrow, calling it 'a piece of consummate treachery'.¹³³ It was in such a febrile intellectual climate that Holwell's Black Hole monument was removed by Warren Hastings in 1821. As an extract from the *Calcutta*

possible governor—all these problems'. See Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Colin Gordon, Graham Burchell, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104.

¹²⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012).

¹³⁰ John Zephaniah Holwell, *A Genuine Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen, and Others, Who Were Suffocated in the Black-Hole in Fort William, in Calcutta, in the Kingdom of Bengal; in the Night Succeeding the 20th Day of June, 1756* (London : Printed for A. Millar, 1758).

¹³¹ James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1817), cited in Chatterjee (2012), p.63.

¹³² 'The atrocities of English Imprisonment at home, [...] too naturally reconciled Englishmen abroad to the use of dungeons: of Black Holes. What had they to do with a black hole? Had no Black Holes existed (as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal), those who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate.' James Mill, *The History of British India*, ed. by Horace Hayman Wilson (London: James Madden, 1858).

¹³³ Mill (Vol.2), p.114.

Journal, published on April 6, 1821, reported, ‘The monument over the well-remembered “Black Hole” of Calcutta is at length taken down, and we think should long ago have been demolished.’¹³⁴

During the latter half of the century, after the 1857 revolt and the transfer of power to the monarchy, British popular opinion would undergo significant change, with the criticism of Company rule by the likes of Edmund Burke, James Mill and Macaulay being rejected in favour of glorifying the early years of the Company in Bengal.¹³⁵ Still later, the same Black Hole monument that had been removed from public view as its sordid associations were disturbing to the peace of the colony, was resurrected in 1902 by Lord Curzon—reinstated both as a physical site which could be visited and ‘experienced’ and as an emblem for public memory associated with the suffering and death of the tragedy’s British victims, which in retrospect contributed towards validating the moral right of empire.¹³⁶ Indeed, Curzon took a special interest in memorializing the Black Hole. The India Record Series published a two-volume treatise on the Old Fort and Holwell’s monument, entitled *Old Fort William in Bengal, a Selection of Official Documents Dealing with its History*, which was edited by C.R. Wilson and published posthumously in 1906. Curzon, having extensively studied the collected records, created a space alongside the General Post Office, paved it with black polished marble, and fenced it with low iron railings. He also had brass lines laid to locate the walls of the Old Fort and plaques to commemorate various spots within it. Chatterjee argues that this arrangement

¹³⁴ C.R. Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal: A Selection of Official Documents Dealing with its History* Vols. I & II (London: John Murray, 1906), p.189.

¹³⁵ James Mill’s *History of British India* was edited by H.H. Wilson and published by James Madden in 1848. The book was furnished with copious notes by Wilson as part of his design to recast the criticism of empire as a history of honour and political foresight.

¹³⁶ ‘Confidently riding the global wave of high imperialism, the British rulers once more installed the memory of their victimhood in India, this time without laying blame or celebrating the retribution [...] “The heroism of failure is often greater than the heroism of success”’. Partha Chatterjee, *Black Hole of Empire*, p.268. For further discussion of the changing rationale of empire, see Richard Goebelt, ‘The Memory of Lord Clive in Britain and Beyond: Imperial Hero and Villain’, in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp.136–152.

was likened to a tour, and that ‘to complete a tour that was meant to be both instructive and spiritually uplifting, Curzon also had wooden models constructed of the Old Fort and the Black Hole prison.’¹³⁷

As should be evident from the above, Curzon’s viceroyalty was marked by an official interest in producing a cultural heritage of Calcutta.¹³⁸ Curzon was the patron of the Calcutta Historical Society, founded in 1907 with Evan Cotton as President and Walter Firminger as editor of its dedicated journal, *Bengal Past and Present*.¹³⁹ Consequently, what I have been calling here the ‘historic turn’ took on an official significance and was further implemented by the rigour of policy decisions during Curzon’s viceroyalty. In a rousing speech delivered on December 19, 1902, on the occasion of unveiling a reproduction of the Holwell Monument, which he duly presented to the City of Calcutta in memory of the British men and women who had perished in the Black Hole, Curzon articulated his policy on history as follows:

In carrying out this (the excavation and reinstating of the original site the Black Hole prison and the Holwell Monument removed in 1821) scheme I have been pursuing one branch of a policy to which I have deliberately set myself in India, namely, that of preserving, in a breathless and often thoughtless age, the relics and memorials of the past. To me the past is sacred.¹⁴⁰

What is significant here is the way Calcutta is narrativized, even in the official rhetoric of the time. In the same speech, Curzon describes Calcutta as ‘one great graveyard of memories’. Deploying the affective rhetoric of memory in such plangent lines as ‘shades of departed Governors-General hover about the

¹³⁷ Chatterjee, p.267. The excerpt is quoted in Marquis George Nathaniel Curzon, *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy & Governor-General of India 1898-1905. / With a Portrait, Explanatory Notes, and an Index, and with an Introduction, by Sir Thomas Raleigh*. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906), pp. 442-448.

¹³⁸ Ancient Monuments Bill, Legislative Council, Calcutta, 1905. See *Lord Curzon in India, (Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy & Governor-General of India* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1906).

¹³⁹ Chatterjee, p.266. Evan Cotton is the author of *Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (1907), and W.K. Firminger the author of *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (1906). These are two of the primary texts dealt with in this thesis.

¹⁴⁰ Curzon, p.447.

marble halls and corridors of Government House where I work',¹⁴¹ Curzon explicitly casts a nostalgic narrative of loss over specific sites that connects city space with its own history:

If we think only of those whose bones are mingled with the soil underneath our feet, we have but to walk a couple of furlongs from this place to the churchyard (St. John's Church) where lies the dust of Job Charnock, of Surgeon Hamilton and of Admiral Watson, the founder, the extender, and the saviour of the British dominion in Bengal.¹⁴²

These restless spirits of nostalgic rumination are then deftly moulded into an explanatory narrative of the British people's timeless service to their nation and queen:

A short drive of two miles will take us to the most pathetic site in Calcutta, those dismal and decaying Park Street Cemeteries where generations of by-gone Englishmen and Englishwomen, who struggled and laboured on this stage of exile for a brief span, lie unnamed, unremembered, and unknown.¹⁴³

Here, it is the memory of the ordinary, unnamed Briton that has been evoked and consecrated in the history writing of Calcutta; historiography operates in tandem with a colonial policy through which both academic and popular forms of history come to structure public space around the different objects, sites and spaces that are visual and tangible reminders of colonial power. 'The work of the dead', following Thomas Laqueur's important book of the same name, is palpable in the material texture of Calcutta. As Laqueur states, 'There is a recognition even if unspoken, of the power of the dead in deep time to make communities, to do the work of culture, to announce their presence and meaning by occupying space'. He then adds: 'Bodies create a community of memory; visitors to these bodies confirm it; together they make a claim on

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.448.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p.448.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p.448.

space and on the attention of the living'.¹⁴⁴ The early handbooks consolidated their claims on the physical space of the city by subscribing to the 'community of memory' that the dead and their physical remains had invested in the topography of the city.

Alternatively, Curzon is careful to insist on the 'impartial carrying out of this (historical) policy', claiming that he has been 'keen about preserving the relics of Hindu and Musulman [sic], of Brahman and Buddhist, of Dravidian and Pathan'.¹⁴⁵ However, this period also coincided with a growing nationalist consciousness among the elite and middle-class sections of the native populace. Curzon's policy of inscribing the physical space of Calcutta with the legacy of British rule was thus actively challenged by various 'sabhas' and 'samities' that came to impose their own authenticating narratives onto the city's public space.¹⁴⁶

Not that Curzon himself was unaware of this: indeed, his concern about inciting discontent among the native population by reiterating violent episodes in history resonates in speeches delivered on numerous occasions. For example, in a speech delivered on April 19, 1902, when the Mutiny Memorial (to commemorate the services and sacrifice of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff during the 1857 revolt) was unveiled at Delhi, he remarked that he was against blotting out the instances when the 'British and Native races of India have been in conflict', going on to mention instances of this attempted

¹⁴⁴ Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead, A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p.21.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.447. Parenthesis mine.

¹⁴⁶ The British Indian association was formed as early as 1851 in response to the 'Black Acts' i.e., India Act XI, or the so-called 'Black Act'. According to the Black Act, British subjects no longer enjoyed extra-territoriality but were instead placed under local East India Company (EIC) Courts, which followed the practice of native laws. The Association drafted a petition of 1852 to be presented to the East India Company; this demanded, among other things, the end of the Company's monopoly on indigo and salt production. For a more extensive discussion of the contested city space during the turn of the century, see Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978); Sumanta Banerjee, *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Calcutta* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1989); Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London: Routledge, 2005); Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2008) and *Days of the Raj: Life and Leisure in British India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2009).

erasure in the past, one being that of the Black Hole. In the same speech, he tersely states that ‘in the case of the Mutiny, there have been instances where a racial element was introduced and where there were deeds of blackness and shame’. Such instances are not to be forgotten: as he further insists in the speech, ‘do not pretend that they did not take place, and do not, for the sake of a false and mawkish sentiment, forfeit your chance of honouring that which is worthy of honour’.¹⁴⁷ The Calcutta handbooks need to be read within this conflicted context, where the restorative aspect of nostalgia forefronts colonial ambivalence by integrating conflict within the ‘guilt-free’ construct of heritage.¹⁴⁸

Within this context, the Calcutta handbooks contributed to a commodification of nostalgia that was also instantiated in various objects and places that functioned as *memory sites*, and whose symbolic significance was boosted through recurrent references in subsequent editions and separate publications over a period of time. The capitalized term ‘Sites of Memory’, as defined by Geppert and Müller, directly takes up the French historian Pierre Nora’s definition of ‘*lieux de mémoire*’¹⁴⁹ as—in Nora’s words—‘physical conceptual locations where specific memories, those of abiding relevance to nations and societies, could crystalize and negotiate identity’ against a background of ever-faster pace of change. Geppert and Müller trace the adaptation of this concept in other research work that invests it with specific

¹⁴⁷ Curzon, p. 440.

¹⁴⁸ Svetlana Boym in her essay ‘Nostalgia and its Discontents’, defines nostalgia in two categories, ‘restorative nostalgia’ and ‘reflective nostalgia’. Restorative nostalgia ‘stresses *nostos* (home) and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home’. In the case of the handbooks, this amounts to a transgeographical reconstruction of ‘home’ in both architectural motifs and social rituals. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, ‘thrives on *algia* (the longing itself) and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately’ p.13. Restorative nostalgia gravitates towards collective pictorial symbols and oral cultures and ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time. Reflective nostalgia, for its part, ‘cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space. Nostalgia is seen as an abdication of responsibility, a guilt-free homecoming.’ *The Hedgehog Review*, 9.2 (2007) p.9.

¹⁴⁹ Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller, ‘Beyond National Memory. Nora’s *Lieux de Mémoire* across an Imperial World’, *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed., by Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp.1-18 (p.9.).

aspects of nationalist historiography.¹⁵⁰ ‘Sites of Memory’ are constitutively non-static, prone to being forgotten or to other communities overwriting them through their own meanings.¹⁵¹ Geppert and Müller’s book, which belongs to Manchester University Press’s ‘Studies in Imperialism’ series, reads imperial history by using ‘Sites of Memory’ as a unifying concept. The authors thus look to forge a new conceptual apparatus for the study of memory cultures through a full consideration of the conflicted nature of imperial memory, confirming the axiom that sites of memory do not simply evolve, but are made and continuously changed: ‘Sites of Memory point to events, persons, institutions, commodities or concepts into which symbolic capital has been invested at times’.¹⁵²

It is self-evident that the Calcutta handbooks were important creators and purveyors of ‘Sites of Memory’. They dealt with the physical markers of British rule while also participating in a dynamic process of remembering and forgetting. ‘Sites of Memory’ operated in this context as an appropriate conceptual tool to analyse the handbooks’ broader function as agents of historicizing the lived spaces of the city. The handbooks also served as a go-between that combined the insights of other travelogues and advice manuals published about the city (see also Introduction). They thus brought together retrospective discourses of history, which emphasized British association with the genesis of Calcutta, with the immediacy and profusion of topical information on the contemporary geography of the city, for example in the form of travel itineraries, detailed directions on and descriptions of places, monuments and objects to be viewed. The handbooks adopted an informal tone of gossip and rumour to offer friendly advice in matters relating to local society, domestic management, personal hygiene and the use of Indian languages. However, such informal and sometimes intimate information was presented through ‘objective’ forms of representation such as statistical tables

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p.8.

and charts that aimed to simplify, in terms of definite digits and measurements, the far-from-simple processes of colonial exchange.

As I have argued thus far, the Calcutta handbooks were historically designed to align ethnically marked bodies to this deftly mapped reality of everyday life. They participated in a complex imperial machinery which worked to contain and constrain their subjects—colonizers and colonized alike—within a structured system that absorbed individual predilections within its collective purview. The government-assisted creation of memory communities around particular sites was an integral part of this system. In these and other ways, handbook-generated histories of Calcutta became a popular way of disseminating what was being authorized as ‘history’, paralleling close government involvement in historical societies. The city was written through dispersed sites of memory that developed their own myths and that engaged the imagination through rituals.¹⁵³ This established what Xavier Guegan has called ‘imperial coherence’. As Guegan explains, ‘During the post-conquest period, the makers of Empire tried to create the illusion of imperial eternity, of history’.¹⁵⁴ Following a similar pattern, the Calcutta handbooks became an important means of demonstrating the need for British intervention in the colonies. They highlighted civic amenities, socio-economic networks and infrastructural facilities, making visible the various ‘civilizing’ tropes that confirmed that the country’s indigenous peoples would not be able to achieve ‘modernity’ without the intervention of the western, industrially advanced nations.

This was a significant reversal from the earlier strategy of concealing uneven power relations and non-interference in local life-styles, as followed by the Company. During the nineteenth century, the dominant ideology gradually shifted from economic expediency to a politics of rule that helped

¹⁵³The government of India sponsored the publication of C.R. Wilson’s study on the history of the Black Hole incident and related topography of the Old Fort William in Calcutta.

¹⁵⁴ Xavier Guegan, ‘Transmissible Sites: Monuments, Memorials and their Visibility on the Metropole and Periphery’, in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Müller (Manchester: Manchester university Press, 2015), pp.21-38 (p.23).

establish the administration of the Crown as different in essence and purpose from that of the Company. Thus, in order to understand the way the Calcutta handbooks worked as a handmaiden of imperial power, and more specifically to see how they used history as a tool to regulate the city's topography, one needs to understand the structure of historiography in the handbooks themselves.

CONTENTS.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION.

	PAGE		PAGE
§ a. SEASON FOR VISITING		Kāshī, and afterwards	
BENGAL	2	in Magadhā or Bihār.	
§ b. OUTFIT	2	and Indraprasthā or	
§ c. HINTS AS TO DRESS, DIET,		Dihlī	19
HEALTH, AND COM-		The Maurya, Sanga,	
FORT	2	Kanwā, and Andhra	
§ d. ROUTES TO CALCUTTA :		or Vrispāla Kings of	
1. Voyage from South-		Andhra or Orissa.	
ampton through the		and Gupta Kings . .	21
Suez Canal	3	Pathān, Afghān or Ghori	
2. Route Overland by		Kings of Hindūstān.	
Venice or Brindisi . .	12	who reigned at Dihlī	22
§ e. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES	12	Pathān or Afghān Kings	
Governors-General and		or Governors of Ben-	
Viceroy	12, 13	gal, capital Lakhnautī	
Commanders-in-Chief of		or Gauṛ	22
India	14	Kings of the Sharḡī	
Finance Ministers of		Dynasty of Jawanpūr	23
India	15	Mughul Emperors of	
Governors and Lieut-		Hindūstān	24
Governors of Bengal.	15	Principal events in the	
Lieut.-Governors of the		history of Bengal up	
North-West Provinces	16	to the time of the	
Chief Commissioners of		British Government .	21
Awadh (Oudh)	16	The Nūwāb Nāgims of	
Chief Commissioners of		Murshidābād	32
Barnah	17	The Barmese Kings . .	33
Chief Commissioners of		§ f. TABLES OF MONEY,	
Central Provinces . .	17	WEIGHTS AND MEA-	
Chief Commissioners of		SURES	33
Assām	18	§ g. CASTES AND TRIBES IN	
The Sūrya-Vaṇsha, or		THE BENGAL PRESI-	
Solar Dynasty	18	DENCY	34
The Solar Dynasties of		§ h. LANGUAGES OF THE	
Awadh and Maithilā	18	BENGAL PRESI-	
The Chandra-Vaṇsha, or		DENCY	39
Lunar Race, who		VOCABULARY AND DIA-	
reigned in Banāras or		LOGUES	43

SECTION II.

CALCUTTA CITY.

	PAGE		PAGE
1st Day.		Government House . . .	86
Huglī River and Landing		Ochterlony Monument . .	89
Place at Calcutta . . .	82	Statues	89
Hotels, Clubs, and Boarding		The Town Hall	90
Houses	85	The Legislative Council Office	91
Conveyances	86	The High Court	91
The Esplanade	86		

SECTION II.—CALCUTTA CITY.—*continued.*

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>2nd Day.</i>		<i>4th Day.</i>	
Fort William	93	The Asiatic Society	104
St. Paul's Cathedral	93	The Indian Museum	104
The Zoological Gardens	97	St. Thomas' Roman Catholic Church	105
Belvedere (the Lt.-Governor's Palace), and the site of the Duel between Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis	97	The Mosque of Prince Ghulám Muḥammad	105
The Race Course	97	The Economical Museum	106
Garden Reach	97	The Metcalfe Hall	106
Palace of the King of Awadh	98	The Mint	106
<i>3rd Day.</i>		Charities	106
St. John's Cathedral	99	<i>Sights in the Vicinity of Calcutta.</i>	
New Post Office	101	The Botanical Gardens	107
New Telegraph Office	101	Bishop's College.	107
Remains of the Old Fort	101	Barrackpúr	107
Memorial of the Black Hole Massacre	102		
Calcutta University	102		
The Greek Church	102		
The Armenian Church of St. Nazareth	102		

ROUTES.

Route	PAGE	Route	PAGE
1 Calcutta to False Point by Steamer	110	19 Bānkípúr to Gayá	191
2 Calcutta to Puri (Pooree) and the Black Pagoda	112	20 Bānkípúr to Arrah	195
3 Puri to Bhuvaneshwar, Dhauli, Udayagiri, and Khandagiri	120	21 Arrah to Bagsar (Buxar)	202
4 Bhuvaneshwar to Katak	132	22 Bagsar to Banáras (Benares)	203
5 Katak (Cuttack) to Yájpúr	135	23 Banáras to Jawanpúr	224
6 Katak to False Point	139	24 Jawanpúr to Faizábád and Ayodhya	227
7 Calcutta to Dárljling	140	25 Faizábád to Lakhnau (Lucknow)	232
8 Dárljling to Dhákah (Dacca)	148	26 Lakhnau to Sháhjahánpúr	249
9 Calcutta to Rangún, Maulmain, and Prome	151	27 Sháhjahánpúr to Bareli	252
10 Prome to Mandalay	161	28 Bareli to Naini Tál	255
11 Calcutta to Huglí, Chinsurah, Shrirámpúr, Bāndel, and Chandranagar	162	29 Bareli to Murádábád	260
12 Huglí to Bardwán and Murshidábád	163	30 Murádábád to 'Aligarh	262
13 Murshidábád to Barhampúr and Paláshí (Plassey)	173	31 'Aligarh to Mathurá	267
14 Murshidábád to Rájmaḥal	176	32 Mathurá to Bindrában	272
15 Rájmaḥal to Bhágalpúr	178	33 Bindrában to Díg	275
16 Rájmaḥal to Máldah and Gauṛ	180	34 Díg to Bhartpúr	277
17 Bhágalpúr to Munger (Monghyr)	184	35 Bhartpúr to Agra	280
18 Munger to Patna and Bānkípúr	186	36 Agra to Fathpúr Sikri	297
		37 Agra to Dihlí	302
		38 Dihlí to Mirat	342
		39 Mirat to Mainpúri	347
		40 Mainpúri to Etáwah	349
		41 Etáwah to Kánpúr (Cawnpore)	353
		42 Kánpúr to Alláhábád	362
		43 Agra to Gwáliár (Gwalior)	369
		44 Bárh to Khatmandu	384

Fig. 1.1 Contents list (p. 1-2) of E. B. Eastwick's *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*, published by John Murray (1882)

The structure of history

Drawing on some of the arguments presented in the previous section, this part of the chapter demonstrates how the Calcutta handbooks participated in a colonial political strategy to create coherence and stability in city space, extending this to the colonizer's experience of the city through a biased historical narrative. Borrowing from history in terms of both content and methodology, the handbooks combined time and space in a historical narrative that was spatially invested, and that supported the topographical reality of the early twentieth-century city by giving it a past and a *raison d'être*. This does not mean, however, that they were attempts to present city space and its lived experience as a static account. Far from it, specific forms of handbooks emerged at specific times, requiring a close examination of the various discourses of authority that articulated shifting relations of power within a rapidly changing city space. Colonial history, in this context, becomes a strategic search for order within the multidimensional reality of the colonial experience.

As previously mentioned (see Introduction), the historiography of Calcutta functioned as a technology of power for the colonial administration. The handbooks were a more or less direct response to the political construction of Calcutta's historiography and often involved lengthy narratives of Old Calcutta's history, which was also an economic and political history of the East India Company and British Calcutta. The search for order inspired a linear trajectory in the representation of the advancement of British colonial supremacy in Bengal. This ordered narrative of history was designed to synchronize with the civilizational tropes of modernity in the cultural and intellectual life of the colony. It also defined itself in relation to urbanity, which was vested in the infrastructure and social amenities introduced by the British administration. Such historiography was both a means of domesticating the exotic and chaotic reality of day-to-day life in the colony and of manufacturing an illusion of the perpetuity of the British presence in

Bengal. I am interested here in showing how the mythology of liberal and utilitarian empire informed the factual evidence of history, and how an ideologically invested, putatively coherent narrative of Calcutta's history developed in the popular form of the handbook. I am interested, too, not just in the *representation* of such a history, but also in the various *discourses* that enabled the articulation of such a narrative. In the following, a close textual analysis of Calcutta handbooks, selected over a broad spectrum of time and publishing formats, will be used to establish that Calcutta's colonial historiography in handbooks effectively served as a means to an end. It will be argued that the turn of the century witnessed a re-evaluation of colonial strategies that both favoured and actively sponsored extensive historical research on Calcutta so as to build a strong affective scaffolding around imperial concerns that were seen as being threatened by an emerging nationalist consciousness. Therefore, the Calcutta handbooks, by narrativizing city space and everyday practices of life among the British community, revealed an impetus towards the standardization of public space and personal effects as a means of neutralizing the threatening unfamiliarity posed by colonial space.

The first two works analysed in this section serve as examples of handbooks published after the 1857 revolt ('mutiny').¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, early publications such as those of Black (1864) and Eastwick (1882) showed little interest in using historical context as a consolidated backdrop to introduce the various places, monuments, and people that are mentioned in the text. Nor did they attempt to knit the lived space of city into a cohesive and linear narrative of time that established connections between contemporary Calcutta and the early days of settlement in the late seventeenth century. Rather, these early handbooks were spatially oriented accounts of the city punctuated with episodic references to history. However episodically it is

¹⁵⁵ For a well-argued case defining the uprising of 1857 as the first War of Independence over and against the British colonial government's dismissal of it as a 'mutiny,' see Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1911). Other sources include: R.A. Geaves, 'India 1857: A Mutiny or a War of Independence? The Muslim Perspective', *Islamic Studies*, 35:1(1996) pp.25-44.

presented, this history still created an associative narrative that brought together the disparate events of the first two centuries of British presence in Calcutta. In retrospect, such a narrative inspires networks of reference between early narratives of disaster (like the Black Hole tragedy) and the onslaught of Siraj-ud-dowlah in 1756 with instances of nationalist conflict in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Murray's handbook (compiled by E.B. Eastwick), for example, presents its narrative in the form of a tour itinerary. This narrative charts a journey across the space of the city with specific historical references to people and buildings. T. Black, for his part, organizes his contents in alphabetical order. In neither case is there a linear historical narrative of any analytic or reflective value, that is, one that contextualizes the various paintings, memorial plaques, gravestones and buildings that instantiated and commemorated British dominance in Calcutta during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Instead, the 'open' narrative of these handbooks encourages their readers to build their own network of connections between people and spaces across the history and topography of the city. The handbooks chart their respective narratives as a series of routes mapped onto geographical city space, with topical references to historical events.

Murray's handbook is the representative prototype of the Calcutta handbook.¹⁵⁷ It served as an important reference point for understanding the nature and scope of the Calcutta handbook (among other Indian handbooks) and what comprised 'necessary information' for a comfortable stay in Calcutta

¹⁵⁶ Such instances include scattered events of violence and sedition in the latter half of the century, like the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Governor General of India in (1869-1872). The political implications of assassination of Lord Mayo on February 18th, 1872 in Port Blair, Andaman Islands are dealt with in greater detail below. The early handbooks treated the incident as an isolated instance of crime, whereas later historians have interpreted it as a political murder and part of the rise of revolutionary nationalism in India at the turn of the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁷ John Murray III, of the Murray publication house, was the first to use the term 'handbook' to designate a particular sub-genre of guidebooks that was designed to improve on available formats by introducing a particular rigour into the related genres of guidebooks and travel manuals. The term 'handbook' and Murray's publications under this title achieved a cult status and developed a brand name for themselves. For further information on the Murray publication house, see John Murray IV, *John Murray III, 1808-1892, A Brief Memoir* (London: J. Murray, 1919).

in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵⁸ The *Handbook to the Bengal Province* is divided into two sections. 'Section I' provides practical information, from 'Seasons Most Suitable for Visiting Bengal' to 'Outfits and Hints to Dress Diet Health and Comfort'. 'Routes to Calcutta' are supplied, as well as historical timelines that begin with the British Governor-Generals and Viceroys who served in Calcutta, going back to the solar (Surya-vansha) and lunar (Chandra-vansha) dynasties who ruled ancient India, and concluding with Muslim rule before the advent of the British and Europeans. The history section is brief and tabular in format, events being arranged against the year in which they took place. Further information includes 'Tables of money, Weights and Measures', 'Castes and Tribes in the Bengal Presidency', 'Languages of the Bengal Presidency' and 'Vocabulary and Dialogues', common features in the 'Preliminary Information' section of all Murray handbooks. The second section is entitled 'Calcutta City' and comprises the bulk of the book. The section on Calcutta is planned as a travel itinerary spanning four days, and significant sites and buildings in a particular vicinity of the city are grouped together so that they can be visited in one day. The tour begins on the 'First Day' with the 'Hughli River' and the 'Landing Place at Calcutta' and covers Central Calcutta; the 'Second Day' engages with places along the river down to Garden Reach and Metiaburz (where the King of Audh resided), covering the western section of the city. The 'Third' and the 'Fourth' days then explore the cultural heterogeneity of the city, travelling from the 'Remains of the Old Fort' and the 'Memorial of the Black Hole Massacre' to the 'Armenian Church' and the 'Bramho Samaj' building located well inside the so-called 'black town' (see Introduction).

¹⁵⁸ See John R. Gretton's 'Introduction', in *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisers and Principal Contributors* (Dereham: Dereham Books, 1993), pp. vii-xiviii.

I will pay no more than the regular tariff.	Nirakh se jāste denge nahīn.	Niyamita māsular adhiḥ dība nā.	Sect. I.
Here, Khidmatgār, pay these men.	Are khidmatgār yih log ko dām do.	Khidmatgār ! ihādīgake chukāyīyā deo.	
If you overcharge I will complain to the Magistrate.	Agar beshī talab karte, Majistret Sāhib ke pās nālīsh karenge.	Jadi tumi adhiḥ lao, āmi tomār nāme Magistrate kachhe nālīs kariba.	
Hold your tongue.	Chup raho.	Jib sāmāl kara or chup kara.	
Go about your business.	Chale jāo.	Apnār kāj dekha.	
Don't say another word.	Aur ek bāt mat bolo.	Dwitiyā kathā bolonā.	

<i>Of Hiring Servants.</i>	<i>Naukar log ko rakhne ki bābat.</i>	<i>Chākār rākhūr bibaran.</i>	DIALOGUES.
What is your name?	Tumhārā nām kyā?	Tomār nām ki?	
Of what caste are you?	Tumhārā kyā jāt?	Tumi ki jāt?	
I am in want of a servant.	Hamko ek to naukar chāhiye.	Āmār ek jan chākārer darkār.	
What wages do you require?	Kitnā talab māngte?	Tumi ki betan chāo?	
I will not give so much.	Itnā nahīn denge.	Āmi eta dite pārinā or Āmi eta dibanā.	73
With whom did you live last?	Sab se piche kis ke pās naukar the tum?	Tumi shes kāhār kachhe chhile?	
How long were you with that gentleman?	Us Sāhib ke pās tum kitne din rahe?	Tumi sé bhadra laker kachhe kata din chhile?	
Have you a character from him?	Sāhib ke hāth kī chitṭhī hai?	Tomār charitra bisaye tini kona chitṭi diachhen ki?	
Have you any objection to travel?	Safar karne kā kuchh ugr hai?	Bhramane tomār kona āpatti a'chhe ki?	
Have you any friends who will be surety for you?	Tumhārā koi bhāī barādar hai, jo tumhāre wāste zāmin hogā?	Tomār eman bandhu bāndhab āche ki jāhārā tomār jāmin hate pāre?	
You must keep exact accounts.	Hisāb thik rakhne hogā.	Tumi thik thik hisāb rākhibe.	
Write down all that is expended.	Jo kuchh kharch ho so likhne hogā.	Jā jā kharach hayechhe sab likhe rākha.	
Don't omit the smallest item.	Ek kaurī bhi nahīn chhōrnā.	Chhota chhota bāb o chhepā nā.	
I agree to take you.	Tumko naukarī dete.	Āmi tomāy nite rāji hālem.	
I will give you a trial.	Hāzīr raho, tumhārā kām dekhenge.	Āmi tomāy parīksāy rākhilām.	

§ f. TABLES OF MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

	<i>Money.</i>	£	s.	d.
1 Pie	.	0	0	0½
1 Paisā, or ¼ ānā	.	0	0	0¾
1 Ānā	.	0	0	1½
1 Rupee	.	0	2	0
1 Gold Rupee	.	1	10	0
1 Gold Muhr	.	1	12	0
1 Lākh	.	10,000	0	0
1 Karor	.	1,000,000	0	0

Native Jewellers' Weight.

	1 Dhān	.	.	.	.	1½ gr. troy.
4 Dhān	=	1 Rati	.	.	.	1½ " "
8 Rati	=	1 Māshah	.	.	.	15 " "
12 Māshah	=	1 Tolā	.	.	.	180 " "

A Dhān is 0.46875 gr. troy, 0.0303745 French grammes.

Bāzār Weights used in Bengal.

5 Siki	.	.	.	.	.	=	1 Kancha.
4 Kanchas	.	.	.	.	.	=	1 Chhaṭānk.
4 Chhaṭānks, or 20 Tolās	.	.	.	.	.	=	1 Panwā.
4 Panwās	.	.	.	.	.	=	1 Sir.
40 Sīrs	.	.	.	.	.	=	1 Man.

[Bengal—1881.]

D

Fig 1.2 Table of dialogues and measures from Eastwick's *Hand book of the Bengal Presidency* (1882), p.73.

The dominant narrative of the handbook thus interprets the geography of the city not so much in terms of its physical coordinates as according to its political and social significance in the making of the British Empire. This overriding logic of hierarchization prioritizes certain sites over others, resulting in some being made conspicuous while others are consigned to

erasure. The contents list conceals this, however, by arranging the selective list of sites in what is a seemingly impartial alphabetical order or according to a tour itinerary that can be completed in a week. The British part of the city ('white town') is meticulously documented with each topographical feature accompanied by a brief historical introduction to its significance. By contrast, the native town ('black town') is described as an undistinguishable area of darkness and dilapidation that has yet to see the civilizing order and symmetry of modern urbanity.

W. Newman & Co. in their 1875 *Handbook on Calcutta*, edited by James Blackburn Knight, similarly make an emphatic distinction between the 'white town' and the 'black town'.¹⁵⁹ Quoting from the likes of Grandpre and Viscount Valentia, Knight eulogizes the 'white town', celebrating individual buildings and sites such as Government House, Fort William or the Esplanade as being 'well worthy of being the seat of our Indian Government both from its size and magnificent buildings which decorate the part of it inhabited by Europeans'.¹⁶⁰ As for the 'black town', the author continues, 'it is a complete contrast to this as can well be conceived. Its streets are narrow and dirty; the houses, of two stories, occasionally brick, but generally mud, and thatched, perfectly resembling the cabins of the poorest class in Ireland'.¹⁶¹ It is significant that the slums of Calcutta are compared to the dwellings of the urban poor in Ireland, suggesting a persistent class divide determined and sustained by the capitalist imperialist agenda apart from the racial demarcations that existed in Indian society. As both Grandpre and Valentia had documented Calcutta in the early nineteenth century, about a hundred years before the publication of his book, Knight adds: 'This portion of the town has been greatly improved of late years; but there are still many

¹⁵⁹ James Blackburn Knight, *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, (Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City*, ed. by James Blackburn Knight (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1875).

¹⁶⁰ Knight, p.26. The two narratives that Knight refers to are: Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1809) and Louis Marie Joseph O' Hier Comte de Grandpre, "L. de Grandpre", *In Calcutta in the Eighteenth- Century: Impressions of Travellers*, edited by P. Thankappan Nair (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited, 1984).

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 25-26.

abominations to be removed, and much to be done before we can be said to have introduced all the benefits of western civilization into our fair city'.¹⁶² However, this project to modernize the 'backward' native town remains unfinished well into the 1930s, and the paragraph survives unchanged even in the third edition of Newman's Handbook, published in 1927.¹⁶³

A Murray handbook always begins with what is extolled as 'practical knowledge gathered on the spot'.¹⁶⁴ However, in the case of Calcutta it begins by praising the navigational prowess of the 'Calcutta Pilot' people who acquired special nautical skills in navigating the ever-changing course of the Hooghly River. Eastwick, the writer of the India series of Murray handbooks, introduces the river pilots as 'fairly the best in the world. They are better paid, better educated, and occupy a higher position than any other pilot'¹⁶⁵ --the main reason for this being the dread of cyclones, 'which might take place any month, except February'.¹⁶⁶ This somewhat ominous beginning continues with the description of Sagar Island, which is 'covered with a dense jungle, swarming with tigers and wild beasts'.¹⁶⁷ Eastwick also describes the 'Great Bathing Festival of Bengal', where locals make offerings of precious stones to the sea, pointedly adding that it was 'formerly children [who] used to be cast into the sea'.¹⁶⁸ The narrative builds up a poignant contrast in which the decaying civilizations of India, its superstition-ridden wildernesses, are set against the first sight of Calcutta from the river.

The view is striking, and the forests of masts, the vast plain of the Esplanade, the fort and the fine buildings in the background, all give

¹⁶² *ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁶³ *The Visitors Guide to Calcutta, (Including Brief History, Up to Date Map, Illustrated* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927), p.30.

¹⁶⁴ This phrase is repeated in several publications. Instances being, the article in the Pall Mall Gazette cited above and the first handbook published by Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 2nd edn (London, Murray, 1838).

¹⁶⁵ Eastwick, p.82.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.82.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.83.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 83.

the idea of a great commercial capital, and the seat of a powerful government.¹⁶⁹

Eastwick proceeds to describe places such as the Esplanade and the Government House, following a set pattern of categorical information. He is careful to mention the benefactors of a particular building or site, reproducing the inscriptions on statues and memorial plaques in exact copies.

History in Eastwick's narrative is primarily encountered in inscriptions on plaques or tablets that commemorate the personal trials and contributions of British men and women to the making of British Calcutta. Funerary architecture in cathedrals and graveyards combines here with the subjective tales of loss and death, investing personal memoirs with historical significance and social purpose. For example, in describing St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta, Eastwick provides a meticulous documentation of funerary tablets, the historic references coalescing into a mosaic-like narrative of the past where the public assassination of John Paxton Norman, the officiating Chief Justice of Bengal, in September 1871 is encountered beside the memory of soldiers who lost their lives during the Mutiny of 1857.¹⁷⁰ Here is an example of Eastwick's synthetic narrative style:

[...] Next is a tablet to 7 officers of the 68th Regiment N.I., "who died during the Mutiny of the Native Troops, and subsequent operations, from 1857 to 1859; some on the field of battle, some by the hands of their own followers, others from disease; all doing their duty".¹⁷¹

Eastwick's technique of reproducing inscriptions on memorial tablets and statues in exact detail, i.e. without qualifying such description from an authorial perspective, emphasizes the visual 'tour'-oriented objective of the narrative.¹⁷² It also creates an element of geographical and temporal

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 86-94.

¹⁷¹ The inverted commas are part of the inscription Eastwick quotes from the tablet.

¹⁷² The visual bias encountered in travel narratives has been the continuous subject of criticism as it creates a 'hegemony of vision' that privileges the eye as the sole medium of experiencing and comprehending one's surroundings. This visual ideology is arguably based

immediacy in the narrative's representation of the city's past. It is worth noting that the memorial tablets cited in Eastwick's narrative were generally either a part of church architecture or were placed underneath statues that dominated key public spaces in the city. These commemorative tablets and statues sanctified the military onslaughts characteristic of the violent beginnings of empire by casting the actions of individual British subjects in the civilizational rhetoric of heroism and sacrifice. For example, the equestrian statue of Sir James Outram (alongside one of the principal thoroughfares of the city, Chowringhee Road) is inscribed with words that portray him as a person dedicated to his service, brave and courageous on the battlefield, and conclude by bestowing upon him an honorific title, 'The Bayard of the East'.

Eastwick's narrative transcribes inscriptions from architecture in such a way that they function as images, with the excerpts printed in the book maintaining the stylistic pattern and line breaks in the original inscription on the monument. These inscriptions function as central images in Eastwick's description of monuments. Tellingly, most of the edifices and statues are claimed to have been erected by 'the inhabitants of British India, of various races and creeds', thereby eliding racial barriers. An example of this is the inscription that Eastwick copies from the equestrian statue of the Earl of Mayo, Viceroy and Governor General of India, who was assassinated by Indian insurgents in 1872. The inscription proclaims: 'The people of India mourning and indignant raised this statue'.¹⁷³ Thus, while Eastwick's narrative in its selective reporting and representation of the inscriptions on the statues emphasizes the glory attached to honour and sacrifice in the service of empire, it also implicitly validates imperial intervention in India and portrays the Indian people as complicit in this manifestly unequal form of

on a male view that objectifies the landscape. For further material on the primacy of the visual in travel narratives, see *Tourism and Visual Culture, Vol: 1 Theories and Concepts* ed. by Peter Burns et al. (Oxfordshire: CAB International, 2010); also Georgia Alù and Sarah Patricia Hill, 'The Travelling Eye: Reading the Visual in Travel Narratives', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22:1 (2018), 1-15 < <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2018.1470073> > [accessed 4 August 2018].

¹⁷³ Eastwick, p. 92.

authoritarian rule. A similar example is that of the Marquis of Cornwallis, who was famous for the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, which was much criticized for enabling indigenous land owners to impose extreme measures on farmers to collect taxes and force them to cultivate cash-crops like indigo and cotton. Eastwick reproduces the following lines inscribed on his statue in Government House, which gives an unctuously favourable version of his policies without taking into account any of their critical defects.¹⁷⁴

In examples such as this, statues are not only memorials to the ideals of empire, but their physical presence also inscribes onto present topography a nostalgic version of the imperial past. At the time of their erection, both of the statues mentioned above were placed in the vicinity of major government buildings like the Writers Building, from where the civic administration of the city was controlled. In discussing the political significance of such a visual network of power, Xavier Guegan draws parallels between the use of architecture in French Algiers and colonial Calcutta as instruments of dominance. Guegan cites the statue of Lord Hardinge in Calcutta as an

In honour of the Most Noble the
MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS, K.G.,
Governor-General of India,
September, 1786, to October, 1793.
Who, by an administration uniformly conducted
on the principles of
Equity, wisdom and sound policy,
Improved the internal resources of
the country,
Promoted the happiness of its inhabitants,
Conciliated the friendship of the
Foreign powers,
Confirmed the attachment of the
Allies of the Company,
And established the reputation of the
British name in Hindustán,
For good faith and moderation.
By fixing in perpetuity the public demand
for the landed revenue,
He gave for the first time,
To the proprietor of the soil,
A permanent interest in it.
And by the formation of a code of regulations
For every department of the Government,
He bestowed on the natives of India
The benefit of a constitution, and a
Security before unknown
In the enjoyment of their rights of property.
Forced into a war
By the unprovoked aggression of
Tipú Sultan,
His eminent military talents in the
Conduct of it
Were no less conspicuous than his
Moderation in victory.
—
As a lasting
Memorial of these important services,
And as a testimony of their
Respect and esteem for a Governor-General
Under whose administration
Public spirit was encouraged, and
Merit liberally rewarded,
This Statue was erected by the
British Inhabitants of Bengal,
A.D. 1803.

Fig. 1.3¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁷⁵ Eastwick, pp. 90-91. The inscription is copied from the marble statue of Lord Cornwallis sculpted by J. Bacon and housed in the west end of the lower saloon of the Town Hall built in 1804.

example where the statue and its location highlight visual networks of power that stretch across the cityscape: ‘The relationship between those statues and the buildings where political and administrative decisions were made is clear: the conqueror is exhibited, magnified, and visually directly connected to the colonial powerhouse’.¹⁷⁶ In case of the Calcutta Handbooks the visual networks of association are supplemented by the tour oriented narrative that creates a network historic associations that binds the disparate topographical features.

Within the general context of the Calcutta handbook narrative, the principal buildings recommended to the visitor are intrinsically connected to the detailed descriptions of the statues and paintings that are housed in them, or are located in close proximity: the section on Government House in Eastwick’s book is a particularly good example of such a symbiotic relation of power.¹⁷⁷ These public spaces derive character and a sense of the historical from references to personal narratives; in exchange, they lend those individual histories grandeur and permanence through their architecture. In the sections dedicated to particular historical buildings and sites, Eastwick occasionally resorts to anecdote in order to connect the description of buildings with the vitality of people who once lived in them. For instance, in describing ‘Belvedere, the Lt. Governor’s Palace’, Eastwick concludes with a reference to the famous duel fought between ‘Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis, in which the latter was wounded’.¹⁷⁸ In the idiom of an efficient handbook writer, he then guides the interested reader to a more extensive record of the incident: ‘In *The Englishman* of March 12th, 1881, will be found some interesting remarks on the subject’.¹⁷⁹

Tellingly, however, in Eastwick’s narrative there are only two subsections that make substantial allusion to the strife and intrigue that

¹⁷⁶ Guegan, p.31.

¹⁷⁷ Eastwick, pp.86-89.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.97.

¹⁷⁹ Eastwick, p.97. For further information on these political intrigues, see ‘Duel between Francis and Hastings (1780)’ in Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (pp.107-117). Complete details of publication cited above.

characterized the beginning of British dominion in Bengal, 'The Remains of the Old Fort' and 'The Memorial of the Black Hole Massacre'. The Old Fort was destroyed when Siraj ud Dowlah captured Calcutta from the British in 1756, and what remained of its architecture was incorporated into later buildings constructed on the same site. Eastwick describes the remains as follows:

What remains of the S. curtain of the fort, which is in the shape of a St. Andrew's Cross [...] The place is now used as a workshop, with stables at the W. end. Here were the barracks, which, according to Holwell, were open to the W. by arches corresponding to the arches of the verandah without. According to some authorities the Black Hole was at the 2nd arch where you enter.¹⁸⁰

Though handbooks published by John Murray strictly adhere to the policy of refraining from political commentary by the author, Eastwick helps the reader discern the changing colonial political rationale that informed historical narratives of Calcutta during the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ He does so by tracing the descriptions of the Old Fort and the history of the 'memorial of the Black Hole' to its first establishment by J.Z. Holwell in memory of his fellow companions who perished on the fateful night of June 1756. He criticizes the Marquis of Hastings' decision to remove the monument as an act of political vulnerability, 'owing to some weak scruples', then goes on to state that the monument is 'now to be restored near the lamp in front of the Post Office, which is supposed by some to be the place where the Black Hole was.'¹⁸² The inscription on the Black Hole monument, like those on the tablets and gravestones described elsewhere in this handbook, is recorded in the text for the reader's benefit:

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁸¹ For Murray's strict adherence to refraining from commenting on the political aspect of places and people his handbooks represent see, John R. Gretton's, 'Introduction', in *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (1993, p. xxiii).

¹⁸² Eastwick, p.102.

Military and Militia, to the number of 123 persons, were, by the tyrannic violence of Siraju 'd daulah Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William, in the night of the 20th day of June, 1756, and promiscuously thrown, the succeeding morning, into the ditch of the Ravelin of this place.¹⁸³

It further records, 'This horrid act of violence was as amply as deservedly avenged on SIRAJU'D DAULAH by his Majesty's Arms, under the conduct of VICE-ADMIRAL WATSON and Colonel Clive, Anno 1757'.¹⁸⁴

Corresponding to shifts in the geographical position of the monument were shifts in the political rationalities that helped define its significance. Later handbooks like those written by Firminger and Cotton (see Chapter Two) provided extensive material from the published accounts of Dr. C. R. Wilson and attributed the 'rediscovery' of the remains of the Black Hole to Viceroy Lord Curzon. Cotton envisions the journey to the site of the Black Hole as a white person's pilgrimage—'we have yet to pay our pilgrimage to the site of the Black Hole itself'¹⁸⁵—while Firminger quotes extensively from Dr. Wilson's records, mentioning the likes of Busteed and Mr. Roshell Bayne who were engaged in retrieving Calcutta's past from anonymity, before turning almost inevitably to Lord Curzon: 'To Lord Curzon, who allowed no theory to pass muster until it was converted into fact, and who personally convinced himself of the accuracy with which his co-adjutors in this perplexing undertaking achieved their results, and who has also himself added to the stock of knowledge, the Calcutta citizen, who cares for the past of his city, must ever be under the deepest obligation'.¹⁸⁶

Like the Black Hole Monument, the uprising of 1857 is an oft-cited reference point throughout the narrative. For example, Eastwick's description of St. Paul's Cathedral includes 'peculiar black marble tablet to 16 officers of

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁸⁵ Cotton, p. 436.

¹⁸⁶ Firminger, p.19. Roshell Bayne, as Firminger mentions, worked in the East India Railway and took active interest in researching the excavation of the ruins of the Old Fort.

the Bengal Engineers, who fell during the Indian Revolt in the year 1857-58. It is ornamented with 16 bronze medallions, representing the heads of the officers whose names are recorded'.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, he describes a 'bronze entablature representing an officer creeping along a bridge and firing the powder bags at the Kashmir Gate at Dihli [sic], while some soldiers are removing a wounded officer, who has fallen into the ditch'.¹⁸⁸ These accounts of the revolt are not limited to military exploits, but also include instances of death and privation amongst the British public. Eastwick's description of the official military version is likewise interspersed with accounts of personal loss like that of Captain Gowan of the 27th Regiment B.N.I., who was killed while endeavouring to call the mutinous *sipáhis* of his own corps to obedience. With him lie buried his wife and infant son, murdered by the mutineers.¹⁸⁹ This is followed by the account of Sir Mountstuart Goodricke Jackson who was an assistant commissioner at Sitapur in Oudh and 'who, after many months of privation and suffering, was murdered at Lakhnau on the 16th of November, 1857'.¹⁹⁰ Alongside this is a tablet dedicated to the memory of his sister Amelia Georgiana Jackson 'who in escaping from Sitapur, was separated from her brother, and after enduring for several months great suffering and exposure, perished at Lakhnau in the massacre, on the 24th of September, 1857'.¹⁹¹ In this and other ways, memory sites in Calcutta cohered around death and, more specifically, the massacre of British during the uprising, creating a conceptual alignment with the inscriptions on the Black Hole monument, which commemorated what was deemed to be the righteous revenge of the British on Siraj-ud-Dowlah in 1757.

It would be going too far to say that Eastwick's narrative creates a net of associations around historical events in order to enable a comprehensive understanding of the documentation and representation of the city in the public psyche and popular culture; but it does serve to identify specific events

¹⁸⁷ Eastwick, p.92.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.94.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.95.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.95.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.95.

as key turning points in the city's history even though these are assimilated in the 'service' narrative of the British Raj and are not assessed in light of developing nationalist consciousness in India. This is exemplified in the representation of Lord Mayo's assassination, when the Viceroy was fatally stabbed at Port Blair, the capital of the Penal Settlement in Andaman Islands, in 1872 by a convict, a Pathan from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of India named Sher Ali Khan. Significantly, the investigation that was subsequently launched into the death of the Viceroy used the word 'jihad' given the context of the Wahabi incitement of the 1857 Indian Mutiny; this was also deemed applicable to the contemporaneous murder of John Paxton Norman, officiating Chief Justice of Bengal, in 1871, by—as Cotton puts it—'a Mahomedan fanatic'. However, Cotton does not acknowledge these instances of violence as political murders and dismisses their association with the 'Wahabees' as 'baseless conjectures'.¹⁹² Helen James in her article on Lord Mayo's assassination considers that the Government of India should have been alert to such a possibility, 'especially since the trails in India of leading "Wahabis" found to be preaching *jihad* and violent overthrow of the colonial government' had only recently been concluded.¹⁹³ The later handbooks follow Cotton's example and omit all comments on these murders in their description of statues and plaques dedicated to Lord Mayo and Norman. We might therefore say in general of Calcutta handbook history that it identified potentially turning events but then strategically refrained from contextualizing them in the competing narratives of Indian socio-political discourses. In this context, history became privy to a larger colonial agenda of surveillance and control in which the establishment of a standardized version of lived reality acted to curb volatile elements in the local population. Such politically determined historiography contributed to a colonial governmentality that was further bolstered by a manufactured sense of

¹⁹² Cotton, pp.230-231.

¹⁹³ Helen James, 'The Assassination of Lord Mayo: The "First Jihad?"', *IJAPS*, 5. 2 (2009), 1-19 (pp.1-2).

continuity of the colonial past, spanning a period of two hundred years (1690-1890).¹⁹⁴

The narrative arrangement of history in the later handbooks published at the turn of the twentieth century (Newman [1892], Cotton [1906], Firminger [1907] and Newell [1922]) contributed towards constructing the ‘illusion of permanence’.¹⁹⁵ These handbooks often tended to begin with a comprehensive historical introduction to Calcutta up to 1857 (designating this section as ‘Old Calcutta’) followed by a section on the ‘Modern Calcutta’ of the early 1900s. The section dedicated to ‘Modern Calcutta’ in these later handbooks is further subdivided into sections on monuments, statues, buildings and sites that seek to account for Calcutta’s past history in ‘concrete’ terms. This Calcutta, constituted of relics from the past, is then located in the immediate present with statistical information and advice on the ways of orienting and conducting oneself in the city. Memory and nostalgia become signposts in determining British people’s presence and position in the city, creating a sense of belonging in the foreign territory of the colony. The following section of this chapter looks more closely at how the Calcutta handbooks’ changing form of historiography worked to facilitate a sense of belonging among its (white) British travellers and temporary residents. However, the strategic gaps and omissions in these narratives simultaneously revealed this sense of belonging to be unreal and unsustainable. To focus the argument, I will look further at Eastwick’s use of inscriptions on funerary tablets and structures in graveyards and churches, relating these to the British obsession with death and disease in the colonies as the human cost of empire, and defining the relation and function of nostalgia and anxiety in historical representations and related literature of the Raj.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Colonial governmentality’ is borrowed here from Foucault and developed by David Scott in ‘Colonial Governmentality’, *Social Text*, 43 (1995), 191-220.

¹⁹⁵ Phrase adopted from Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). This book elaborates on a distinctive shift in the colonial ideology of rule from early reform measures based on rational scientific evidence to the late nineteenth century emphasis on social Darwinism.

Graveyards, death and Raj nostalgia

Death, disease and mortality have been predominant preoccupations of the British population resident in India ever since the early days of the settlements. Elizabeth Buettner, in her study of the conservation of decaying colonial-era British graveyards in former imperial centres, reads cemeteries as aesthetic and affective manifestations of Raj nostalgia.¹⁹⁶ Buettner's research provides unique access to 'old India hands' writing for associations like BACSA (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia), where they have singled out funerary architecture for conservation. This preference, as Buettner puts it, 'illustrates very clearly the ideological agendas that inform all efforts to narrate history with reference to places and objects'.¹⁹⁷ The case made here in favour of investing in graveyard conservation projects corresponds to Eastwick's recourse to funerary tablets as illustrations of historical episodes. As Buettner argues, 'in the most direct sense, cemeteries materially attest to the Raj's human contributions: Britons who died in India (and) can be depicted, literally, as giving their lives on its behalf'.¹⁹⁸

The various descriptions of South Park Street Cemetery and St. John's Church graveyard in the Calcutta handbooks provide glimpses of numerous lives lived in exile then recorded in stone after their death. H.E.A. Cotton in his early twentieth-century handbook *Calcutta Old and New* (1907) categorizes funerary structures as 'touching and instructive history, written in family burial plots, in mounded graves, in sculptured and inscribed monuments'.¹⁹⁹ Like Buettner, Cotton describes graveyards as proof of the emotional cost of empire:

We find no such record elsewhere of the price paid for Calcutta by generations of bygone Englishmen, who lived and died at their work. [...] A ramble in among the tombs will teach the visitor more about

¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Buettner, 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India', *History and Memory*, 18. 1 (2006), 5-42.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁹⁹ Cotton, p.585.

the career of our ancestors in the Land of Regrets than many an hour spent over musty records.²⁰⁰

In such accounts there is an urge to bring to light the ‘truth’ of the actual life of British in the colony. Buettner quotes from the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) journal *Chowkidar*:

As members consistently reiterate, their object has been to ‘give a true picture of life as it was rather than modern travesties of the raj’—with ‘truth’ (or ‘setting the record straight,’ as many writers put it) in this case meaning the hardships of service and the ‘unfailing vitality, devotion and courage of Britons abroad,’ whatever the risks.²⁰¹

W. Newman’s late nineteenth-century handbook (1875) expresses similar sentiments: ‘Some of the most striking phases in the history of a city may be learnt from its Burial Grounds’.²⁰² St. John’s Church and its adjoining burial ground, where the remains of the founder of Calcutta Job Charnock lie interred along with other personages connected with the early history of Calcutta like William Hamilton, who ‘in 1777, having cured the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, obtained for the E.I. Company the right of importing their goods free of duty, and other great privileges’, are the focus of these descriptions.²⁰³ These graveyards are listed in all the Calcutta handbooks as tourist attractions, not only for their aesthetic value but also as representations of a bygone era. To borrow Buettner’s assessment, the graveyards emerge as ‘a testimony of extraordinary confidence in the face of horrifying living conditions and perpetual tragedy’ in the handbook narrative as well.²⁰⁴ However, these detailed accounts of graveyards are by no means limited to consecrating the memory of important figures in the governance of Calcutta; rather, they systematically extend to unknown Europeans and British across the social spectrum. The representation of cemeteries in handbooks

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 565-566.

²⁰¹ Buettner p.37. ‘The Mail Box’, *Chowkidar*, 1.3 (1978), 20-34 (p.24).

²⁰² Knight, p.146.

²⁰³ Eastwick, p.100.

²⁰⁴ ‘BACSA Activities’, *Chowkidar*, 1.5 (1979), 37-62 (p.42).

assimilates them into the cultural spectrum of the city's engagement with empire.

Graveyards also serve as signifiers of the spectre of death that hovered over the British community in the colony. Early accounts of Calcutta list the escalating death rate among the British community. W.K. Firminger (1906) in his *Guide Book to Calcutta* quotes from W. Hunter:

Within a decade, after Charnock finally landed on the deserted river bank, in 1690 it had become a busy native mart with 1250 European inhabitants of whom 450 were buried between the months of August and January in one year. The miseries of the fever-stricken band throughout 1690 and 1691 are not to be told in words.²⁰⁵

Specifically referring to the health hazard posed by Calcutta, both Sudip Bhattacharya in his book on disease and medicine in colonial Bengal and S.N. Banerjee writing on the urban history of Calcutta quote from Alexander Hamilton's book *A New Account of the East Indies*, which was originally published in 1745.²⁰⁶ According to Hamilton, Job Charnock, the East India Company agent who founded the British settlement at Calcutta, 'could not have chosen a more unhealthy place on all the River'.²⁰⁷ Cotton in his handbook confirms this view: 'The settlement literally reeked with malaria. Mortality was so extraordinarily high, that death literally overshadowed every soul'.²⁰⁸ Citing a local aphorism on the limited life-span of an average Briton in India, Buettner writes that 'many, if not most, Europeans who embarked for India prior to the nineteenth century never returned to their lands of origin, often having perished in the course of their first "two monsoons"—a period

²⁰⁵ Firminger, p.6. William Hunter, *The Thackerays in India and some Calcutta Graves* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897).

²⁰⁶ The two books cited above are: Sudip Bhattacharya, *Unseen Enemy: The English, Disease, and Medicine in Colonial Bengal, 1617-1847* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014) and S.N. Banerjee, *Calcutta: Myths and History* (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1977).

²⁰⁷ Bhattacharya, p. 56; Sinha, p. 4. Hamilton further relates that one year when he was there, there were 1200 Englishmen in Calcutta in the month of August, of whom 460 had succumbed to disease by the following January.

²⁰⁸ Cotton, p.30.

that became a standard means of describing their commonly abbreviated life expectancy'.²⁰⁹

Death provides a substantial substructure to the memorialization of Calcutta in handbooks, partly contributing to the city's distinctive position in relation to other Indian metropolises. The tropical planes of Bengal were infamous for mortal epidemics like cholera and malaria.²¹⁰ As Thomas W. Laqueur argues, 'the body, by its physical location, infuses its meaning into the land where it rests and decomposes'. The dead, he says, 'have an empire over the mind'.²¹¹ The graveyards, funerary plinths, and memorials in churches across the city's topography were regular reminders of colonial officials who passed away while still in service in British India. Death through physical debilitation and/or violence reinforced the tropical imaginary, however, its representation through narratives and physical memorials revealing the connections between what Felix Driver calls the 'projection' of tropicality and a more informed view of tropicality as a 'transaction'. Driver critiques those images of tropicality through which 'the discourse of tropicality would project an image of the tropical world which was produced by and for Europe, uncontaminated as it were by anything in between'.²¹² Instead, he suggests, 'we might develop ways of conceiving this process in terms of transactions', that is, 'to think of images, certainly, but to understand the process of their

²⁰⁹ Buettner, p.12. Buettner takes the phrase from the title of Wilkinson's book *Two Monsoons: The life and Death of Europeans in India* (1976) another interesting reference in this context is David Arnold's 'Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 26. 4 (2004), 339-353 (p.340). Deathscapes and the predominance of Bengal as 'the deadliest province' figure in much of the personal testimony of European inhabitants who saw India through 'the depressing prism of their own mortality'.

²¹⁰ Calcutta has been regarded as the 'homeland of cholera' see, Shyamapada Mandal, 'Cholera Epidemic in and Around Kolkata, India: Endemicity and Management', *Oman Medical Journal*, 26.4, (2011), 288-289. For the influence of malaria on imperial formulations of racial degeneration as related to hygiene and tropical climate, see Mark Harrison, "'Hot Beds of Disease": Malaria and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century British India', *Parassitologia*, 40, (1998), 11-18; see also, David Arnold, "'An Ancient Race Outworn": Malaria and Race in Colonial India, 1860-1930', in Waltraud Ernst and Bernard Harris (eds), *Race, Science and Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1999), 123-43.

<doi: 10.5001/omj.2011.71> [accessed 12 February 2019].

²¹¹ Laqueur, p.54.

²¹² Felix Driver, 'Imagining the Tropics: Views and Visions of the Tropical World', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25.1, 2004, 1-17, p.3. See also,

being made as negotiated in various ways'.²¹³ This would enable us to understand the tropical world as being more differentiated and uneven, and ultimately as a 'living space for encounter and exchange'. Looking at the way the handbooks counter the historical and descriptive projection with intimate advice, creating categories for everyday life, habits, objects and rituals, one can argue that the handbooks 'show' the narrator/spectator to be an 'active participant in the scene'. In tactfully shifting between the neutral listing of topographical features and a more confidential tone for subjective reflections that allows for eventualities that fall beyond the categories listed, the handbook evidences the tactile, immersive and transactional nature of colonial life. Reading the tonal shifts in handbooks along Driver's critique reveals how narrative strategies transform what is otherwise an isolated image of a remote colonial space into a 'living space of encounter and exchange', where 'the eye of the observer is itself brought into the frame'.²¹⁴ It reveals, in Driver's words, 'vestiges of experience' that validate the incongruity between the projected representation of colonial city space and the unpredictability of its lived experience. As I will show throughout this thesis and particularly in Chapter 2, this fissure locates the body—both of the colonizer and the colonized—at the centre of imperial governmental measures that exercise control through surveillance, omission and silencing.

The European population's obsession with death, disease and physical debilitation also surfaced in the contemporaneous literary works of major writers like Rudyard Kipling and in memoirs such as Emily Eden's.²¹⁵ Famine, cholera, malaria and other tropical diseases were major preoccupations in the literature of the period and can be read as symptomatic of a far more extensive and complex anxiety that derived from the 'irreducible and

²¹³ Ibid. p.3.

²¹⁴ Driver, p.5.

²¹⁵ Emily Eden, *Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867); Flora Annie Steel, *From the Five Rivers* (London: William Heinemann, 1893). For a critical evaluation of Rudyard Kipling's fiction on disease and death, see Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire Famines, Fevers and Literary Cultures of South Asia* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

historically necessary otherness' that was the prerequisite of colonial rule.²¹⁶ Ranajit Guha in his article 'Not at Home in Empire' discusses colonial *anxiety* as distinct from *fear*. Drawing on Aristotle's notion of limits as well as excerpts from the memoirs of a British officer named Francis Yeats-Brown, Guha establishes the European view of India as beyond knowledge, 'the unhomely opposite of the world of known limits'.²¹⁷ The resistance of the vast Indian landscape to the limits of knowledge is deemed 'uncomfortable' for British residents as 'the comfort of a world of known limits derives precisely from the known measure of things'.²¹⁸ Guha argues that the 'unimaginable scale of things', which was beyond foreigners' comprehension, made them feel isolated. The 'uncanny' that he attributes to the 'necessary otherness' of the British in the Indian subcontinent, coupled with the 'dominance without hegemony – an autocracy that ruled without consent', came to confirm the isolation of the rulers from the ruled across colonial South Asia.²¹⁹ Guha insists, however, that 'what made him (the British officer) feel so isolated was not therefore fear predicated on any given object but simply an indefinite and pervasive anxiety about being lost in empire.'²²⁰

Guha traces the symptom of this anxiety to the 'absurdity of Britain's claim to fit the roundness of colonial autocracy to the squareness of metropolitan liberalism. A sore that refused to heal, it went on festering by being compulsively touched. Symptom of an unredeemably bad conscience, it developed the habit of insinuating itself into all manner of colonial discourse'.²²¹ According to Guha, anxiety is 'concealed in the standard histories of empire'; historiography then translates this anxiety into the discourse of law and order, defining it as a fear that has a definite point of origin and threat. For all that, Guha emphasizes the *uncertain* quality of anxiety, following Søren Kierkegaard, who refers to anxiety as 'something

²¹⁶ Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23. 3 (1997), 482-493 (p.482).

²¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.484.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.484.

²¹⁹ For further explication of this argument, see Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Delhi: OUP, 1998).

²²⁰ Guha, p.484.

²²¹ *ibid.*, p.485.

indefinite', and Martin Heidegger, who states 'that in the face of which one is anxious is completely indefinite'.²²²

In Guha's essay, the 'unknowability' of India is emphasized through references in European memorial accounts to the 'immeasurability' of Indian landscapes, which were deemed to be on a scale that was 'unimaginable and uncomfortable'.²²³ The Calcutta handbooks, by contrast, in attempting to define the temporal and spatial contours of British identity, were marking out the limits of the known and inhabited world. The *temporal* aspect of the identity of British residents/citizens was viewed in terms of a linear historical narrative that contributed towards a historical sense of self *vis-à-vis* colonial India, while the *spatial* location of self was achieved through a circumscribed narrative of the city space they inhabited. The handbooks typically applied the trope of measurement for both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of life in the colonial city. Applying the rigour of western scientific language, they strove to weave a strong structure around the chaotic reality of colonial space. The metropolis, with its corollary infrastructure of developmental and utilitarian buildings and services like schools, universities, hospitals, hotels, clubs, theatre houses and charities, had apparently transformed the primal marshlands of the three villages of Suttanautee, Govindpur and Dihi Kalikata into a metropole. Handbook narratives of Calcutta highlighted all the amenities that had established the urban metropolitan character of the city. However, the 'unknowability' of Calcutta did not exist outside the civic limits of the capital city of the Raj, as in Guha's example where the British officer rambles on about 'magical plains that stretched away to the Himalayas'.²²⁴ It rather resided within the boundaries of familiar places. The city did not appear in terms of vast expanses that were inaccessible and therefore alienating for the British subject.²²⁵ In fact, the exact opposite was the case:

²²² *ibid.*, pp.486-487.

²²³ *ibid.*, p.484.

²²⁴ *ibid.*, p.483.

²²⁵ Inaccessibility and impenetrability have been defined in terms of the aesthetics that characterize descriptive literature and travel accounts of the Indian subcontinent. Pramod Nayar defines 'Colonizing Aesthetics' as that which 'explores how different aesthetic

Calcutta throbbed with its chaotic bazaars, its cramped and overpopulated native quarters, its busy thoroughfares through which a steady stream of people journeyed in and out of the city from the surrounding mofussil areas. In this sense, the ‘unknowability’ of Calcutta stemmed from the cosmopolitan character that was characteristic of a colonial port town, and which derived from the cultural complexities of being a ‘contact zone’ for the rulers and the ruled.²²⁶

Several commentators have highlighted the topographic division of Calcutta into ‘white’ and ‘black’ towns, showing how that division evolved over time into a porous boundary in the geographical sense.²²⁷ However, the discourse of difference was sustained in official representative accounts and the mutual exclusivity of the white and black towns was maintained in British personal narratives as well. Pradip Sinha describes how, after the initial fortifications wore off, the black town ‘drove wedges into the white town, especially into the intermediate zone – the grey town, so to speak, of the Portuguese, Greeks and Armenians of the pre-colonial period’.²²⁸ He remarks that these zones of ‘interpenetration’ showed ‘denser formations’ as compared to the disciplined organisation of the British part of the town.²²⁹ The colonial city was characterized by slums that encircled the better class housing: thus, the British were threateningly surrounded by the same ‘native squatters’ who comprised the servant class indispensable for the upkeep of their households—a point also made in works as different as those of H.E. Busteed,

approaches in colonial discourse construct particular images of India as a preliminary to English “interpretation”, governance and alteration.’ For a comprehensive understanding of the use of aesthetics as an analytical category in European travel literature about the sub-continent, see Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600–1920 Colonizing Aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 1.

²²⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.34.

²²⁷ For further work on the ‘black’ and ‘white’ town divide and how it evolved on the ideational plane of thought and the physical plane of practice, and on the subsequent evolution of this divide in literature and spatial politics, see Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta.: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (2005); A. K. Ray, *A Short History of Calcutta - Town and Suburbs, Census of India, 1901, Vol. 7 Part 1* (Calcutta: Riddhi-India, 1982); Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History*, (1978).

²²⁸ Sinha, p.8.

²²⁹ That the black and white towns were not exclusive spaces but had blurred boundaries is discussed in detail in Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978).

Sophia Goldborne and Flora Anne Steel.²³⁰ As Sinha records: ‘The miasma from the Crooked Lane or Janbazar, in close proximity to the areas of British exclusiveness, had to be tolerated, and congestion of China Bazar or Cossitola (areas of both wholesale and retail business attached to the British town) was a necessary evil’.²³¹ The proximity of British and native subjects was not limited to the public space of the city, but also permeated British domestic space.²³² As mentioned above, and as demonstrated in detail in Swati Chattopadhyay’s work, overlaps existed in the principally different architectural and aesthetic sensibilities of British and native establishments in the physical geography of the city.²³³

Major incongruities emerge as one reads contemporaneous European and vernacular narrative accounts of the colonial city alongside more recent research on cross-racial and cross-cultural movements based on the everyday social practices of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Calcutta (see also Chapter Two). Literary examples like Rudyard Kipling’s *A City of Dreadful Night* (1874) and R.J. Minney’s *Night Life of Calcutta* (1922) suggest that the imaginative geography of the native (black) town maintained by European representative accounts adopted the tropes of ‘impenetrability’ and ‘unknowability’ that Guha identifies in his essay.²³⁴ This divisive narrative was corroborated by vernacular city narratives like Bhabanicharan Bandhyapadhyay’s *Kalikata Kamalaya* (1823) and Durgacharan Ray’s *Debganer*

²³⁰ For some representative works of scholarship discussing the domestic economy of the British European household in colonial South Asia, see Flora Anne Steel, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, 7th edn (London: Heinemann, 1909); H. E. Busteed, *Echoes from old Calcutta: Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey* (London, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co, 1897); Phebe Gibbes, *Hartley House, Calcutta: A Novel of the Days of Warren Hastings* ed. Michael J. Franklyn (London: Penguin Books, 1987) and Swati Chattopadhyay, (2005).

²³¹ *ibid.*, p.9.

²³² Alison Blunt has discussed the ‘bungalows’ where the British officers lived as compounds that were racially demarcated to house Indian servants, showing how the domestic was both an ambivalent and contested space. Alison Blunt, ‘Imperial Geographies of Home’, (p.429); ‘Home: British domesticity in India, 1886-1925’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24. 4 (1999), 421-440 (p.429).

²³³ Chattopadhyay, pp.9-10.

²³⁴ Edward Said *Orientalism*, pp.59-78.

Marte Agaman (1880), both colourful accounts of the native quarters of the city with minimal reference to the British part of the town.²³⁵

However, this persistent incongruity between the representation and the reality of the colonial experience could not be admitted to in the official scheme of things. Instead, it was controlled through surveillance, through the regulation of public and domestic space, and through a steady stream of statistical information aimed at guiding the British populace through the minutiae of everyday life. As already mentioned (see Introduction), the Calcutta handbooks were symptomatic of a fundamental contradiction that existed at the heart of the colonial scene whereby liberal civilizational ideals were forced to coexist with the necessity of subjugation, dominance and autocracy. They were explicitly devised to address this unequal situation, creating an 'objective' context in which information, in the form of historical narrative and practical advice, would enable the easy assimilation of the British subject into colonial life. However, the *form* of the handbook pitted 'Old Calcutta' against 'Modern Calcutta', emphasizing a logical linear progression of history and combining this with an arbitrary selection of 'practical' knowledge. In this sense, what the handbooks supplied was a congested and open-ended narrative, providing belated information by virtue of the publication process. It was because of the inconsistencies inherent in their form that they signally failed to act as a bridge between the expectations and the reality of colonial existence, thereby supplying proof of the very anxieties they sought to redress.

This problem of incongruity, which has been traced from its origins in the dual-town representations of Calcutta to the form of the Calcutta handbook, is a manifestation of the indefinite anxiety that Guha analyses in the context of colonial India. Generally speaking, the Calcutta handbooks adhered to the indefinite and unidentifiable quality that characterized colonial anxiety as Guha defines it. They were not directed against a particular

²³⁵ Durgacharan Ray, *Debganer Martye Agaman* (1880; reprint, Calcutta: Dey's Publication, 1984); Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyay, *Kalikata Kamalaya* (Calcutta: Samachar Chandrika Press, 1823; repr. Calcutta: ed. by Pratibhas, Bishnu Basu, 1986).

cause or event; nor were they produced as a reaction or intervention to some particular threat. They appropriated colonial law and order, to be sure, but such appropriation was largely generic. Rather than creating a cause-and-effect narrative, the handbooks tended to adopt a hegemonic structure of history and information that was designed to co-opt the European resident/tourist to the dominant rationale of the colonial regime.²³⁶ In them, the unknown vastness of the British officer's narrative, as cited by Guha, was replaced by an indefiniteness that sank deep into the invisible spaces of the city, spaces of which one could only catch the merest glimpse. Thus, to repeat, the sub-genre of the Calcutta handbook can be seen to reveal an essential opposition between its form and its content; and though it proposed a 'solution' to the conflict between the expectations and realities of colonial Calcutta, its inherent contradictions and selective omissions reduced it to another symptom of the very colonial territorial anxieties it was designed to allay.²³⁷

If, as I am arguing here, the Calcutta handbooks must be seen as symptomatic of colonial anxieties, then one also needs to probe the discourses underlying their use of narrative devices and linguistic features. Colonial anxiety, pace Guha, was triggered by individuals' experiences of their environment as 'a nullity rendered incomprehensible by a scale of things

²³⁶ Ranajit Guha in his book *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997) argues that the universalizing tendency of capitalism, which in metropolitan bourgeois states had successfully levelled the traditional feudal social and cultural barriers and inaugurated a new form of social, economic and cultural ethics associated with the capitalist industriousness of all classes, also inevitably required western ruling elites to derive their power of dominance from the democratic economic, moral and cultural consent of citizens, obtained through a form of manufactured consent. According to Guha, western states were mostly hegemonic in nature. This did not apply to India under British rule, however, where the Indian colonial state was characterized by unmitigated coercion and maintained its claim to dominance by monopolizing the means to violence. The use of the word 'hegemony' is significant here as its target demography is not the colonized population but the British/European population itself. Hegemonic discourses worked to abstract the unequal divide between the liberal-civilizational and the coercive autocratic aspects of empire.

²³⁷ As stated earlier, I read the Calcutta handbooks as a safety valve to the disillusionment inherent in the colonial situation, where the reality of colonial space jars with expectations drawn from civilizational ideals.

beyond measure'.²³⁸ For Guha, such a 'nullity' was equivalent to not being at home in one's environment. This connects the concept of *anxiety* to that of the *uncanny*. Picking up on this connection, Swati Chattopadhyay has explored the concept of the uncanny in relation to colonial Calcutta. She begins by noting the incongruity of European tendencies to apply the English picturesque as an aesthetic category to describe India, reading this as 'barely concealed tropical anxiety'.²³⁹ She then suggests that the process of representation produces the uncanny in so far as it practises a repression of likeness and familiarity:

Anxiety appears at the moment of slippage between desire and experience, between representational mastery and inadequacy of the representative strategy, and takes the form of the *uncanny*. And it is this sense of the uncanny, not as an aesthetic strategy, but as some unexpected outcome of the *process of representation*, that marks the passage from picturesque paintings to health maps. It is useful here to recall Freud's definition of the uncanny as 'something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which had become alienated from it only through a *process of repression*'. [...] The colonial uncanny is the product of the unexpected effect of the process of repression of the self-as-native.²⁴⁰

In both Guha and Chattopadhyay, the definition of the uncanny is closely related to that of *nostalgia*. Guha's paradigmatic British officer seeks refuge at the end of the day's work in the club, 'in a world whose limits were known and where people answered my beck'.²⁴¹ Within the limits of the European club, the officer reassuringly confronts 'exiled heads bent over newspapers, their thoughts far away, but close to mine'.²⁴² Chattopadhyay engages with the idea

²³⁸ Guha, p.487.

²³⁹ Chattopadhyay, p.33.

²⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.33.

²⁴¹ Chattopadhyay, p.21-33. Chattopadhyay quotes from Elisabeth Fenton, *A Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius), and Tasmania during the Years 1826-1830* (London: Edward Arnold, 1901).

²⁴² Guha, p. 483. The excerpt has been taken from Guha's quote from Francis Yeats-Brown, *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer*. Bibliographical information of the source material as provided

of nostalgia through an analysis of the aesthetic categories of representation, writing for example about a certain Mrs Fenton's attempts to 'translate the Indian landscape into an English idiom', which then 'ricocheted back in unexpected ways'.²⁴³ The aesthetic trope of the picturesque, used to represent Indian ruins, seems out of place when Mrs Fenton encounters 'abandoned English gravestones': an experience that 'left her to contemplate a lonely death in India'.²⁴⁴

The homology between nostalgia and anxiety can be further located in colonial representational literature with reference to David Arnold's essay 'Deathscapes: India in an age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856'.²⁴⁵ Arnold observes that the orientalist interest in India gradually lost ground as the 'need to attach India to more familiar literary, historical and geographical associations increased'.²⁴⁶ He argues that the use of familiar associations in empire writing can to be attributed to melancholic nostalgia but, more importantly, that the shift from exotic othering to familiar associative representation 'helped make the local and exotic accessible to a globalizing discourse of travel, sentiment, and place'.²⁴⁷ The Calcutta handbooks embodied this complex relation between anxiety and nostalgia, where the excess of unfamiliar terrain was mediated by the associative turn in representative accounts that were reminiscent of 'home'.²⁴⁸ Nostalgia functions here as a hegemonic construct. Ian Duncanson critiques colonial nostalgia for helping to 'create a kindly if melancholic retrospect on a past – which on closer examination, or seen from the perspective of the other of the

by Guha is 'Francis Yeats- Brown, *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (New York, 1930), pp.4-5'. He further mentions (in a footnote) Brown's encounter with the 'uncanny of empire' as having an exact date: 'Yeats Brown mentioned New Year's Eve of 1905 as the date of his first encounter with the uncanny of empire' (pp.3-13).

²⁴³ Chattopadhyay, p.33.

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.34.

²⁴⁵ David Arnold, 'Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 26 (2004), 339-353 (p.345).

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.345.

²⁴⁷ Arnold, p. 354.

²⁴⁸ For a critical analysis of the discursive shifts accompanying the shift of focus from travel narratives to guidebooks, see Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

vision, is ethically dubious – and casts an acceptably positive spell on oppressors'.²⁴⁹ This can be mobilized as a critique of carefully manufactured retrospective narratives of handbooks as well, which not only projected the glorious history of empire but also documented the social customs and mannerisms of the European communities living in Calcutta during the colonial period.²⁵⁰ Duncanson defines nostalgia in relation to the impossibility of absolute knowledge that secures and validates dominion, identifying it as a response to the threat of disorder and otherness of colonial space. He further conceives of it as follows:

It is finding oneself threatened by an engulfing disorder and seeking to find a dimly remembered space of certainty, security and harmony. It is the *unheimlich*, the uncanny feeling of estrangement experienced by the colonizers sheltering behind their cottage gardens in Simla or Pune; the exile or the emigrant, for whom neither the place in which she or he finds herself nor the point of origin – which may be disputed or will have changed – ensures belonging. Only the yearning remains detached from anything certain.²⁵¹

'Home', as understood in Guha's title for his essay 'Not at Home in Empire' as well as in Duncanson's article 'Nostalgia and Empire', connotes a sense of security and certainty. To bolster this, knowledge of 'everything from mapping to museums, as well as molecular biology and particle physics' was accumulated in a strategic manner to discipline the varied dissensions and multi-layered realities of the colonial experience, which was repeatedly threatened with a collapse into disorder and chaos.²⁵² In this context, the Calcutta handbooks were designed to reassure, though as I have said their end effect was often the opposite. In the following section, I trace the Calcutta handbooks as they developed from early examples to the work of H.E.A

²⁴⁹ Ian Duncanson, 'Nostalgia and Empire', *Griffith Law Review*, 21. 1 (2012), pp.23-35 (p.25).

²⁵⁰ Most of the handbooks have chapters dedicated to describing the social milieu of a particular age, but for a historical study of Calcutta's British/European society, see Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1938).

²⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.29.

²⁵² *ibid.*, p.26-27.

Cotton and W.K. Firminger. As I will show, these handbooks attempted to create a discourse of the 'practical' and the 'conventional' that was embedded in the material reality of lived space, and was designed to counter the precariousness of knowledge generated by the 'uncanny feeling of estrangement' that accompanied European colonial life.

The purpose of history

The primary characteristics of conventional historiography are clarity, fluid association and brevity, accompanied by a terse 'objective' style. W.K.

Firminger's early twentieth-century guide to Calcutta emulates these traits in its section on Calcutta's history to create a historical narrative that adopts travel as its dominant metaphor. As Firminger writes, 'the history of Calcutta, so far as it is our duty to re-tell it, will be learned as we wander through its streets and suburbs'.²⁵³ This 'wandering', however, is limited by privileges of race and class that are writ large in Firminger's description of the 'essential Englishness' of Calcutta:

It must, however, be remembered that the essential charm of the town depends very largely on the interest we take in the past of the English in India. To the patriotic native this may appear a hard saying, yet the fact remains that, even for the natives, Calcutta is an artificial place of residence. Our native servants, no less than our own wives and children, are one and all looking forward to the time when, with a fair degree of plausibility, they can petition their masters for *chutti* (leave of absence) and permission to go to their own 'muluk'. No doubt Calcutta has a vast Hindu population, but the fact that in this

²⁵³ Firminger, p.13.

city there are no Hindu temples worth mention is significant. [...] Calcutta is essentially a place of English interest.²⁵⁴

The word ‘artificial’ conjures up a sense of alienation that is supposedly felt by Indians and British alike.²⁵⁵ This is ironic, to say the least, considering that Firminger traces the origins of Calcutta to ancient Hindu mythology and Mughal administrative records like the *Ain-i-Akbari*, as well as more recent sources such as A.K. Ray’s *A Short History of Calcutta* or C.R. Wilson’s *The English in Bengal*, which sketched out the parameters of pre-colonial Bengal.²⁵⁶ As argued above, ‘authenticity’ was a primary concern in the experience of Calcutta as a metropolitan city. The handbook narratives that represented metropolitan modernity as it was made manifest in urban infrastructure—social and civic amenities—were likewise invested in the ‘authentic’. At the same time, the discourse of the colonial exotic was mapped onto the experience of the ‘authentic’ metropolitan milieu, foreshadowing alienation and disenchantment. Rudyard Kipling in his *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Sketches* reveals how the British residing in India projected a longing for ‘home’ onto Calcutta.²⁵⁷ As Kipling exclaims on his first sighting

²⁵⁴ Firminger, pp. 13–14. The word ‘muluk’ translates as ‘one’s native land’ in Bengali colloquial parlance. The use of this particular phrase draws attention to the opposition between the ‘city’ and country or ‘*desh*’ in vernacular culture, where representations of the city were emphatically contrasted with the traditional ways of country life. However, the native population which had migrated to Calcutta in search of employment and better opportunities did not exist as a floating group; rather they actively participated in city life, adapting to the city in ways that found popular expression in art forms and cultural practices. See, for example, Sumanta Banerjee’s *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Calcutta* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1998), which provides a detailed account of cultural assimilation and the subversive commentary it generated in popular art forms in the context of the nineteenth-century vernacular culture of Calcutta.

²⁵⁵ The same phrase can be found in G.W. Tyson’s *Calcutta: The City of Palaces* (1932), ‘To the patriotic Indian this may appear a little hard but the fact is that even for Indians Calcutta is an artificial place of residence’ (p.17). This is a further indication that handbooks thrived on collating and rephrasing material from previous publications—a tendency that increased after the shift of the capital when most handbooks turned to the W. Newman series or Cotton and Firminger’s narratives for content and information.

²⁵⁶ Ray, pp. 10–14.

²⁵⁷ Rudyard Kipling, *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Sketches* (India: A.H. Wheeler & Co. 1890). See also Alison Blunt, ‘Imperial geographies of home: British Domesticity in India, 1886–1925’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24:4 (1999), pp. 421–440 (p.429). In this essay, Blunt points out the indefiniteness of ‘home’, which is ‘imagined as a unique and distant place that can neither be discovered nor reproduced elsewhere and thus remains a site of continual desire and irretrievable loss’.

the Calcutta shoreline: 'Why, this is London! This is the docks. This is imperial. This is worth coming across India to see!'²⁵⁸ But soon enough he is disillusioned with the city: 'The eye has lost its sense of proportion', he remarks, and 'the mind has shrunk with the eye'.²⁵⁹ Such disillusionment was a standard colonial response to the encounter with unknown territory. The Calcutta handbooks, however, aimed to dismiss such negative associations by using historiography as a way to ground European identity in the material reality of the city, thereby creating connections between the topographical features of the city as they changed over time with the history of British rule in Bengal. The handbooks augmented the governmental project of reviving the British past of the Calcutta, catering to the need to look back, which was a politically manufactured one. H.E.A Cotton's Handbook *Calcutta Old and New* (1907) and W.K. Firminger's *Thacker's guide to Calcutta* (1906), for example, aimed at achieving a cohesive narrative of the history by adopting a linear logic of progression. In both of these handbooks, as I will show in more detail below, the (long) history of the British in Calcutta is 'rediscovered' in the geographical present of the city, with such a manufactured 'discovery' consciously ignoring the nationalist movements that were gathering strength in the wake of the Swadeshi Movement staged in protest of Lord Curzon's decision to partition Bengal (1905).²⁶⁰

Other contemporaneous historical accounts of the city such as H.E. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (1908) identified a break in the timeline of British ascendancy in India. In Busteed's work, the first two centuries of Calcutta's past under the administration of the East India Company preceding the revolt of 1857 and subsequent rule of the Crown in India are identified as the 'past' or 'Old Calcutta'. Philosopher and theorist Michel de Certeau, in discussing the conditions that make history writing possible, states that the writing of history can begin only when the present is divided from the past.

²⁵⁸ Kipling, pp. 7–8.

²⁵⁹ Kipling, pp. 186–187.

²⁶⁰ The partition of Bengal was effected in October 16th, 1905 by the Marquis of Kedleston, Lord Curzon which resulted in widespread protest across Bengal (both west and east Bengal), taking an organized form in the Swadeshi Movement (1905–1917).

Once this 'other' time is established, interpretation is legitimized, speculations develop, and writing is set in motion.²⁶¹ The identification of such a divide, suggests de Certeau, is what enables historical discourse to arrange events and situations along a temporal axis so as to represent 'reality'.²⁶² In historical accounts such as Busteed's, this temporal break is defined during Lord Curzon's term as viceroy, where the dawn of the new century, also marked by the death of the monarch, witnesses a radical shift in the politics of empire. In an introductory letter to Busteed's collection of reminiscences from 'the days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey', Curzon states:

As we draw further away from the past and manners and customs change, until an almost impassable chasm appears to separate us from an age our great-grandfathers might have seen, [...] it is not the least attraction of your delightful book that it recovers from oblivion and breathes new life into a crowd of images that seem almost to belong to another world. In your company we picture again the mortal agony of the Black Hole; we trace the tender passion of Warren Hastings [...]. But perhaps your greatest service is to have taught the modern generation in India that business or administration, however absorbing, may yet leave leisure for scholarly research, and that they owe a duty of reverence to a past which was the unconscious seed-time of our present Imperial harvest.²⁶³

Whether such a 'chasm' is identified in them or not, the Calcutta handbooks emerged as a sub-genre that put 'closed' historical narratives in conversation

²⁶¹ For a detailed critical engagement with Michel de Certeau's, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), see Philippe Carrard's, 'History as a Kind of Writing: Michel de Certeau and the Poetics of Historiography', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 100. 2 (2001), 465-482; for a postcolonial contextualization of de Certeau's work, see also Tan See Kam, 'Making Space for Heterologies: de Certeau's Links with Post-Colonial Criticisms', *Social Semiotics*, 6. 1 (1996), 27-44. For a broader study of historiography's engagement with space, see Roger Chartier, 'History, Time, and Space', *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, 2. 2 (2011), 1-13 (p. 3) <<http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/100>> [accessed 10 May 2017].

²⁶² Carrard, p. 467 and Kam, p. 29.

²⁶³ Busteed, p.vi.

with the contemporary reality of a city that was open and heterogeneous; a city that was in the process of *becoming* Calcutta. Common to almost all of them was the occultation of *native* history by means of what Tan See Kam calls the western ‘historiographical operation’, an operation she sees in terms of ‘a symbiosis, not to say synthesis, of place, procedures and language that writes, makes and produces modern Western history as pedagogy, knowledge and truth’.²⁶⁴ It is this ‘acquired rationalisation’ that organizes discourses of fragmented time and space into coherent historical knowledge.²⁶⁵ The ‘historiographical operation’ that produces the representation of reality is characterized as ‘sly’, since it effectively ‘disguises the praxis that organizes it’.²⁶⁶ Chartier elaborates on this: ‘The writing of history, which assumes chronological order, a closed text, and filled in gaps, inverts the research process, which starts from the present, can have no ending, and is constantly confronted with lacunas in the documentation’.²⁶⁷ Historiography produced this way functions within the fictional framework of past time, representing a distanced and objectified period with a coherence that is derived from present determinations. By claiming a scientific objective status for such history—by denying its status as narrative—the institution within which this kind of narrative is produced normalizes the conditions of writing and textual production. The sustenance of such history depends on a ‘systemic deafness’ that creates the illusion of coherence, but at the expense of alternative narratives—forgotten histories that need to be told and which resist the closure of the past.²⁶⁸ Mapping the historic narrative of the city onto a curated list of physical remainders/reminders of colonial rule in early twentieth-century Calcutta would allow the handbooks to perform a selective narrativization secured through omissions and silences. These omissions and silences were located both thematically and stylistically in the handbook narratives. For example, mythologizing Calcutta, as I will discuss in detail

²⁶⁴ Tan See Kam, p.29.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁶⁷ Chartier, p.3.

²⁶⁸ Compare Edward Said, *Orientalism* and Frantz Fanon’s Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

below, emerged as a dominant thematic trope that validated the ‘rediscovery’ of the familiar city projected through the nostalgic tone cultivated in the handbooks. Handbook representations thus constructed affective associations between the lived in present and its projected past, structured through imperial strategies of belonging. This projected continuity and coherence was further amplified by adjoining paintings of buildings and memorials replaced by photographs of the same in later issues. The handbooks’ emphasis on the physical remains of structures that validated memory and belonging were translated into the narrative through quotations derived from established academic sources, extracts from government documents, and photographic or cartographic images that perpetuated an exclusively British history of Calcutta.

The Calcutta handbooks performed a similar ‘historiographical operation’ principally because of their generic associations with the official historiography of Calcutta. They had a specific audience and were produced by a specific category of publishers at a specific time. In this sense, it can be argued that they, like official historiography, were instrumental in developing an ‘acquired rationalisation’ that helped create an authorized appearance of the real. This version of the real was based, however, on what See Kam calls a ‘precarious knowledge of the other’ in the face of ‘lacunas in documentation’. Such uncertainties might help to explain the persistent impulse to *mythologize* Calcutta, its establishments and its inhabitants—an impulse immediately apparent in H.E.A Cotton’s *Calcutta Old and New* (1907), which begins with the melodramatic lines: ‘Full of romantic vicissitudes is the story of Calcutta— a story of strange events, much heroism and not a little of that “blundering through” that has marked British enterprise in all parts of the globe.’²⁶⁹ Cotton’s book charts the history of Calcutta and its suburbs from the advent of the Portuguese on the plains of Bengal in 1530 to the city of Calcutta as it existed in the first decade of the twentieth century.²⁷⁰ Well aware of the

²⁶⁹ H.E.A. Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907), p. i.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 2.

historical significance of his work, Cotton believed that a ‘complete and comprehensive history of Calcutta remains to be written’.²⁷¹ However, his handbook falls some way short of this in any case impossible goal, functioning instead as a selective representation of the city’s past that merges personal history and the behavioural impact of urban space on the collective for the purpose of producing nostalgia for the lost opulence of the early days of settlement.²⁷² As Cotton plangently writes in his Introduction, ‘memories of the past have perished, whether from the ravages of time or the incuriousness of those in office’.²⁷³ He then outlines the intent of his book as follows:

In the earlier portion the aim has been to recall the historical associations of Calcutta, to remind the citizen no less than the stranger within her gates of her vanished buildings and changed localities, and to commemorate the men who have helped to make the city what she is. The second half of the book is designed to serve as an interesting and informing guide to the Calcutta of to-day.²⁷⁴

In Cotton’s work, the ‘rediscovery’ trope acts to associate subjective memory and experience with the geography of a city that is familiar and foreign at the same time. W.K. Firminger, for his part, introduces his historical narrative of the city by contrasting the ‘dull and flat dead level of [its] scenery’ with a geological supposition that Calcutta was at an earlier time a ‘hilly country’,²⁷⁵ further alleviating the ‘dullness of its ‘physical flatness’ by recourse to adventurous Hindu myths that trace the genesis of Calcutta to Shiva, Sati and Kali (Kalighat, the Hindu temple dedicated to the Kali, is one of the city’s

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁷² Merlin Coverley, quoting Guy Debord, provides the following definition of psychogeography: ‘Debord’s oft-repeated definition of psychogeography describes “The study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals”. And in broad terms, psychogeography is as the name suggests, the point at which psychology and geography collide, a means of exploring the behavioural impact of urban place’. Merlin Coverley, *Psychogeography* (Herts: Pocket Essentials, 2010), p. 10. For further reading refer to Will Self, *Psychogeography: Disentangling the Modern Conundrum of Psyche and Place* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007).

²⁷³ *ibid.*, p. i.

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. v.

²⁷⁵ Firminger, pp. 2-3. The references alluded to in the text are: *Blanford and Mendicot: Manual of the Geology of India*, pt.1, pp.397-400, and A. K. Ray, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. VII, Pt.I. The sources are quoted from Firminger’s text and his formatting has been retained.

oldest structures).²⁷⁶ Originary myths such as these then give way to sketches and vignettes gleaned from memoirs, public records and personal interactions about the early history of the British in Calcutta. John Hutnyk, in referring to Calcutta in the 1960s, suggests that the surplus or excess in touristic representations distances ‘truth’, and that the various sensations and curiosities of Calcutta consequently take on surreal shape and are consigned to the category of myth.²⁷⁷ Myth-making is integral to the Calcutta handbooks, with some of the most controversial of its mythologized retellings revolving around the figure of Job Charnock, the East India company agent who was also the founder of Calcutta as a British settlement. Cotton reports the travails of Charnock from the ‘*Diary and Consultation Book for affairs of the Rt. Hon’ble English East India Company kept by the Rt. Worshipful the Agent and Council, beginning July 16, 1690*’ where Charnock recounts in his own words the mud houses with thatched roofs that the early factors lived in and the constant threat of disease and death during the monsoons.²⁷⁸

In Cotton’s work, the controversy surrounding the foundation of Calcutta—much critiqued by the likes of Hamilton and Lord Valentia who visited the settlement in its earliest days—extends to the personal life of Charnock.²⁷⁹ The machinations of an imperial economic system are skilfully co-opted into the legend of an ambitious and resilient individual whose strategic decision to set up a powerful trading post in the East is foundational, not just for Calcutta but for empire itself.²⁸⁰ Subsequent retellings that highlighted the disease-ridden, geographically precarious position of Calcutta on the banks of the Hooghly River were indebted to the angst-ridden account of Charnock’s life in the settlement. Firminger, for example, has this to say in his section ‘The Founder of Calcutta’:

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp.3-4.

²⁷⁷ John Hutnyk, *The Rumour of Calcutta* (London: Zed Books, 1996), pp.65-66.

²⁷⁸ Cotton, p.12.

²⁷⁹ George Viscount Valentia *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, in the years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, 3 vols (London: Miller, 1809).

²⁸⁰ Before the establishment of Calcutta as a trading post the English had possessed territory in Hooghly, Dacca, Balasore, Cossimbazar, and Patna (Cotton, p. 5).

Up to the date of his third and final halt at Calcutta he displayed much ability, pluck, and firmness of resolution, but in his old age his character seems to have rapidly deteriorated. 'He loved,' writes Hedges, 'that everybody should be at difference, and supported a sergeant that set them to dwelling'.²⁸¹

Like Firminger, Cotton attributed Charnock's discontent to 'the miseries which the rugged pioneers with their British habits of eating and drinking must have suffered in the stifling cabins and fore-castles of their sloops and country-boats and in the mat hovels which too often formed their sole shelter ashore'.²⁸² Aside from the personal tribulations the political situation was hazardous as well, an imperial order issued in 1691 requiring factories to pay a sum of Rs. 3000 yearly to guarantee peaceful existence and trade in Bengal, while war with the French (1688-97), which soured relationships with the neighbouring French settlement in Chandannagar, made matters worse. Both Firminger and Cotton record a long list of administrative misjudgements attributed to Charnock. As Cotton remarks, 'Violence, waste and vice ruled in the little colony'.²⁸³ Charnock's indiscretions in administering the settlement are then further criticized in view of his personal life when, presumably quoting from Hamilton's narrative, Cotton states that: 'Charnock himself, as tradition has it, developed a savage temper, and flogged his servants for the most trivial offences, the execution being generally done when he was at dinner, so near his dining room that the groans and the cries of the poor delinquents served him for music'.²⁸⁴ The other famous story about Charnock recounted by both Cotton and Firminger (sourced from Hamilton's narrative) is of 'how Charnock, instead of converting his wife to Christianity, was converted by her to the cult of the *Panch Pir* or Five Saints – a sort of mongrel Mahomedan and Hindu devotion emanating from Bihar. [...] He built a tomb

²⁸¹ Firminger, p. 7.

²⁸² Cotton, p.11.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, p.11.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.12.

over her, where all his life after her death, he kept the anniversary day by sacrificing a cock over her tomb after the pagan manner'.²⁸⁵

Myths thus vied with counter-myths in order to rewrite the character of the founding father of the capital of British India, with the wider aim being to revive and commemorate the imperial past. To mediate the possible adverse effects of archival evidence, Cotton and Firminger provide explanations that counter the narrative of Hamilton. Cotton suggests that the restrictions on private trade placed by the Company were much to the distaste of independent traders like Hamilton, who is disparagingly referred to as an 'eighteenth century Sindbad'.²⁸⁶ Firminger provides a personal narrative of disillusionment justifying Charnock's derangement: 'After long years of faithful service, having twice being superseded, wearied out by the long delays and the deaf ears of his masters in England, living in an exhausting climate, weakened by constant fevers, far from the influence of his mother Church, it is not surprising that old Job's declining years were spent in indolence and even disorder.'²⁸⁷ Cotton does much the same. The earlier *Newman's Handbook to Calcutta* (1875) trumps both of them by adding a further dimension to Charnock lore, with Knight positing that Charnock was subjected to 'ignominious treatment, having been imprisoned and scourged by the mob'.²⁸⁸ This traumatic event, according to Knight, validated Charnock's otherwise 'unwarrantable usage of the natives'.²⁸⁹ Newman's *Hand Book to Calcutta* (1882) finds it 'remarkable that there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Job Charnock', but then goes on to suggest a particular street, in the vicinity of St. John's Church, as one whose name 'might appropriately be changed to "Charnock Street"'.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ Firminger, p.8. Italics are present in original text.

²⁸⁶ Cotton, p.12.

²⁸⁷ Firminger, p.8.

²⁸⁸ Knight, p.3. James Blackburn Knight is the editor of the 1875 edition of *W. Newman's Handbook of Calcutta*.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 46.

As will be seen more fully in later chapters, the controversy of Charnock continued apace in handbooks published after the shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911. One such example is *Calcutta a City of Palaces* by G.W. Tyson (1932). Tyson quotes from W. Hunter's *The Thackerays in India* to substantiate his acquittal of Charnock: 'He was not a beautiful person perhaps, for the founders of England's greatness in India were not such as wear soft raiment and dwell in King's houses; but a man who had a great and hard task to do and who did it with small thought of self and with a resolute courage which no danger could daunt nor any difficulties turn aside'.²⁹¹ There is a mythologizing of Calcutta at work here. John Hutnyk theorizes the inherent tendency of tourist representations to 'overdetermine' the city, giving shape to a singular version informed by the subject's position and how his/her experience 'about' the city is produced through their exclusive choice of perceptual 'tools'. Hutnyk suggests the concept of a 'deterritorializing essentialism' that creates a surplus or excess in touristic representations which in turn distances the 'truth', and Calcutta's material space is abstracted and consigned to the category of myth. However, in the Calcutta handbooks these myths are distilled around the various memory sites that the handbooks use in order to narrate the city. The myths mark a contestation between the colonized Indian's right to the city and the 'imperialist burden of representation', as is evident in concerns over not having a single marker of metropolitan modernity named after the founder of the city.

The mythologization of Calcutta was not limited to a reinvention of eminent personalities associated with British India and Calcutta's history; it was also framed as an experience to be put into practice and performed. Examples that accumulated historical significance over the years include 'Hastings House and Gardens', which Lord Curzon acquired for the government during his viceroyalty and was converted into a State Guest House,²⁹² and Hastings's contemporary and political rival Sir Philip Francis's

²⁹¹ Tyson, p. 13.

²⁹² Firminger, p. 125.

town house.²⁹³ Aside from physical reminders of past the elite British population of the city re-enacted the past as well, for example, Lord Wellesley's 'most splendid entertainment at the Government House, in honour of the general peace' on January the 27th, 1803.²⁹⁴ The anniversary of this celebration, where 'the ramparts of Fort William, the shipping in the river, and the Esplanade were all brilliantly illuminated', was hosted by Lord Curzon, and a great ball was arranged 'at which guests made their appearance in costumes of Lord Wellesley's time.'²⁹⁵ As Pierre Nora aptly puts it, memorial sites are established institutionally when the 'environments of memory fade'.

In similarly celebratory vein, Cotton and Firminger's respective handbooks move back in time, recreating the old neighbourhoods and vanished structures of mid nineteenth-century Calcutta and superimposing them onto the early twentieth-century city. Cotton describes the city in 1820 as follows: 'Neither the dome of the Post Office nor the octagon of the Bengal Council Chamber are to be seen in the tank square of the forties. The handsome façade of the Writers' Buildings which we admire to-day, will be looked for equally in vain'. The present tense used in such restorative efforts has an effect of time travel:

The Dalhousie Institute is represented by its entrance portico alone. [...] Towards the south, however the Metcalfe Hall, which is completing the fourth year of its existence, serves in some measure to dispel the atmosphere of unfamiliarity (for the modern resident and visitor). [...] almost opposite Hare Street, to the west of the modern Small Cause Court building, the eye rests in surprise on the odd-looking and squat outlines of the Ice-House. ²⁹⁶

Cotton proceeds to recount the construction of the Ice-House, its period of success and its subsequent fading into insignificance. He hints at his

²⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁹⁴ Firminger, pp.47-48.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁹⁶ *ibid* p. 186. Parenthesis mine.

objective in choosing such a narrative style a few lines below when he remarks: 'Here, standing in his father's shoes, the modern enquirer may begin at last to find himself more at home.'²⁹⁷ This suggests his desire to stay loyal to his initial declaration of 'romantic vicissitudes' while creating a nostalgic picture of 'Old Calcutta'²⁹⁸ that maintains continuity in British officials' identification with the places they inhabit by linking those spaces to their 'ancestors'.²⁹⁹ In Renato Rosaldo's words, 'the relatively benign character of most nostalgia facilitates imperialist nostalgia's capacity to transform the responsible colonial agent into an innocent bystander.'³⁰⁰ The carefully modulated narrative voice that accompanies the reader as a travelling companion speaks from the past, creating a sense of longing for the lost glory and opulence of empire. It creates an anachronistic space within the scope of the narrative that allows the twentieth-century reader to traverse the misty realm of the imperial past while remaining in contact with—and surrounded by—the architecture of the modern century, which characterizes 'progress' and 'development': the achievements of civilization. However, it is a deliberately selective account and as Svetlana Boym insists, 'the stronger the rhetoric of continuity with the historical past and emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is usually presented'.³⁰¹ Imperial nostalgia emerges as an evolving category, from the topical narrative of Murray's *Hand Book* to the extensively detailed narratives of Cotton and Firminger. The handbooks from this later period highlight the restorative inclinations of a nostalgia that 'returns and rebuilds one homeland with paranoiac determination', projecting Calcutta as a British city and the 'second city' of the empire.³⁰² However, these accounts of nostalgic entitlement to the British history of Calcutta are interspersed with disturbing discrepancies. The historic narrative serves as a critical commentary on immediate official and social response to the 1857 Mutiny and also rewrites an evidently anti-colonial

²⁹⁷ *ibid* p. 191.

²⁹⁸ Cotton, pp. i-ii.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.17.

³⁰⁰ Renato Rosaldo, 'Imperialist Nostalgia', *Representations*, 26 (1989), pp.107-122 (p.108).

³⁰¹ Boym, p.14.

³⁰² *ibid.*, p.15.

resistance from the perspective of empire, as a threat to and disruption of British lives.³⁰³

Cotton provides an incisive account of how the threat of mutiny in Calcutta played out in the contemporary press, which witnessed the aggravating tensions between the inhabitants of Calcutta and Lord Canning's government. Cotton's narrative concentrates on panic and fear-mongering as dominant narrative tropes that characterized the reaction of Calcutta's inhabitants. By representing the threat of violence as imaginary and exaggerated, he strengthens the argument in favour of an effective administration, which he presents as having the situation under control. The strategic importance of Calcutta to the mutineers could not be overlooked; as Kaye and Malleson argue:

In the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta there were many points which it was of extreme importance to defend. There was Fort William, with its great Arsenal; there was the Gun-manufactory at Kasipur, a few miles higher up the river; there was the Powder-manufactory at Ishapur, some twelve miles beyond; and there was the Artillery School of Instruction at Damdamah, with all its varied appliances for the manufacture of ordnance stores. A little way beyond Chauringhi, the fashionable suburb of the City of Palaces, lay the great gaol of Alipur, crowded with malefactors, many of the worst class; and hard by were the Government clothing godowns, or stores, from which the uniform and accoutrements of the army were drawn. Then in different parts of the city were the Calcutta Mint and the Treasury and the Banks, all groaning with coin—so that there was nothing wanting that could have supplied the insurgent army with all ammunitions and equipments [*sic*] of war, and enabled them to take

³⁰³ I have mentioned earlier in this chapter the critical disagreements on using the term 'Mutiny' or the 'first War of Indian Independence' for the uprising of 1857. Cotton and Firminger however, categorize the uprising as anti-authoritarian and as an illegal expression of native agency.

the field against us with the unfailing cement of high pay to keep them together'.³⁰⁴

Cotton focuses on two specific days during the months of May and June in 1857, when the threat of attack was considered imminent and led to widespread panic. The threat was not just from the native regiments stationed in Barrackpore, who could join rebel forces at any moment, but also from the 'thousand armed retainers of the King of Oudh at Garden Reach'.³⁰⁵ The King of Oudh had been exiled to Bengal, after having been deposed from his throne in 1856, and had good cause to avenge himself on the British.³⁰⁶ But quite apart from political opponents, the native population of Calcutta was considered a threat in itself. Descriptions of panic registered a loss of faith in the British administration. The contentions that surface in most of the literature on 'Panic Sunday' in Calcutta criticize Lord Canning's decision to refuse help from the European and American citizens of Calcutta to enrol in volunteer corps and his corresponding failure to allow for a disbandment of the native troops at Barrackpore, which would have reduced the immediate threat to Calcutta as well as allowing the European troops stationed at Fort William and the nearby town of Chinsurah to move to posts in northern India, where extensive violence and misrule were being reported.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Kaye, p.91.

³⁰⁵ Barrackpore is a suburb of Calcutta. In 1857, on the night of February 27th, the 19th N.I. mutinied at Bahrampur, and were ordered to be disbanded. [...] On 29th of March a private by the name of Mangal Pandey fired at a sergeant major, and then at Lieutenant Baugh and wounded his horse. A hand-to-hand conflict took place in which the Lieutenant was wounded. General Hersey then approached with a number of officers, and Mangal Pandey wounded himself with his musket, albeit not mortally. He recovered and was hanged on the 22nd of April. (Account summarized from Eastwick, p. 110).

³⁰⁶ After losing the kingdom, the Nawab first went to Kanpur then progressed to Calcutta in a steamer, coming ashore at Bichali Ghat near Metiabruz, Calcutta on 13 May 1856. The King of Oudh, however, was removed from his seat in Metiabruz and imprisoned in the Fort in the wake of rumours that the native regiment in Barrackpore had mutinied and were progressing towards Calcutta. Firminger quotes from T. Rice Holmes *History of the Indian Mutiny and of the Disturbances which accompanied it among the Civil Population* (London: Macmillan Co., 1904) to record the King's initial resistance and final submission to the British authorities in Calcutta (p.112).

³⁰⁷ Cotton cites the eyewitness accounts of Colonel Malleson and Dr. Mouat who were present in Calcutta and had documented the emotional turbulence of the city's inhabitants and their disappointment with the Governor-General's indifference. Apart from Kaye and Malleson's account, see *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, Vol.2 ed. by Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013) and Jullian Splisbury,

Elaborating on the nature of the panic, Cotton provides an equally detailed account of the day's events that draws extensively on Colonel Malleson's 'Red Pamphlet'. Malleson was an eye-witness who later co-edited *History of the Indian Mutiny* along with Kaye.³⁰⁸

All was panic, disorder and dismay. It was all but universally credited that Barrackpore brigade was in full march on Calcutta, that the people in the suburbs had already risen, that the King of Oudh with his followers, was plundering Garden Reach. Those highest in office were first to give the alarm. There were secretaries to Government running over to Members of Council, abandoning their houses with their families and taking refuge on board the ships in the river. Crowds of lesser celebrities, impelled by these examples, having hastily collected their valuables, are rushing to the Fort, only too happy to be permitted to be sleeping under the Fort guns.³⁰⁹

Even though the panic was based on false rumour, the effects of it were real. The eyewitness accounts that Cotton refers to emphasize the 'courage and steadfastness displayed by the commercial and trading community'. As the day wore on, panic escalated and the civil machinery collapsed, leaving each man to his own defences.³¹⁰ As agitation grew, the native troops stationed inside Fort William were disarmed; Cotton asserts that it was only after much solicitation that Lord Canning agreed to this disbandment.³¹¹ The Mutiny revealed certain administrative and affective inconsistencies at the heart of colonial rule. It focused administrative anxiety on the native population, which had heretofore been designated as harmless and subservient. In Kaye's words, 'the Natives of the country generally had been regarded as a harmless, servile, obsequious race of men, to be reviled, perhaps beaten at discretion, by

The Indian Mutiny (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007) for a description of 'Panic Sunday' and the reaction of British residents against Indian soldiers.

³⁰⁸ Sir John William Kaye & G. B. Malleson, *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8* (London: Allen, 1889).

³⁰⁹ Cotton, p.197-8.

³¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 199.

³¹¹ *ibid.*, p.200.

the haughty and intolerant Englishman'.³¹² Cotton reflects a similar sentiment: 'The sepoy was everything that could be desired. Faithful and docile, his prejudices were to be respected, and his calumniations snubbed.'³¹³

The self-imposed alienation of the British residents of Calcutta has been much discussed as an ideological principle of maintaining racial segregation as a rationale of empire. However, this not only produced an affective dissonance in the personal domestic life of European individuals, but also extended to the emotional economy that informed administrative and policy-making bodies. Jon E. Wilson in his book *The Domination of Strangers* (2008) examines the shift of British rule from familiar networks of friendship and enmity that extended from the provincial capital in Murshidabad to Calcutta and London, to an administration that was determined by abstract and general rules:

A dramatic rupture occurred in the culture of politics in Bengal from the mid-1780's onwards, as a crisis in Britain's worldwide empire intersected with the unstable politics of war, revenue collection and British Governance in India. The response, over the next 50 years, was the emergence of a form of governance in British-ruled India that treated its subjects as strangers for the first time.³¹⁴

Wilson posits that 'British Officials encountered their subjects as static objects of scrutiny, whose lives were governed by stable patterns and structures that could be represented objectively, from a distant perspective': heterogeneity and specificity were thus negated in favour of general rules that could be administered mechanistically.³¹⁵ Extrapolating from this, alienation forms the crux of the misinformation, inconsistency and disregard that Cotton criticizes

³¹² Kaye, p.84.

³¹³ Cotton, p.206.

³¹⁴ Jon E. Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.2.

³¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.5. This is further defined by Wilson as 'colonial legal positivism'; it could also be described by Bernard Williams' term 'government house utilitarianism', a phrase referring to 'the practical political philosophy of an elite with an abstract and idealised definition of public welfare not shared by the population at large' (p. 3).

as the press's failure to inform the European community of the political discontent brewing among the sepoys. As he says, 'While the air was full of dim prophecies and ghastly rumours, and the mysterious chupatties were passing from hand to hand and from village to village, the Calcutta papers filled their columns with the trifles of Anglo-Indian society small-talk'.³¹⁶

The perturbation demonstrated on 'Panic Sunday' had deep roots in the European civilian psyche, which was troubled by inconsistencies that were rooted in both expectation and reality. Wilson provides a detailed analysis of this miasma and its effects on the colonial administration:

Officials stationed in rural Bengal found it difficult to connect the emphatic, abstract language emanating from the courts and council of Calcutta with the contingent world of Indian practice they met in district revenue offices and courts. Colonial expectations occurred at an enormous distance from the everyday experience of governance. Officers inhabited two different worlds, with different and discordant temporalities: one based on the sense of duty they had to the conceptions and instructions transmitted from Calcutta, the other based around the everyday routine of the *kacchhari* or court, with its complex and anxious encounter with Indian interlocutors. The practice of colonial rule began to be rooted in the gap between what Reinhardt Koselleck calls 'the space of experience' and 'the horizon of expectation'.³¹⁷

It is necessary to understand the collective nature of Calcutta's European population to comprehend their vitriolic reaction to Canning's policy of restraint and forgiveness. As Kaye puts it:

There was not in the whole world, perhaps, a more tranquil, self-possessed city, than Calcutta had been during a period of nearly a century. The Englishman as seen in Calcutta, was, for the most part of

³¹⁶ Cotton, p.206.

³¹⁷ Wilson, p.74.

non-official type; experienced in the ways of commerce, active, enterprising, intelligent, but with little knowledge of the Native character save in its trading aspects, and little given to concern himself about intricate questions of Indian policy. [...] were prone, therefore, to attach undue importance to the busy commercial capital in which they were buying and selling, and were holding their household gods.³¹⁸

The European inhabitants of Calcutta were 'stunned and bewildered' by the news of violence from the North-West, and consequently expected the Government to put forth all its available resources to 'protect them against the dangers which their excited imaginations beheld rapidly approaching'.³¹⁹ In these heightened circumstances, the Governor General's passivity had a negative effect. However, like Cotton, Kaye voices equivocal support for the Governor-General.³²⁰

Cotton provides further arguments in favour of Canning's policies, stating that in the autumn of 1857 the tide of feeling had turned from anxious consternation to a virulent thirst for revenge: 'It had become necessary to double the guards at Fort William, in order to prevent the soldiers from sallying out at nights to avenge the atrocities committed at Oudh and Rohilcund upon syces and palkee-bearers'.³²¹ He then elaborates: 'The editorial columns teemed with deliberate propositions to raze entire cities to the ground, to depopulate whole provinces, to put the edge of the sword all the women in Delhi and Cawnpore'. The press were deemed as inciting racial violence, forcing Canning to introduce a Bill into the Legislative Council which put them in check.³²² The tussle between the government, which

³¹⁸ Kaye and Malleson, p.84.

³¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.84.

³²⁰ *ibid.*, p.87. There is a curious dialogue within Kaye's text itself which had been previously edited by Colonel Malleson, who happened to be one of the Calcutta civilians who witnessed the conflict between the people and the Governor-General. Malleson protests against and corrects several comments made by Kaye, and consequently the chapter has a substantial amount of footnotes that are in conflict with what is stated in the text.

³²¹ Cotton, p.208.

³²² *Ibid.*, p.209-210.

advocated clemency, and the local population, which wanted a punitive spectacle to avenge the loss of prestige of the ruling class, was manifested in later historical records as well. In this context, the Calcutta handbooks played an important historical role in recording—whether deliberately or involuntarily—the fissures that appeared on the surface of the ‘self-assured’ society of Calcutta and its administration. Such fissures revealed the inadequacy of a linear narrative of progress and civilization while also exposing the violence, insecurity and anxiety that would surface periodically in moments of crisis, characterizing the underlying politics of governance.

Needless to say, though, not all handbooks did the same, and it is particularly curious to note that Firminger’s handbook (*Thacker’s Guide Book*, 1906), published only a year earlier to Cotton’s, refrains from authorial commentary on the Mutiny, limiting its narrative to a brief description of the uprising in Barrackpore. Moreover, Barrackpore is listed in the contents section of the handbook as ‘a suburb of Calcutta’, and what account there is of the Mutiny is enclosed within the boundaries of this suburb, having no apparent bearing on the ‘tranquil self-possession’ of Calcutta.³²³ Firminger’s account of Barrackpore records the informative narrative of Mr. Holmes, which is brief and objective, dwelling mostly on the actions of the mutineer ‘Mungul Pundy’ and the brave stance of the British officers who arrested him and brought the mutinous regiments under control.³²⁴ The *Newman’s Handbook* account of the Mutiny is even less forthcoming. In it, the Mutiny exists only in reference to other events, and the section on Barrackpore is entirely lacking in any reference to the Mutiny in both the 1875 and 1882 editions of the text. Cotton’s account, in fact, turns out to be the exception rather than the norm, for the revolt of 1857, defined by many historians as India’s First War of Independence, was mostly put under erasure by the ‘ordering’ narrative of the Calcutta handbooks, specifically during the first decade of the twentieth century but even more so in the decades that followed leading up to official Independence in 1947.

³²³ Terms used by Kaye and Malleon to describe the population of Calcutta. Refer to 231n.

³²⁴ Firminger, p.228-229.

The undoing of handbook historiography

In Cotton's narrative, as we have seen, contradictory tendencies erupt from dates and terms embedded in quotations and excerpts which are ostensibly meant to supplement the narrative of the text but inevitably bring with them repressed discourses of disease, famine, racial violence and dissent. Even though Cotton structures the narrative of modernity in colonial Calcutta around civic amenities and infrastructure, his allusions to certain historical events have the effect of bringing to light unsavoury incidents of racial disparity and imperialist exploitation, thereby unhinging the utilitarian, civilizational narrative of progress that the handbook is ostensibly designed to support. A ready example would be the *Nil Durpan* case, where indigo planters filed a case against Rev. James Long for translating the Bengali drama *Nil Durpan* (*Mirror of Indigo*) into English. The drama sharply critiqued the exploitation of peasants of rural Bengal by the indigo planters. Cotton does not mention the Bengali author, but he does give a detailed description of the press coverage of Long's trial.³²⁵ The trial brought simmering racial divisions to the surface. Long was eventually sentenced to a month in prison under charges of libel against the newspapers *Englishman* and *Bengal Hurkaru* and for having libelled the 'general body of planters'.³²⁶ However, his fine of one thousand rupees was paid by a 'rich hindoo gentleman', and he was supported

³²⁵ As Rita Kothari writes, 'Nildurpan [the spelling used by Kothari] is a trenchant play, a socio-historical document about indigo planters in Bengal and it appeared first in Bengal and it appeared first in the Bengali original, in 1860. Within seven months of its publication Nildurpan was translated into English and sent to England. The copies of the English translation were meant for [those] British/Europeans who had, according to its publisher, expressed a desire to read the play in English'. Kothari contends that the play addresses racial exploitation by the British and belongs to the period after the 1850s when enthusiasm for British rule was on the wane—a fact made manifest in India's first struggle for independence in 1857. The English translation of the play created a sensation, both through its revolutionary content and the kind of reaction it evoked from the colonial British government. The government feared that if the English translation was made available to audiences in England the play might wreak havoc with public opinion, and the play was promptly banned. As Kothari says, this 'signalled a drastic change in Indo-British relationships and British attitudes towards what they called 'vernacular' literature and perhaps contributed to some extent towards the making of the Vernacular Act'. Rita Kothari, *Translating India, The Cultural Politics of English* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006), p.20.

³²⁶ Cotton, p.216.

by the Hindu community who duly called a public meeting and demanded a recall of the judge Sir Mordurant Wells for his 'frequent and indiscriminate attack on the characters of the natives of the country'.³²⁷ Some Civil Service officials, missionaries and members of the press also visited him during his confinement to show their support.³²⁸ Cotton's extensive report on the case is assembled mainly through newspaper articles. Here as elsewhere in the text, he constructs a historical narrative that draws on academic historical works, notably that of C.R. Wilson, while building his own narrative of dissent. There is an uneven politics of recognition and omission at work here. On one level, Cotton registers the event as restricted to lampoons and accusations hurled by the power brokers of the Government and the indigo farmers through the medium of the press. But on another, he makes no effort to unravel the government's actions as a mode of surveillance and a means to interpret native sentiments of desperation and unrest.

If, in certain instances, Cotton's narrative merely stops short of involving itself in commentary on vernacular literature and culture, in other instances it perpetrates gross omissions. There is no mention, for example, of the repeated famines that took place during the concluding decades of the twentieth century aside from a brief allusion to the Orissa famine of 1866.³²⁹ Similarly, the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905, which took place two years before the book was published, merits only a passing reference: 'Some idea of the ferment and the turmoil which an unpopular measure can create in Calcutta has been afforded by the agitation against the partition of Bengal.'³³⁰ More strikingly still, the anti-partition movement, which grew into the Swadeshi movement of 1905 in protest against Curzon's decision (revoked in 1907), rates no mention at all, despite being highlighted in the so-called 'Richards report' as one of the principal reasons behind the shift of the capital

³²⁷ *ibid.*, p.218.

³²⁸ *ibid.*, p.217.

³²⁹ The famines that took place during this period include: The Central Indian famine (1868-70), the Great Famine (1876-78), and the severe starvation of (1896-97).

³³⁰ Cotton, p. 235.

to Delhi in 1911 (see Chapter Three).³³¹ Incidentally, Cotton cites the example of anti-partition agitation in reference to the Ilbert Bill controversy—ironically so, as he uses growing nationalist discontent to exemplify the fierce Anglo-Indian opposition that the Bill faced as it endeavoured to abolish racial bias in the judicial system. The Ilbert Bill sought to give native judges the right to discharge the highest judicial duties in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Cotton issues a disclaimer before commenting on the outcome of this controversy: ‘No attempt will here be made to rake up old animosities or to stir up the smouldering embers of race-feeling’.³³² Moreover, he criticizes the partisan stand taken by the Anglo-Indian community *vis-à-vis* the Ilbert Bill controversy as having brought about the advent of the Indian National Congress, which would go on to represent organized Indian opinion:

The most abiding, although perhaps the most unlooked for, result of agitation has been the formation of the Indian National Congress which meets yearly at various provincial capitals in the capacity of an organized and crystalized body of native public opinion.³³³

Such instances of conflict abound in W.K. Firminger’s narrative as well, where the text partially acknowledges parallel narratives of history that it otherwise overwrites. A prominent example of this is cholera, which was ravaging rural Bengal and rapidly spreading into the narrow congested slums of the metropolis, but is rendered redundant in Firminger’s text as in most of the other handbooks of the time. As David Arnold observes in ‘Cholera and Colonialism in British India’: ‘The epidemics of the 1830s, 1840s and 1860s have been identified as causing popular unrest, accentuating social conflict, and providing a catalyst for municipal reform and the development of public

³³¹ The report was published in 2015 in book form, with an introduction by Richard Harris and Robert Lewis. See E.P. Richards, *The Condition, Improvement and Town Planning of the City of Calcutta and Contiguous Areas* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. vii-xxi.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

health.’³³⁴ Cholera in India thus had a clear racial and class dimension: ‘Cholera provides a convenient point of entry for the study of the mentality as well as the material conditions of India’s subordinate classes, while also illustrating the interventionist capacity of the colonial state and political constraints that acted upon it’.³³⁵ Given the political and ideological significance of cholera in late nineteenth-century Bengal, and given its importance as a major influence on the way the spatial arrangement of the city was changing, sometimes entailing the coercive relocation of entire communities, it might be expected that the handbooks would recognize the contemporaneity of the issue as well as its historical progression. However, nothing could be further from the case. Firminger’s handbook deals with cholera as an event in the past. For example, in concluding a section on the ‘Dum Dum’ area of Calcutta, the author states: ‘Not so many years ago Dum Dum enjoyed an evil reputation on account of cholera – one house in particular being known as “Cholera Hall.” Improvements in sanitation and above all a reliable water-supply have removed the reproach’.³³⁶ Ironically, the 1906 edition that contains this passage also contains an advertisement of a book on ‘*The Management of a Plague Epidemic and the Principle on which it should be Based*’ by E. F. Gordon Tucker, Captain I.M.S.’ along with another one, ‘*Cholera: its Prevention and Treatment*’ by Lieut.-Col. Joshua Duke, I.M.S. (Retired)’. Firminger also skirts around the issues involving opium trade and indigo farming. He does refer to Rev. Long’s historical and sociological treatises but only to criticize his ineptitude, and there is no information at all on the legal battle fought out in the press and the court between Long and the indigo planters, which Cotton discusses at length (see above).

Nor is there much reference to vernacular city narratives in Firminger’s text, and he is highly dismissive of Binoy Krishna Deb’s contemporaneous attempt to document Calcutta. The cause of his discomfort is evident in the

³³⁴ David Arnold, ‘Cholera and Colonialism in British India’, *Past and Present*, 113.1 (1986), 118-151 (p.118).

³³⁵ *ibid.*, p.119.

³³⁶ Firminger, p.160.

following lines: ‘Yarns of this kind are very easily spun and very easily credited by those who are [...] ‘against the Government’.³³⁷ Significantly, both Long and Deb’s accounts question the dominant narrative of unquestioned power based on ideals of personal honour, bravery and loyalty to the cause of civilization and progress. Long, through his involvement in revealing the indigo planters’ extortion of poor peasants in rural Bengal, and Deb, through his insistence on cross-cultural recognition and exchange in early British Bengal, both stagger the continuous, one-dimensional narrative of history that Firminger’s and other like-minded handbooks try to manufacture. As has been seen in this chapter, such handbooks endeavoured to overcome the tensions, and indeed contradictions, that their own narratives generated. Such contradictions were also apparent in the incongruous relationship of colonial historical discourse with the spatial design of Calcutta, which was intended to characterize imperial attitudes towards the city. The Victoria Memorial, for example—described by Newell as a ‘national museum of unrivalled interest’—was a material actualization of Curzon’s administrative policies.³³⁸ But the shift of the capital in 1911 brought about an ironic decontextualization of the memorial, which was reduced to an ambivalent reminder of Calcutta’s past status as a capital city as well as a simultaneous reminder of the nationalist consciousness that had contributed to the shift of the capital.

It is no surprise that Cotton, in particular, gives considerable attention to the Victoria Memorial. Much of this has to do, as I have been arguing in this chapter, with the nature of European nostalgia for empire. An active promotion of Raj nostalgia at the turn of the century was part of Lord Curzon’s policy to deal with the hostile nationalist awakening among the Indian populace and to reinstitute faith in the new monarch after the demise of Queen Victoria. This ‘historic turn’ in colonial policy was embodied in the Victoria Memorial. Curzon, in his speech anthologized under the title ‘Public Meeting, Calcutta, February 26, 1901’, first proposed the construction of a memorial to honour the late Queen: ‘Let us, have a building, stately, spacious,

³³⁷ *ibid.*, p.209.

³³⁸ H.A. Newell, *Calcutta, The First Capital of British India* (Calcutta: Caledonian, 1922), p.133.

monumental and grand, to which every newcomer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population will flock, where all the classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past'.³³⁹

Curzon argued that a memorial of such exalted significance would need the constant supervision of the viceroy, and that it should be located in the capital city of the empire: 'A National Monument is a desirable thing, and I think Calcutta is the inevitable site'.³⁴⁰ Such grandiose gestures overlooked the fact that the socio-political character of Calcutta had witnessed a great upheaval following the partition of Bengal in 1905. The anti-partition movement had grown apace, forming a powerful resistance drive that was aimed at the economic revival of native industries and an intellectual revitalization of native culture and belief systems.³⁴¹ Against this backdrop, the Victoria Memorial, which was unveiled in 1911 and opened to the public in 1924, became an ambivalent reminder of the complex historical discourses that shaped its destiny. The Calcutta handbooks of the time partook of this ambivalence, but as will be seen in subsequent chapters, they also came to reflect—albeit inconsistently—on the changing nature of an imperial city where anti-colonial politics was gaining ground.

³³⁹ Marquess George Nathaniel Curzon, *Lord Curzon in India, Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy & Governor-General of India* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1906), p. 521.

³⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 523

³⁴¹ Most of the themes discussed in the journal *Swadeshi*, the mouthpiece of the movement, were directed towards encouraging native industry, fostering Hindu-Muslim unity which was severely damaged by the partition that had divided the country into separate Hindu and Muslim majority sections. Most prominently, the journal articulated the meaning of being colonized: its social, ethical and philosophical dimensions. *Swadeshi* ed. by Jogindranath Chattopadhyay, was a monthly journal published from November in 1905.

CHAPTER TWO

Managing the Body: Regulating Climate and Constitution in Colonial Calcutta through Handbooks

Introduction: Locating the body in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Calcutta handbooks

In the previous chapter, I explored the role of the official historiography of Calcutta as this developed in the early twentieth century. More specifically, the chapter examined the framing of spatialized historical narratives of Calcutta handbooks in accordance with the dominant political rationalities of the period. I cited the selective representation of the past in these handbooks, arguing that they portrayed early forms of nationalist protest out of context, as random acts of sedition and violence. Such decontextualization significantly downplays the impact of early nationalist resistance in Calcutta and contributes to the broader role of colonial historiography in creating a standardized version of the city that squares with the character of colonial governmentality. Colonial historiography can thus be seen as nothing if not a political project, and in tracing the emergence of this project in late nineteenth-century Calcutta I first located colonial anxiety as ‘concealed in the standard histories of empire’,³⁴² then critiqued those forms of nostalgic myth-making which, sustaining the ideologies of colonial rule, cohered around particular memory sites.

Chapter Two further examines the affective strategies of nostalgia and myth-making and their implications for a politics of the body. It interrogates the dominant narrative of the Calcutta handbooks to reveal how they make the body visible in all its ‘vulnerability, resilience and political/psychosocial significance’.³⁴³ This shift of focus from the historical narrativization of city

³⁴² See Chapter 1.

³⁴³ Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, ‘Introduction: Bodies, Empires, and World Histories’, *Bodies in Contact, Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 4; 6.

space to the interpretation of the lived reality of the city through the management and representation of European bodies is congruent with a perceptible shift in the narrative content of the handbooks themselves. The political project of colonial historiography arguably culminated, at least in material form, in the shape of the Victoria Memorial. This memorial, which was seen as a way to ‘embody the achievements of the British empire and India’s place within it’, lost its political and strategic relevance after the shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911.³⁴⁴ As mentioned in the concluding section of the previous chapter, the memorial was increasingly recognized as an anachronism, its purpose undermined by the wider political resistance that had been initiated as a protest against Curzon’s partition of Bengal in 1905, and which ultimately prompted the British to remove their capital to Delhi. Following the shift of the capital, the history of Old Calcutta itself shifts to bring into focus the contemporary public and personal aspects of colonial life. We now encounter what might be termed ‘the colonial everyday’ in elite English clubs, hospitals, office spaces and theatres, but also in the bungalows, kitchens and intimate details of individual lives. As previously argued, handbooks are first and foremost regulating devices, smoothing out all manner of differences and aberrations. As I will go on to show in this chapter, this mode of regulation is extended in early twentieth-century Calcutta handbooks to the everyday habits which create an intricate pattern of familiar social rituals that locate the body in predictable (and therefore safe) encounters with the ‘other’ spaces of empire.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ The quotation is derived from Fiona Candlin’s ‘The Politics of Work Restoration and Imperialism at the Victoria Memorial Hall’, *Third Text*, 17. 1 (2003), 29–41 (p.30). The foundation stone for the Victoria Memorial was laid by King George V (then Prince of Wales) in 1906, and the Memorial was officially opened by his son the Prince of Wales in 1921.

³⁴⁵ These safe spaces are not exclusive of native bodies, which are usually identified as ‘other’. See, for example, ‘Macaulay’s Minutes’, (1835)
< http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mea/ac/pritchett/oogenerallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html > [accessed 13 May 2016], which advocated English education for the natives, if only for a section of people given the vast size of the Indian population and the government’s limited means. As Macaulay states, ‘We must at present do our best to form 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’. This policy would go on to engender a class of people later identified as ‘mimic men’ in a novel of that title by V.S. Naipaul (1967), and further

As argued in Chapter One, the generalizing tendency of a standard handbook narrative tends to relieve European readers from the anxiety of alienation in a foreign country by re-establishing the familiar codes of racial and class distinction that operate 'back home'. This, however, also has the effect of relegating natives and Eurasians to the margins of historical understanding (See Fig.2.1 below for a note on racial terminology).³⁴⁶ In the Calcutta handbooks, the Indian body generally registers as an absent presence. Indians are usually classed under just a few headings in these handbooks, drastically underestimating the fact that interracial interaction underpinned the lived experience of reality for European and Indian residents of Calcutta alike.³⁴⁷ The device of 'contact zones',³⁴⁸ which was used in the previous chapter to interrogate the materiality of Raj nostalgia, segues here into a study of the bodies of colonizers and colonized that has profound implications for regimes of colonial governmentality.³⁴⁹ More specifically, the chapter draws attention to the corporeality of bodies as manifested in everyday activities like eating, dressing and conversing, but also in the 'aberrant' (e.g. diseased) body as a determining factor in creating and/or consolidating social and racial divides.

By examining the underlying cultural and, by implication, political impulses that led to the white body being conceived of as a determinant of

developed by Homi Bhabha in his essay 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp 152-60.

³⁴⁶ The term 'Eurasian' denotes 'people of mixed descent with European blood (not just British, but sometimes Dutch, French, Portuguese, or other) in the paternal line. Not least because of its historical association with "miscegenation" in the era of scientific racism, the term has long been perceived as derogatory'. Quoted in Satoshi Mizutani, *The Meaning of White: Race, Class and the 'Domiciled Community in British India, 1858-1930* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), p.10.

³⁴⁷ Demographic records of the number of Europeans and Indian communities domiciled in Calcutta as provided in the appendix of A.K. Ray's book state that there were 386,502 Hindus, 152,200 Muslims (Mussalmans) and 30,254 Christians, of which 9567 were Europeans and the rest were Eurasians, Armenians and native Christians. A.K. Ray, 'A Short History of Calcutta - Town and Suburbs', *Census of India*, 7. 1 (1901) (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902; repr. Calcutta: Riddhi-India, 1982)

³⁴⁸ See Mary Louise Pratt, 'Introduction: Criticism in the Contact Zone', in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp 1-10.

³⁴⁹ Foucault describes 'governmentality' as 'how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor—all these problems'. See Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', (1991).

socio-cultural privilege, I aim to build on the strategic device of nostalgic myth-making and its political implications. The exclusivity of the British persona is understood here as a product of the representational techniques and social practices that embody race- and class-based hierarchies. I argue that the nexus of educational institutions, cultural engagements and religious milieu of the city--the three organizing categories that form the broad focus of Calcutta handbook narratives post 1911--defines the exclusivity of the British persona in relation to specific negative characterizations of the city's native inhabitants such as the 'effeminate Babu', the 'mercantile marwaris', and the emaciated opium addicts of the Chinese quarter.³⁵⁰ Such vigilant social construction can be understood as having a dual aspect. First, the accepted image of the British ruler is dependent on a series of interlinked race- and class-based discourses that are perpetuated through social norms and popular representational techniques. The second aspect derives from the first in that it incorporates the physical body of the British into the socio-cultural fabric of public and private space in the city: that is, it brings the culturally constructed notion of the British ruler into direct physical contact with the materiality of colonial city space. This opens up an intermediate zone of counter-discursive, often subversive examples of the failure of the colonial administration to cope with the material realities of colonial settlement. Calcutta projects a difficult and shifty picture of this unease, managed through peripheral literature like the handbooks.

India was not looked upon as a settler colony, and Calcutta, its capital city for the greater part of the Raj, was even more of a residence-in-transit because of the habitual removal of the entire imperial administrative body to Darjeeling or Shimla during the long summer months.³⁵¹ As Satoshi Mizutani

³⁵⁰ Most of these typecasts appear in the sections referring to the native population and their composition. See, for example, the section entitled 'Religion, Races and Types' in Newman's *Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (pp. 147-159) They also appear regularly in urban fiction by the likes of R.J. Minney and Rudyard Kipling.

³⁵¹ See P.J. Marshall, 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?' *The International History Review*, 12. 1 (1990), 26-44 < <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40106131> > [accessed 12 June 2018]. Marshall discusses the East India Company's policies and general nature of trade in India that prevented a significant number of British people from migrating

argues, the tag of 'domiciled' was a slur on the privilege guaranteed by white skin, parentage and education as it shifted the white person or family into the same category as mixed-race Eurasians and native Christians (cf. the appendix to A. K. Ray's book, which provided census details for the year 1901).³⁵² The poor whites, who comprised sailors who had abandoned ships and soldiers who had deserted the army but were of European descent, acted as an even greater anomaly within the already conflicted category of racial purity.³⁵³ Harold Fischer Tiné describes them as the 'low and licentious Europeans', and they crop up in several fictional, autobiographical and recreational literary works of the period. The Calcutta handbooks as a sub-genre, aligned as they were with state measures to 'invisibilize' such aberrant subjects, tended to ignore their presence in the everyday life of the city they sought to document. However, these communities also cast long shadows on the opulent images of social and cultural life that the dominant narrative constructs.

As should be clear by now, the Calcutta handbook narrative is complicit with prevailing attitudes towards such characters, but ironically their presence is emphasized through obvious omissions and informal advice given to potential travellers to the city to avoid such people and places they inhabit. In most of the handbooks, educational institutions and institutions of social welfare are listed, but their relevance is not contextualized through references to their clientele and its attendant social significance. In what follows, I tease out some of the most important links between the representation of such institutions in the category of handbook information and colonial governmentality. I use the term *metropolitan modern* to refer to this framing of social, educational and related missionary institutions as instruments of colonial governmentality that constitute modernity in the

to Calcutta. Also see R. J. Horvath, 'A Definition of Colonialism', *Current Anthropology*, 13. 1 (1972), 45-57.

³⁵² Satoshi Mizutani, *The Meaning of White: Race, Class, and the 'Domiciled Community' in British India 1858-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1-14.

³⁵³ For a critical study on fringe subjects in colonial South Asia see, Harald Fischer-Tiné, *'Low and Licentious Europeans': Race, Class and White Subalternity in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009). Also see Mizutani.

urban context (see also Introduction).³⁵⁴ Drawing on Partha Chatterjee's concept of the 'colonial modern' to define new socio-political institutions against the emergent urbanity of Calcutta in the early twentieth century, along with Deana Heath's study of the contradictions that characterized the particular forms of colonial governmentality that operated in Calcutta during the late colonial period, I propose to look at specific handbook narratives as symptomatic of the tensions and paradoxes caused by the gradually changing rationale of colonial rule.³⁵⁵ The 'metropolitan modern' therefore refers to the social and cultural technologies that reinterpret and accommodate older forms of life and living within the context of colonial rule. As discussed in the previous chapter, incremental changes in colonial administrative and political ideology post 1858 took on a more intense character after the 1905 political crisis of divided Bengal, culminating in the shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911. Thus, the first section of this chapter seeks to read the regulation of the British body in some of the major public spaces of the city in order to better understand the discourses of miscegenation, hygiene, corruption and resistance that are embedded in the handbook narratives of the time.

The second section of the chapter will then take a closer look at some of the classic handbook texts and their articulation of the British body, which unsurprisingly tends to underscore racial privilege in relation to the other bodies that exist around it. I also want to take into account the threat of epidemics, and of various administrative measures taken to prevent their spread, in order to chart some of the ways in which ideas of corruption and

³⁵⁴ A similar trend can be located in the handbooks published by John Murray for travellers to London. *Murray's Handbook for Modern London; or, London as it is* (London: John Murray, 1851) had a similar structure and concentrated on the urban features that had developed in the city over the preceding years. The writer of Murray's book recommends his earlier book *Handbook for London, Past and Present* (London: John Murray, 1850) for a 'more detailed and historical account of antiquarian London'. These handbooks were then succeeded by James Thorne's *Handbook to The environs of London* (London: John Murray, 1876), which enlists the evolution of particular streets and localities in London in alphabetical order and concentrates on situating important inhabitants of particular localities within the overarching context of the history and politics of Britain.

³⁵⁵ Published lecture by Partha Chatterjee, 'Our Modernity' (Rotterdam: South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development (SEPHIS) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), 1997) <<http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/partha1.pdf>> [accessed 10 May 2017].

pollution, associated in this case with disease, were incorporated into the dominant racial discourses that informed the contemporaneous domestic governance of the British household and its often fearful attitude towards personal space.³⁵⁶ In so doing, I will draw on the work of Alison Blunt, Mary A. Procida and Elizabeth Buettner (among others) to establish links between the politics of space associated with the regulation of the personal/private *body* and its implications for the control and regulation of public spaces in the *city*, leading this way into the next chapter, which deals with the administrative regulation through urban planning measures of city space. The interweaving of the body and the city through a critical reading of domestic intimacy and the discourses and practices of hygiene, manifested more particularly through a threat of corruption—both of the body as disease and the soul as moral and psychological degeneration—is what I will be calling the *domestic exotic*. This section of the chapter continues to question the categorical demarcations between public and private spaces of the city, drawing on the handbooks' own methods of constructing categories and the distinctive concepts of the 'private' and 'public' in British and Indian cultures. It also emphasizes the triangular communication between the structures of metropolitan modernity operating in public space, the practices of the domestic exotic in the everyday lived reality of colonial Calcutta, and the discursive construction of hygiene as a civilizational discourse informing the day-to-day operations of colonial governmentality.

I will be using J.H. Stocqueler's *The Handbook of India, a Guide to the Resident* (1844) and *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book: or, Stranger's Self-Interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India* (1850) to set the context in which the particular commentary on mixed-

³⁵⁶ An important contribution towards studying the cultural turn is David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body, State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). See also Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

race communities and educational institutions developed.³⁵⁷ This specific handbook consists of a book-length section on Calcutta and serves as a prototype of the handbooks published specifically on Calcutta during the latter part of the nineteenth century. As previously argued, the handbooks of the early 1900s were historiographically oriented narratives, strongly influenced by Curzon-era politics, which sought to create a sustained narrative of the Raj that naturalized British history in terms of the organic continuity of pre-colonial India. As will be seen, Newell's *Calcutta the First Capital of British India* (1920) harks back to the older narrative content and layout of H.E.A Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New* (1907), but it still marks a point of departure from the earlier tradition. It also lends itself to a useful comparison with W. Newman & Co.'s *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta*, published slightly later in 1927. The *Visitor's Guide* updates the information of earlier handbooks published by Newman & Co. under the generic title *Handbook of Calcutta* (1875, 1882 & 1892), but significantly changes their character in terms of presentation and narrative content. Moving further ahead into the 1930s, Glen Hicken's *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (1931) and G.W. Tyson's *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (1932), as their respective titles suggest, endeavour to create a different sensibility and understanding of the city and its significance in the popular psyche. These handbooks are particularly worth studying since they emerged at a time of great volatility, as the independence movement was gathering force across the subcontinent. Still closer to independence, John Barry's *Calcutta 1940* and the later 1957 edition encompassed greater Calcutta as it expanded towards the south, with a burgeoning middle-class native population now inhabiting streets named after local personalities and occupations. Barry's text also shows a significant evolution of the Calcutta handbook sub-genre from a hybrid narrative that shares features with advice manuals and articulates a particular race- and class-inflected discourse of difference, to a form that is more like a regular

³⁵⁷ J.H. Stocqueler, *The Handbook of India, A Guide to the Stranger and the Traveller and a Companion to the Resident* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1844) and *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book: or, Stranger's Self-Interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India* (Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co.; London: Smith Elder & Co., 1850).

guidebook. As I will go on to demonstrate, *Calcutta 1940* reads like a particularly well researched guidebook that embeds the city of the 1940s in its imperial past (as earlier handbooks were wont to do), but also expands it to include recent technological and financial developments. In general, this chapter tries to establish a link between the early form of the Calcutta handbook (in the nineteenth century) and its subsequent development (in the twentieth) by concentrating on the location and representation of the body as constitutive of racial and social divides.

Term	Definition	Texts
Eurasian	Denotes people of mixed descent ‘With European blood (not just British, but sometimes Dutch, French, Portuguese, or other) in the paternal line. Not least because of its historical association with ‘miscegenation’ in an era of scientific racism, the term has long been perceived as derogatory.’ (Mizutani, p.10)	<i>Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book or Stranger’s Self-Interpreter and Guide</i> , (1850) <i>T. Black & Co’s Hand Book of Calcutta</i> (1864) Edmund Mitchell, in <i>Thacker’s Guide book to Calcutta</i> (1890) <i>Newman’s Hand Book to Calcutta</i> (1875, 1882) H. E. A Cotton’s <i>Calcutta Old and New</i> (1907) <i>Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta</i> (1906)
Anglo-Indian	‘It is because of the opprobrium associated with the term this nomenclature was officially replaced in 1911 by Anglo-Indian, which had hitherto been used to denote the British living in India.’ (Mizutani, p.10)	H. A. Newell, <i>Calcutta, the First Capital of British India</i> (Calcutta: Caledonian Printing Company, 1920) W. Newman & Co., <i>The Visitor’s Guide to Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927); Glen Hicken, <i>Mid Pleasures and Palaces: An Indispensable Pocket Guide to Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931); G. W. Tyson, <i>Calcutta: The City of Palaces</i> (Calcutta: Times of India

		Press, 1932) John Barry, <i>Calcutta 1940</i> (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940)
Domiciled Europeans	'White Europeans of unmixed descent who became permanent residents of India. A certain portion of Domiciled Europeans were of non-British extraction, including Dutch, French, and Portuguese. Domiciled Europeans included English-speaking whites of British origin who had been categorized as such not just because of their being 'European' but because of their being 'Domiciled' which had immense ideological implications for the class system of British society.' (Mizutani, p.10)	

Fig. 2.1. Table denoting official use racial terms and the corresponding handbooks that use these particular terminologies.

Empire and the body

The significance of the body in empire studies has been explored by, among several others, Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton in their wide-ranging collection of essays, which 'underscore[s] the centrality of body in the articulation of imperial ideologies and in the often fraught dynamics of cross-cultural contact'.³⁵⁸ The essays draw attention to the various ways in which

³⁵⁸ Ballantyne and Burton, p.5. A wide variety of work exists on the effects of colonialism on the body, where 'body' is interpreted as the body politic of the nation as well the corporeal body and the disabled body. Some works that align with my own include David Arnold, *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, ed. by David Arnold (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996);

nineteenth century empires began to 'reconfigure understandings of the body at a global level'.³⁵⁹ They posit that, supported by the growing authority of languages of race and gender, imperial systems effectively 'globalized' and 'universalized' their legal regimes, religious beliefs, and cultural as well as biological understandings of sickness and death.³⁶⁰ Ballantyne and Burton explore the primacy of the body as a means to reorient fundamental conceptions of the nature and workings of empire.³⁶¹ By focusing on the body, they also make visible the everyday contexts in which the body functioned.³⁶² Extrapolating from their analysis, I want to suggest that the Calcutta handbooks were a product of such universalized and generalized understandings of race and class. In their different ways, they attempted to configure colonizers' bodies as distinct from (and superior to) those of the colonized. This distinction was to be maintained through careful management and representation, especially in colonial situations where white male bodies were exposed to crisis in social, physical and psychological terms.³⁶³ Over time, the Calcutta handbooks would provide a safety valve for such unequal encounters. The racial and class privilege of the European section of Calcutta society, which was the main target readership of handbooks, was maintained

Pratik Chakrabarti, *Medicine and Empire, 1600-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014); *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Michael Sappol and Stephen P. Rice (Oxford: Berg, 2010); Alexander Butchart, *The Anatomy of Power: European Constructions of the African Body* (London: Zed Books, 1998); and Nandini Bhattacharya, *Reading the Splendid Body. Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-century British Writing on India* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998)

³⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.5.

³⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.5.

³⁶¹ 'Body' in this discussion emerges as a metaphor of the national body with its associations of racial purity; it is also encountered as the gendered (female) body that recurs as a source of concern and has to be managed for social order and political stability.

³⁶² The study focuses on the material effects of geopolitical systems on the body in everyday spaces, family life, and on-the-ground cultural encounters. 'The attention to bodies means that the plantation, the theatre, the home, the street, the school, the club and the marketplace are now visible as spaces where people can be seen to have experienced modes of imperial and colonial power'. Ballantyne and Burton, p.6.

³⁶³ Ballantyne phrases this as 'making them vulnerable to disease, insanity and hybridization' (p.7).

by creating an intricate web of references that organized objects, places, people and other necessities into an easily accessible narrative form.³⁶⁴

The body, in what follows, is interrogated as a metaphor of colonial rationality based on the concept of racial superiority, necessarily making it a site of struggle and contestation. It can thus be said to enshrine the ambiguity that permeated life in the colonial metropole during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁶⁵ During this time, the Calcutta handbooks tasked themselves with representing the social and political topography of the city based on racial and class assumptions that were central to preserving the hierarchy of the colonial body politic. This policing of the racial boundary between colonizer and colonized was brought into effect by significant changes in colonial political ideology, changes which were driven in turn by the Social Darwinist notion of white racial supremacy, the baleful influence of which was particularly noticeable in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³⁶⁶ The decadent Nabobs of the eighteenth century, who had indulged in native forms of cultural excess and shows of extravagance, were now held up to scorn, and evangelical pursuits for the socio-political and moral governance of empire's subjects by 'enlightened civilization' propagandists were favoured.³⁶⁷ This new, moralistic stance necessitated a keen awareness of the bodily integrity of the colonizers, which supplemented the power structures that validated both racial supremacy and civilizational rule. Ballantyne and Burton discuss the complex nature of anxieties that plagued

³⁶⁴ The image of the web is significant because it emphasizes the double nature of the imperial system. For a detailed explanation of how this image works within the imperial system of domination, which adapts to change in a series of economic and political shifts, see Ballantyne and Burton, (p. 3).

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p.15.

³⁶⁶ See Satoshi Mizutani, *The Meaning of White Race*, p.1; also David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: John Murray, 2005). For a discussion of the nineteenth-century shift in medical sciences towards a scientific understanding of race and how that changed health policies, see David Arnold, *The Colonized Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

³⁶⁷ See Stephen Legg, 'Stimulation, Segregation and Scandal: Geographies of Prostitution Regulation in British India, between Registration (1888) and Suppression (1923)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 46. 6 (2012), 1459-1505; also David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj*. This was a slow and conflicted change since after the revolt of 1857 interference in native cultural and religious practices was discouraged.

the preservation of such boundaries in the heterogeneous domain characteristic of contact zones:

Anxieties over gender and racial boundaries at the edge of empires [...] underscore colonial modernity's persistent equation of the bodily integrity of colonists and the integrity of the colonial body politic in the face of contact with both colonized indigenous populations and mobile non-European people.³⁶⁸

This bodily integrity was bound up in perceptions of whiteness.³⁶⁹ The role of whiteness in the imperial socio-cultural formation was founded on the exclusivity of the British body. Collingham (2001) discusses the development of the Anglo-Indian body as an ongoing 'dialogue with difference'. As she states, 'Confronted by their physical transformation in India, as well as the manifestly different bodies the Indian climate and culture shaped, the Anglo-Indians engaged in a process of defining what made a body British'.³⁷⁰ Collingham's work traces a distinct change from the relatively 'fluid bodily norms of early Company servants', which enshrined competing sets of beliefs and attitudes in the composite figure of the 'nabob', to a closure and distancing of the British body from India, embodied in the equally generic figure of the 'sahib'. As Collingham argues, 'the Anglo-Indian body lay at the centre of a process of what might be termed "state formation"'.³⁷¹ She uses the term 'Anglicization' to denote the process that results from a dialogue between 'the state, the economy and the body' in response to the political shift towards utilitarianism, changing ideas about disease and health, evangelism, and the increasing commercialization of Anglo-Indian society.

³⁶⁸ Ballantyne and Burton, p. 418.

³⁶⁹ Apart from Mizutani, see Mike Hill, "'Souls Undressed": The Rise and Fall of the New Whiteness Studies', *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies*, 20. 3 (1998), 229-239 and *Whiteness: A Critical Reader* (New York: NYU Press, 1997); David S. Owen, 'Towards a Critical Theory of Whiteness', *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 33.2 (2007), 203-222; Eric Arnesen, 'Assessing Whiteness Scholarship: A Response to James Barrett, David Brody, Barbara Fields, Eric Foner, Victoria Hattam, and Adolph Reed', *International Labour and Working Class History*, 60 (2001), 81-92.

³⁷⁰ E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 6.

³⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.7.

As nineteenth-century racial theory gained ground, the social construction of the British body became more and more informed by the ideology of prestige associated with Britishness. The standardization of manners, clothes, food and social habits put into practice a strict moral code that defined the racial boundaries of the British body through the exclusion and denigration of everything Indian. Collingham references Nöbert Elias's concept of the 'affective wall', which distances the body from others and from itself through the subtle regimentation of self-representation.³⁷² In Collingham's words:

As the century progressed, the body was re-conceived as a category of discourse. Increasingly, it was envisaged as an entity in itself, sealed off from the environment. This process of sealing off the body promoted the bodily distance of the 'British' from the 'Indian' community, forming a closed racial boundary which reinforced the process of anglicization.³⁷³

This 'closure' of the body, however, was an impractical approach and the loose 'vectors of a protective racial barrier' had to be reconceptualized according to a constantly shifting set of criteria that revealed whiteness to be a fundamentally unstable category. Buettner, for example, argues for an alternative means of negotiating the flux that was inherent in the concept of whiteness by focusing on a circular pattern of mobility from the metropole to the colony that came to characterize the life of elite British officials as the century wore on. As she suggests, 'India was not among the parts of Britain's empire meant for permanent white settlement [and] those maintaining a presence there over several generations did so without formally emigrating.'³⁷⁴ This created specific categories of whiteness based on intersecting racial, class and geographical coordinates made accessible through the expanding circuits of mobility being built across the British Empire.

³⁷² Collingham, p. 64.

³⁷³ *ibid.*, p.79.

³⁷⁴ Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 2.

During this time, the ‘real’ Europeans were able to pay for trips that allowed them to maintain contact with Britain.³⁷⁵ This separated them from not only the Indians, native Christians and Eurasians, but also from the Domiciled Europeans who were unable to participate in these ongoing cycles of migration. Both Collingham and Buettner highlight the role of class in the social construction of racial boundaries. However, unlike Collingham who limits her study to ‘members of civil service’ as the ‘core community of investigation’, Buettner extends her analysis to include the poor whites who, along with the Eurasians, formed the ‘interstitial group’ between the Europeans and the Indians.³⁷⁶ This disenfranchised section of the population faced increasing contempt from the colonial authorities after the 1857 revolt as they, in Buettner’s words, ‘fell outside the bounds of bourgeois respectability but also violated the growing desire for racial exclusivity’.³⁷⁷ The existence of the poor whites or domiciled community made visible the blurred distinction between those Europeans who had become domiciled in India due to their lack of means to fund education and upbringing in Britain, and those of interracial origin (Eurasians, later referred to as Anglo-Indians in official discourse).³⁷⁸ Further complicated attempts at categorization included descendants of continental Europeans like the Portuguese, Dutch, Greeks and French or Armenians who had travelled to India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then stayed on.

³⁷⁵ For more insight into the critical role of mobility that defined exile and whiteness in the context of India’s British residents, see Buettner: ‘They became defined by long-term patterns of work and residence overseas that alternated with time spent in Britain for schooling, on periodic furloughs, and ultimately in retirement’. *Empire Families*, p. 2.

³⁷⁶ Elizabeth Buettner, ‘Problematic Spaces, Problematic Races: Defining “Europeans” in late colonial India’, *Women’s History Review*, 9 (2000), pp. 277-98 (p.280).

³⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.279.

³⁷⁸ The Census of India, 1911 referred to Eurasians as ‘Anglo-Indians’ in official discourse. Buettner quotes Dr. Graham, who was in charge of the St Andrews Colonial Home at Kalimpong that was established for the education of mixed-race children away from the influences of the native way of life: ‘It [the substitution of the term Eurasian with Anglo-Indian] meant robbing the Britishers, who had served in India, of a title of which they were proud and for which no satisfactory successor seems to have been discovered’. (Buettner, footnote 24, p.12) The shift in general allowed the mixed-race community’s campaign to be identified with an emphasis on their European ancestry and culture rather than on their Indian background.

This quasi-paranoid concern to detect 'genuine' Europeaness and maintain it manifested itself in the status and role of institutions dedicated to self-fashioning. Schools became an important determinant of racial categories, and consequently of the subsequent careers of their pupils. Educational institutions facilitated what would be described today as the racial profiling of their students, but they also posed a challenge to the preservation of 'pure' whiteness by bringing students from various such categories into close bodily proximity. The institutional regulation of whiteness needed to be bolstered by an essentialist biological approach to race that interpreted specific physiological attributes such as fingernail pigmentation, accent and skin colour as essential markers of interracial descent.³⁷⁹ The social and biological approach to mixed racial groups that maintained a more immediate connection to the imperial metropole of London directly affected the career opportunities available to this 'othered' section of the population. As Buettner states, 'The domiciled European and Anglo-Indian populations had long been allotted a large quota of the positions available in certain subordinate branches of state employment, particularly those connected with the transport, communications, and engineering sectors'.³⁸⁰

A good deal of critical attention has been directed towards understanding whiteness as a socio-political category in relation to forms of interracial 'othering' practised on the basis of economic differences. Satoshi Mizutani, for example, builds on the work of Buettner and Fischer Tiné to study the political challenges that the whites of a lower social order posed for the colonial ruling classes. Mizutani extends Fischer Tiné's study of the colonial representations of 'white subaltern groups' such as prostitutes, criminals and sailors as 'licentious', 'diseased' and ultimately 'degenerate' in order to study the disciplinarian impulse of colonial authorities towards the domiciled community. Fischer Tiné had previously argued that the negative representation of the poor whites derived from calculated institutional

³⁷⁹ Buettner, 'Problematic Spaces', p.284.

³⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.285.

measures such as policing, imprisonment and deportation in order to counter the increasing 'visible pauperism' of this section of the population as it adversely affected the bourgeois prestige associated with the racial superiority of the ruling class.³⁸¹ Buettner, for her part, locates the reproduction of British racial prestige in the 'quotidian lives of the Britons—how, where and with whom they lived, as well as how and where they reared their children'.³⁸² Mizutani conflates the two to study the social construction of Domiciled Europeans located at the intersection of race, economy and governmental reform. Taking my cue from this research on the discursive formation of whiteness, and the implied self-fashioning it involved, I want to focus now on the various, sometimes unconventional glimpses into the quotidian lives of Britons that the Calcutta handbooks supplied. My next section will concentrate, accordingly, on the narrative construction of racial categories from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century that were used to elucidate and strengthen bourgeois British prestige through a process of differentiation and exclusivity. The analysis then shifts to the interplay of colonial rationalization, technologies of representation and practices of government in the educational, religious and cultural institutions of Calcutta as these were played out in the handbooks during this period to understand whiteness as a function of colonial governmentality.

The role of educational institutions

As argued in Chapter One, Calcutta's city space embodied the multiple racial categories that inhabited it, and geographical space in turn re-enacted the porous boundaries of these racial categories. Pradip Sinha sees the development of the urban settlement of Calcutta in the nineteenth century as an organic response to the social and racial categories that framed its

³⁸¹ See the 'Introduction', in Harald Fisher Tiné, *'Low and Licentious Europeans': Race, Class and White Subalternity in Colonial India* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2009), pp. 1-18.

³⁸² Mizutani, p.11.

population: 'As the urban area began to grow and spread, the component units tended to coalesce and interpenetrate, retaining at the same time elements of segregation or developing new ones'.³⁸³ The 'grey town' or 'intermediate zone', as Sinha terms it (see Introduction), was inhabited by the 'Portuguese, Greeks and Armenians of the pre-colonial period—which was considered a ritually impure zone by the dominant social groups of the black town'.³⁸⁴ Ideas of corruption and pollution associated with miscegenation had existed in native social and religious customs from the early days of empire.³⁸⁵ With the decline in British respect for Indian customs, and the resultant contempt for native ideas of purity and pollution, racial segregation intensified in the latter half of the nineteenth century, contributing to a toxic atmosphere of distrust. The 'grey town' and its perceived threat to the stable categories of racial (and hence political and social) segregation was evident in both the place names used by native residents for these localities and the anxiety expressed in categorizing the white population in British census reports.³⁸⁶

Such social unevenness and its accompanying social anxieties can be seen in the handbooks' often clumsy attempts to designate cultural and moral attributes to entire population categories. Stocqueler's *Handbook of India* (1844), for instance, seeks to classify the Portuguese as a section of the population deplored by the British and considered depraved and wicked by the native population:

Nothing can be more dirty and despicable than the Portuguese of the lower order, nothing more absurd and comical than the affected beau of the upper. That he is weak and degenerate is certain [...] he is troublesome when holding positions of authority, and offensive in his self-importance when invested with power. The Portuguese, however offensive he becomes when a ruler, weak as he is as a diplomatist,

³⁸³ Sinha, p.7.

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.8.

³⁸⁵ Collingham, p.55.

³⁸⁶ The contempt of miscegenation had existed in the native population since the early days and was related to caste and religion-based concepts of 'purity' and 'corruption'.

ridiculous as a beau, ignorant as a priest, and useless generally as a member of the native community of India, is yet admirable as a cook.³⁸⁷

Stocqueler is particularly critical of the Portuguese and this dismissal draws upon the early experiences of British traders in India where the Portuguese controlled much of the intercontinental trade and opposed British interference in the subcontinent. Part of the socio-political agenda of such criticism was therefore to exclude the Portuguese from the elevated status of the Europeans by portraying them as incompetent and degenerate. A similar withering assessment is made of the Eurasians,

a term invented by the late Marquis of Hastings, but which does not fully express the whole race of half-castes, some of which are of American extraction (though it is now conventionally accepted as embracing all the progeny of white fathers and Hindoo or Mahometan mothers), are as much between the Europeans and the natives in their habits and pursuits as in their genealogy, and interfere but little with either in the pursuit of sustenance. [...] they are devoid of both mental and personal energy, and are unlikely, therefore, to ever make a political class in the state of any weight or importance.³⁸⁸

There is a distinct essentialist bias in reading Eurasians as limited by their instinctive propensities. Stocqueler consequently attributes the lack of prominent Eurasians of repute in the fields of industry and academia to their 'constitutional temperament' and 'quiet unambitious turn of mind', which 'by nature's own decree [is] a bar to the endeavour'.³⁸⁹ Stocqueler does concede that there might be exceptions to the general rule, but still maintains that the Eurasians have not been able to utilise the 'educational advantages and other

³⁸⁷ J.H. Stocqueler, *The Handbook of India*, p. 45.

³⁸⁸ I am using the term 'Eurasian' for purely practical reasons and specifically in reference to Stocqueler's narrative as this was published before the term was officially replaced by 'Anglo-Indian'. It should not be taken as endorsing the derogatory connotations acquired under British rule.

³⁸⁹ Stocqueler, p. 46-7.

facilities of acquiring local superiority'.³⁹⁰ He argues instead that they limit themselves to modest employment options such as 'clerkships in public offices', effectively denying the official restrictions imposed on their social mobility in order to protect the class-based structure of racial superiority in India. Stocqueler bases his description of the Eurasian character squarely on the biological specificities of this particular racial group, going on to provide a lengthy footnote which explicitly refutes the claims that reform in the employment opportunities available to the Eurasians might allow them to prosper, both in numbers and in social status, as a group:

We may be reminded of their [Eurasians] having petitioned parliament to open to them new paths of distinction; but what *were* those paths? Why, the easy and sure ones (for livelihood) of the Company's regular service, which incur no speculative risk, and render *necessary* no greater average of daily labour than they had always performed, and still do perform. The army is in general an indolent life for all who choose to be indolent; but how came it that the Eurasians, *if* a naturally energetic and vigorous-minded race, did not enter the more arduous lines of life, which were always open to them in their several grades? The reason is obvious; and it is no refutation of our argument to shew that they made an effort to be rendered eligible for the Company's service, when they have never as a body been found to be active mechanics, industrious agriculturists, enterprising seamen, or daring politicians. ³⁹¹

The demographic composition and size of the Eurasian community are also called into question, and a significant cultural shift in attitudes towards interracial marriage is highlighted. Stocqueler attributes the marginal rise in the number of Eurasians to the waning of their 'original source', referring to their mixed-race ancestry, which he caustically defines as a result of 'the illicit connections between Europeans and native females, a sort of connection that

³⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁹¹ The term Eurasian in first brackets in the first sentence is my insertion. Italics as in text. p.47.

is happily falling into desuetude'. He reassures his readers that the 'system [will] disappear before the march of matrimony (and it has already almost done so), and then they will be left entirely to their own intermarriages, which, by the course of nature, will not sustain a mixed race in a healthy and vigorous state, but will assuredly produce degeneracy, and eventual decay'.³⁹² The encouragement provided to company officials to marry and the advent of missionary institutions enshrined the family as a moral and political unit in the European way of life on the subcontinent.³⁹³ Allowances for exceptions are made, but in a seemingly solicitous turn of phrase Stocqueler insists that '*if ever* the exceptions to a rule have been in force in establishing the rule itself, they are so pre-eminently in the question now before us'.³⁹⁴

Stocqueler's handbook can be read as symptomatic of a gradual change of attitude as the nineteenth century wore on towards constructing race as a scientific category that was fixed and impermeable. Mark Harrison provides a more detailed history of the changing relation of climates and constitutions in colonial India, tracing how 'race' as a scientific category developed in relation to the territorial expansion of British rule and its changing economic and political rationales. As Harrison argues, nineteenth-century racial thought was a clear break from what came before it, focusing as it did on 'biological reductionism and the emphasis on heredity over environmental factors'.³⁹⁵ He duly defines race as it manifested itself in nineteenth-century popular and official perception as a category that sharpened the distinctions between the rulers and the ruled; as a distinction that sought to validate the superiority of the ruling class on scientific and medical grounds as permanent; and as 'a view of human difference which saw the most important distinctions between people as being inherent and unchanging'.³⁹⁶ The term 'race', as used in the

³⁹² Stocqueler, p.49. Mizutani engages in a lengthy discussion about the measures taken by the government to counter the visible poverty of the Eurasians. These included housing reform, a tighter regulation of charitable relief, collective discipline and the more radical measure of collective migration and resettlement. (pp. 137-80).

³⁹³ I analyse this in further detail in the following sections.

³⁹⁴ Stocqueler, p.46. *Italics authors.*

³⁹⁵ Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p.14.

³⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.17.

nineteenth century, 'often referred to a combination of biological and cultural traits, but it was generally rooted in a supposed biological essence, which determined all other characteristics'.³⁹⁷ This tied in with the ascendance of eugenics studies in Britain, which culminated in the establishment of the British Eugenics Educational Society in 1907. The forms of racial categorization that operated in the handbook narrative were a regional geographic (re)articulation of race that could be mapped within the urban space of Calcutta. In this sense the handbooks offered a blueprint for race theory as it developed in the colonial heartland.

The description of Eurasians in Stocqueler's narrative highlights the discomfort of the government in accommodating a section of the population that symbolized the blurred contours of colonial self-fashioning. (Meanwhile, his harsh criticism of the Portuguese renders them as a community that has failed at its colonizing project and is essentially different from the British.) The section on population in Stocqueler's handbook begins by listing the various types, castes and religions of the people of Hindostan [*sic*], but it is an easy binary that is comfortably negotiated with statements like: 'There is not perhaps a people in the world who are so little distinguished by the virtues which adorn the human race as are the inhabitants of Hindostan'.³⁹⁸ Just as bluntly, when discussing the patriotic trait among Hindoos he states: 'Patriotism is not a principle with the Hindoo—and when was patriotism ever co-existent with foreign government?'³⁹⁹ However, it was in the twin contexts of people of mixed racial descent and other inhabitants of European descent that racial categories had to be most strictly enforced. As Mizutani argues, the racist drive to 'clarify social borders manifested itself through concrete and

³⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.12. A number of books exist on the political impact of scientific racism and the evolution of racial discourse. Some examples include Crispin Bates, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: The Early Origins of Indian Anthropometry', *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, 3 (1995), 219-59; Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980); Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and David Arnold's *Colonizing the Body* (op. cit). For British Eugenics Educational Society see < <http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/tree/5233e5175c2ec500000000e1>> [accessed 24 May 2018].

³⁹⁸ Stocqueler, p.37.

³⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.41.

social processes'.⁴⁰⁰ Buettner and Mizutani both speak about the complex politics that was constitutive of bourgeois social prestige at the time, associating this with people's ability to afford a formal education in Britain for children born in the colonies as opposed to sending them to colonial educational institutions. Infrastructural factors like the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made trips to London less time-consuming and more affordable. This, coupled with the socially imposed necessity to distinguish 'whiteness' in the face of white pauperism, meant that 'white bourgeois identity became [increasingly] predicated upon travels to, and formal education in Britain, especially for boys'.⁴⁰¹

Calcutta handbooks after Stocqueler would take great care to document differences in purpose, curriculum and educational standards of schools and colleges in Calcutta. The categorical distinctions that characterize their descriptions usually hinged on race and class in response to the strict boundaries that were being drawn at the time around white prestige and privilege. Those reformist educational institutions that sprang up to benefit the Indians were sensitive to the cultural differences of the local populace and were quick to redress any measure that might be interpreted as a critique of Indian religious dictums and social norms.⁴⁰² However, missionary or charity institutions dedicated to imparting education (including Christian indoctrination) to their pupils were often represented as being dedicated to pupils of mixed race. The term 'Europeans' in handbook narratives is usually qualified by mentioning the social background and destitute status of the students so as to make a clear distinction between them and the 'pure whites'. The standard handbook narrative, as it developed over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thus represented a complex nexus of

⁴⁰⁰ Mizutani, p.3.

⁴⁰¹ Buettner, *Empire Families*, p.9.

⁴⁰² See the section on 'Hindoo College' [*sic*] in Stocqueler for his representation of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio. Stocqueler does show the native population's problems with Derozio's insistence on his students adopting a western rationalist attitude to their traditions and religion, but neglects to mention his support of the Indian nationalist cause. He also mentions the government's heavy-handedness in changing the curriculum of the Calcutta 'Madrussa' [*sic*]. See pp. 271-74 and pp. 278-83.

government, religious and educational establishments tasked with both rectifying and containing what Mizutani has termed the 'visible pauperism' of the lower classes of Europeans and Eurasians. The detailed representation of such establishments in these handbooks highlights a curious silence around the education of the children of colonial officials: those who, in common parlance, were referred to as the 'heaven born'. Stocqueler's handbook sets a pattern in this regard, specifically in his book-length section on Calcutta (pp. 242-365), which comprises a significant portion of his six-hundred-page narrative.

A good example of the way in which evangelical concerns were woven into educational institutions can be gathered from Stocqueler's description of La Martinière in Calcutta. This was a school established in memory of Major General Claude Martine, who bequeathed a generous amount towards establishing an educational institution open to providing 'gratuitous board, education, &c., to a certain number of indigent children of both sexes'. However, the school also aimed to provide 'superior education to boys in more favoured circumstances, who may be admitted as boarders, day boarders, or day scholars, on the payment of a fixed monthly fee'.⁴⁰³ The 'foundation children' benefiting from the charity were selected from 'the Christian population of Calcutta, without respect to the religious denomination with which they were connected'.⁴⁰⁴ Though selected on the basis of 'indigent circumstances', care was taken to choose 'those who were above the *lowest* class of the population', as it was believed that children of the lower classes were 'amply provided for in the charitable institutions that already exist[ed]'. This was also intended 'to maintain social parity with the day boarders', since it was justifiably feared that 'boarders and other scholars would not so readily or so harmoniously associate with them'.⁴⁰⁵ The syllabus was different for boys and girls bearing their prospective careers in mind,

⁴⁰³ Stocqueler, p.301.

⁴⁰⁴ This possibly refers to the religion they subscribed to before they were christened.

⁴⁰⁵ Stocqueler, p.301. Italics in text.

usually trade for the boys and marriage for the girls.⁴⁰⁶ Stocqueler, however, predictably takes pains to mention that:

[t]he greatest care is taken to avoid every thing [sic] like an invidious distinction between them and the foundation children. They take their meals at the same table and share the same fare, and are taught in the same classes, when they have reached the same rate of progress and associate in their play-hours. The only difference between them is that they occupy separate dormitories!⁴⁰⁷

The school's most distinctive feature, Stocqueler points out, is the system of religious instruction that prevails in it. The school's overriding mission, he says, is to ascertain that the 'instruction given to the children of the school be in conformity with the principles held in common by the English, Scotch, Roman, Greek, and Armenian churches'. The 'controversy between said churches' is not to be touched upon. The school is thus tasked with devising 'a course of religious instruction and a form of prayer for family devotional services in conformity with these principles'.⁴⁰⁸ In this way, differences between the various Christian denominations—as practised in Britain—are to be subsumed into a set of teachings based on the general dictates of the Holy Bible, with the general curriculum being supplemented by 'private or supplementary religious instruction' closely related to 'discipline, church government [and] the sacraments'. Meanwhile, in matters of private faith, the parents and their particular preferences are to be credited, with Stocqueler's narrative prudently including the information that parents and guardians have a say in selecting ministers of different denominations who are

⁴⁰⁶ In reference to one such school, Gouldsmith's Free Day School, established by Rev. Gouldsmith in 1891 and catering to children of poor parents, Mizutani states that 'emphasis was placed on practical training, which was given to the senior children: to boys, typewriting and shorthand were taught, while to the girls domestic economy, cookery and needlework were taught' (p. 133).

⁴⁰⁷ Stocqueler, p.303.

⁴⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.305.

to instruct the children on ‘matters on which differences more or less important exist’.⁴⁰⁹

Most of the colleges in Calcutta in the mid nineteenth century, apart from the College of Fort William (eventually dissolved in 1854), which offered courses to civil servants in the Persian and Bengali (Bengalee) languages upon their arrival in Calcutta, were devoted to the education of Eurasian, Armenian and English children. The schools conducted by Indians for Indian children had English masters to assist them and received only Hindu (Hindoo) pupils. St. Xavier’s College and Lorretto House were ‘appropriated to the instruction of the Portuguese and Eurasian children of the Roman catholic persuasion though Protestants and others were also admitted’. Education in these two institutions was conducted by Jesuits and nuns ‘imported direct from the mother-country’.⁴¹⁰ Rev. W.K. Firminger in his later *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (1906), in listing the Calcutta schools and colleges that admit Indians, dedicates an entire paragraph to recommending the charitable work that the charity-run schools on Free School Street do to help the poorer sections of the Christian and European communities. As Firminger insists, ‘It may perhaps be pointed out that the Calcutta Free School is one of the most deserving of our Calcutta charities’, and he also credits the school for having ‘saved many a piece of human wreckage from drifting down the stream named “no purpose” to sure and certain misery’.⁴¹¹ By the time Firminger was working on his book, almost half a century after Stocqueler, a lot of research had been initiated into Calcutta’s past and its most significant personalities, and Firminger’s account of Bishop’s College and La Martinière duly concentrates on the personal history of their founders, avoiding commentary on the role these institutions played in strengthening social hierarchies by standardizing education for a particular section of the population. Notwithstanding, Firminger documents the initial distrust the East India government nursed against the missionaries. The government feared that the missionaries might

⁴⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.306.

⁴¹⁰ Stocqueler, p.318.

⁴¹¹ Firminger, p.70.

‘excite the fanaticism of the people by their indiscreet denunciations of the native faith’ and stoke the memory of bloodshed and violence perpetrated during the 1857 revolt.⁴¹² To substantiate the policy differences between the missionaries working in British Calcutta and their Baptist counterparts in the Danish settlement of Sreerampore, Firminger quotes at length from J. C. Marshman’s biography of the Baptist missionaries, enumerating their efforts at establishing a printing press and a college. Firminger quotes an entire section describing the conversion and christening ceremony of a native youth by a certain Mr. William Carey, which would have been interpreted as violating native religious sentiments in Calcutta.

Most subsequent handbooks took after Stocqueler, categorizing educational institutions according to the racial and social standing of their pupils. W. Newman’s handbooks, for example, which were published in 1875 and then revised and updated in 1882, 1892 and again in 1927 with a different title, each devote a section to educational institutions in the city.⁴¹³ Characteristic to the handbook pattern, the institutions featured were mostly engaged in imparting education to specific sections of the native population, such as the Hindu College, which later merged in 1855 into Presidency College, Hare School and the Sanskrit College, along with the Calcutta Madrissa [*sic*] for the inculcation of Arabic learning and Mahomeddan law. Most of the educational institutions established by missionaries and charities catered to the Christian population of the city. However, as previously mentioned, the Christian population mostly included native Christians, Eurasians or Europeans of the lower orders. Bishop’s College, for example, aimed to instruct ‘native and other youths in the doctrine and discipline of Christ’s Church, with a view to their becoming ‘Preachers, Catechists or School Masters’, while they were also to be employed in the spread of the missionary cause by translating the scriptures, liturgy, and other seminal religious works. Newman’s handbook also records though that in 1830 ‘the

⁴¹² *ibid.*, p.222.

⁴¹³ The references from Newman are drawn from the 1882 and 1927 editions where the section titled ‘Educational Institutions’ remains unchanged.

statues were modified so as to allow of the admission of lay and general students not intended for clerical or educational work'.⁴¹⁴ Bishop's College comprised a 'society for the propagation of the gospel' and two 'boarding schools for native Christian boys attached to the College' along with an industrial department attached to it, which consisted of a carpenter's shop and a printing press forming a comprehensive unit for the education and employment of native Christians in Calcutta.⁴¹⁵ Such establishments as the Doveton Parental Academic Institutions, which aimed to 'provide for the Christian youths of Calcutta the benefit of a good education at a cheaper cost', were well supported by generous grants from individual benefactors and government scholarships. Unsurprisingly, the educational staff comprised 'professors and masters from Great Britain'.⁴¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Free Church Institution, the Free Church Orphanage, the London Missionary Society's Institution and the Cathedral Mission College were all engaged in imparting western education with special provisions for vocational training in jobs related to teaching, engineering and lower-rank government jobs. The two institutions Newman lists as serving a more exclusive European clientele are the Military Orphan Institution and the European Female Orphan Asylum, established in 1815. In both cases, the pupils included children who had been rendered destitute. The Military Orphan Institution's main objective was to 'educate and settle in life destitute orphans of officers and soldiers in the Bengal establishment',⁴¹⁷ while the European Female Orphan Asylum dedicated its services to the 'protection and bringing up of Female Orphans of pure European parentage, giving them a sound and useful Christian education, and sending them out, at a fit age, as Nursery Governesses or domestic servants'.⁴¹⁸ Initially intended for the orphans of soldiers, the

⁴¹⁴ Newman, 1882, p.155.

⁴¹⁵ Newman, 1892, p. 258.

⁴¹⁶ Newman, 1882, p. 156. The 1892 edition adds the Cathedral orphanage which was open to all sections of the society; St. Joseph's School, a boarding school meant for the Catholics of Calcutta; and the Entally Orphanage for female Christian orphans and native female orphan converts.

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.173.

⁴¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 173.

orphanage was later opened to 'orphan children of European settlers, Railway employees, Tradesmen's Assistants, Policemen &c'.⁴¹⁹

There were several Christian institutions dedicated to managing the growing number of orphans and destitute children. The training given at such institutions was meant to equip prospective candidates for evangelical and clerical jobs or work as domestic assistants, thereby discouraging social mobility and perpetuating Eurasian communities in lower income- generating employment. This registers an important change in the British government's attitude to the Eurasians and poor whites, which was a part of a new definition of whiteness that emerged in the early part of the twentieth century as a reaction to the slow consolidation of Indian nationalist identity. The 1892 edition of Newman's *Handbook* includes the Armeninan Philanthropic Academy, the Armenian College and The Oriental Seminary (established by Baboo Gour Mohan Addy) as representative for non-British educational institutions in Calcutta in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Newman's aforementioned *Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (published in 1927) later reconfigures the format of the handbook, but retains the division between 'Indian' and 'Anglo-Indian' colleges. It also records a significant rise in the number of 'Indian' colleges, with particular emphasis on their 'indigenous agency'. One example of this is Vidyasagar College, formerly the Metropolitan Institution:

This institution was founded by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, and affiliated to the University in 1872. It was the first attempt to impart high education through a purely indigenous agency. He gave it a costly building for its habitation and endowed it with a valuable laboratory and library. Extensive improvements and additions have been made to the college of [sic] recent years.⁴²⁰

Though originally set up in 1872 as the Metropolitan Institution, the college finds no mention in the 1882 and 1892 editions of Newman's *Handbook to*

⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴²⁰ Newman, 1927, p.132.

Calcutta, while Christian charitable institutions like Doveton College, Military Orphan Institution, and the European Female Orphan Asylum are no longer featured in the later edition of 1927. However, this edition (1927) does record the establishment of David Hare Training College, established by the Government of Bengal in 1908 'to train teachers for the Secondary Schools of the Province', and the Diocesan College, 'exclusively for the daughters of Indian gentlemen' equipped with 'competent staff of lady teachers both European and Indian.'⁴²¹ These two new colleges indicate changing patterns of gender participation (in the second case) and the spread of standardized education in the province (in the first). In general, though, there is a significant absence of records that specify the modes of education adopted by children of the European elite in handbook accounts from 1844 to 1940. The student composition of European schools mentioned in Newman and Firminger and, later, in G.W. Tyson's *City of Palaces* (1932) consists of native students and a large section of children of mixed parentage or belonging to the domiciled community. This pattern is also subject to change, as seen in Newman's 1927 edition, as the Eurasian community resituated their schools and training institutes in the temperate climate of the hills, mostly in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, located about a day's train journey from Calcutta.

Another important aspect of late nineteenth-century handbooks like Newman's is a eulogized account of educational institutions in Calcutta concentrating on Christian missionary endeavours in order to implement substantial reform of the European lower classes and people of mixed parentage. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the education and relocation of Eurasian children inhabiting the urban slums had become a major concern, posing a problem for the social construction of whiteness. Initial efforts in this direction included a shift of focus from European schools based in Calcutta to Bishop Cotton's scheme (1863), which proposed 'establishing schools in the European hill stations in the north [of India] for the community's better-off members, and founding schools in the plains for

⁴²¹ *ibid.*, p. 135.

the poorer ones'.⁴²² Mizutani gives the example of a Scottish missionary named John Graham, who set up the St Andrews Colonial Home at Kalimpong in 1903. The school's objectives, he suggests, were in keeping with the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in Bengal* (1918), which resolved that it was necessary 'to remove children from urban slums to which their lives have been anchored'.⁴²³ Dr Graham's school and other similar institutions were firm believers in environmental determinism and were resolved on relocating Anglo-Indian youth from the urban slums that were home to this particular sector of the populace, as well as on rectifying what was increasingly considered to be the abandonment and neglect of Eurasian children by their parents, who could not provide for their education. Through a process of child institutionalization and subsequent emigration to other parts of the British Empire, the Kalimpong Home tried to educate them into condemning the lifestyle practised by their families residing in urban slums. This policy also solved the problem of visible white pauperism in the urban centre and contributed to the government's regulation of whiteness as a privileged category. The Home's curriculum centred on a holistic training of students in European ways of life and manners tailored to the prospective career options at their disposal.⁴²⁴ In this context, one can argue that an intersection of the private and public aspects of colonial life effectively shaped the domestic lives of its subjects in order to meet the requirements of an increasingly sprawling network of imperial trade. This also connects the changing attitude of the government towards mixed-race communities with the employment and trade opportunities available with the expansion of imperial circuits of mobility.

The colonial elite's cultural and social practices regarding child rearing in India lent themselves to environmentally deterministic ways of viewing society. Received medical opinion credited the common view that white children were more vulnerable than adults to the degenerative effects of

⁴²² Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 119; p. 122.

⁴²³ Mizutani, p. 147.

⁴²⁴ As quoted from Newman's *Visitor's Guide Book* earlier.

Indian society.⁴²⁵ Buettner examines the circular pattern of migration that characterized the lives of children born in families who could afford to send their children to Britain for schooling. As she argues:

Ideally, children represented a middle-to upper-middle class community that maintained its racial and cultural distance from the colonized. Their upbringing was meant to reflect their families' comfortable socio-economic standing and status as temporary sojourners in the subcontinent who maintained a secure foothold in the metropole.⁴²⁶

Buettner picks out children, parents on leave and retirees as those who have failed to be registered in the dominant historiographic narratives of British India. She also points to the social, cultural and racial identities of 'British-Indian' families, a term she uses to underscore 'the repetitive journeys between, and alternating experiences in, metropole and colony that proved so crucial to creating and stabilizing both whiteness and middle-class status in India'.⁴²⁷ As Buettner suggests, the circular pattern of migration that was repeated over generations to consolidate the imperial ideal of white domesticity simultaneously worked against it by fracturing the domestic unit, separating parents from each other and necessitating the removal of children

⁴²⁵ *ibid.*, p.39. It is important to note that racial theories of degeneracy in the colony trace their socio-political roots to degeneration theories that developed in the European cities, including in Britain. Daniel Pick in his book *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) studies how degeneration became a plausible concept with which particular national elites sought to identify and confront internal 'others'. He argues that the nineteenth-century scientific language of degeneration sought to comprehend those consequences of modernity that resisted incorporation into a smooth narrative of progress. I have argued here that the fear of racial degeneration deriving from scientific and descriptive accounts of tropical impenetrability added an element of the unpredictable and unknown to the nature of degeneration in the colonial climate, which was countered through obsessive categorisations. Similarly, as Pick argues, this fear of the 'invisible, all-pervading decay' was present in Europe centric theories of degeneration as well. As John Dickie argues in his review of Pick's book, 'A common antinomy emerges from Pick's reading of degeneration: it was caught between the desire to tabulate visible signs of degeneracy and the fear of invisible, all-pervading decay. Pick shows 'degeneration' operating in both painstaking taxonomies of the pathological and sweeping diagnoses of the state of mankind'. John Dickie, review of *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918* by Daniel Pick, *History Workshop*, 30 (1990), 194-196, (p.195) <www.jstor.org/stable/4289023> [accessed 12 March 2019].

⁴²⁶ Buettner, *Imperial Families*, p. 9.

⁴²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 15.

to Britain. Separation and what she calls 'the discourse of family sacrifice' are standard features of Buettner's cogent analysis of the patterns of migration that were constitutive at the time of British racial prestige.

Mizutani's treatise on the schooling regulations of Eurasian children removed from the supposedly malign influences of Calcutta weather and local society is more derivative, being associated (ironically perhaps) with the bourgeois trend of migration to the imperial metropole. As he shows, the British dislike for institutions listed as 'European schools' in the Calcutta handbooks derived from the multiracial composition of their students. Evidence from early twentieth-century Calcutta handbooks suggests, following Mizutani, that the anxiety of degeneration that surfaces repeatedly in these handbooks' representation and categorization of educational and religious missionary institutions was partly centred on the influence of Eurasian and Domiciled European students over the children of 'transient families'.⁴²⁸ The 'ambiguous similarity' that the domiciled community shared with those who claimed the exclusivity of 'pure whites' made the fear of degeneration more real, threatening to blur the boundaries between transient and domiciled communities. Such blurring was seen as likely to have an adverse effect on the social and economic opportunities available to the 'pure whites'. Recurrent exile thus became a way of belonging to the imperial metropole while simultaneously claiming racial exclusivity in the subcontinent. Curiously, the later trend in Eurasian education picked up on the same migratory patterns practised by the colonial elite, as can be witnessed by a geographical shift to the hills of Darjeeling and Kalimpong and increased representation in the handbooks of educational institutes run by and for the natives of Calcutta. These changes indicate that a subtler management of racial profiles came into effect in the early twentieth century which revolved around the regulation of differences between Eurasian and native subjects on similar lines of removal and segregation as those practised between 'pure whites' and mixed-race and domiciled Europeans. Such

⁴²⁸ Mizutani, p. 45.

intensification of racial segregation along the lines of educational and behavioural training was synchronous with other changes in colonial practice and the rationale of rule in the early twentieth century, particularly in Calcutta. These measures were part of a conservative response to the rising nationalist sentiment, made manifest in Swadeshi meetings and assemblages in the city, which would eventually propel the British government to shift the capital to Delhi in 1911.

The question of whiteness

As seen above, attempts to police racial difference in colonial Calcutta were complicated by several factors, not least the blurred boundaries surrounding whiteness. A persistent fear was that of so-called 'white degeneration'. This was countered, particularly after 1813 when Christian missionaries were allowed into the country,⁴²⁹ in order to facilitate the emergence of a new philosophy of British national selfhood predicated upon the Puritan movement that had developed in both India and the metropole.⁴³⁰ British interaction with Indian society, which shifted from an attempt at 'acclimatization' in the figure of the 'Nabob' to conscious self-isolation in the figure of the 'Sahib', posited the body as a vehicle for colonial politics and its deployment.⁴³¹ The missionaries then added a related moral dimension to the precarious politics of racial prestige. Degeneration, unlike Social Darwinist definitions of racism that 'tended to seize on the supposed inferiority of the colonized other', exposed the 'Otherness of the colonials themselves'.⁴³² The tropical climate and the threat of miscegenation thus both worked in tandem

⁴²⁹ The Charter Act of 1813 amended the charter of the East India Company to permit missionaries to travel to India and allowed for proselytizing, which had previously been discouraged for fear of outraging native sentiments.

⁴³⁰ Mizutani, p.31.

⁴³¹ Collingham, pp.50-92.

⁴³² Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Oakland: university of California Press, 2010), p. 66.

with the bourgeois politics of class to shape 'the ideal type of the white colonizing self in late colonial India under British rule'.⁴³³

Whiteness had (and has) at least as much to do with class as race. The colonial administration inherited the class bias against non-official Europeans practised by the East India Company, as these latter were perceived to add to the visible sections of the 'poor whites' in the capital, corroding British racial prestige. Class was a prime mover of British rule, in India and elsewhere in the empire. Mizutani quotes from the SCCS (Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement), which states that the British settlers should be 'a class of superior settlers who may, by their enterprise, capital and science, set in motion the labour, and develop the resources of India'.⁴³⁴ This class comprised a small group employed in high-ranked civil services: 'capitalists (both commercial and industrial); professionals such as scientists, doctors, and lawyers; and finally those missionaries and philanthropists who belonged to various ecclesiastical establishments'.⁴³⁵ However, the expansion of the capitalist economy with the lifting of the embargo on exports from British India in 1843 saw huge innovations such as railways, the telegraph system and irrigation. An added aspect was the mobilization of skilled European labourers, along with soldiers and sailors. A large number of these were unable to adapt to the climate and work environment in India, which ended up in their deserting or being dismissed from service, thereby forfeiting their right to a free return passage. It was difficult for such people to find work in their specialized vocations as India had its own supply of cheap labour, and they ended up adding to the city's floating population of poor whites. As Mizutani puts it, 'From the imperial perspective, the peculiar rootlessness of the colonizers was a necessary ingredient in the recipe of racial politics'.⁴³⁶ The category of whiteness in India defined itself in opposition to the natives

⁴³³Mizutani, p. 45.

⁴³⁴ The Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (SCCS) was appointed in 1858. It differed in opinion from the East India Company's policy of restricting the immigration of non-official Europeans to India, but the non-official cluster that was encouraged to immigrate were 'capitalists who would employ native labourers' (p. 19).

⁴³⁵ Mizutani, p. 21.

⁴³⁶ Mizutani, p.26.

as well as those who originated from the lower strata of British society. Those families that failed to subscribe to this process of mobility were collated with the unemployed and socially degenerate as far as governmental categorization was concerned, in order to protect white prestige assigned to 'people already endowed with bourgeois norms and sensibilities'.⁴³⁷ The notion of degeneration attributed moral corruption to the Indian climate, and the lower classes of Europeans were seen as morally unreliable and susceptible to the 'supposed degenerative forces of India, including climatic difference, cultural contamination, and sexual temptation'.⁴³⁸ According to Mizutani, this served to 'naturalize the economic condition of the spatial politics of whiteness: it made it appear as though Eurasians and Domiciled Europeans were poor and thus not white enough because of their degeneration'.⁴³⁹ Because of its obsession with British racial prestige, the colonial government could not afford any social space where non-bourgeois modes of whiteness as embodied by manual workers and subaltern soldiers could flourish, and this created a significant tension in the social fabric of the city.

By highlighting the involvement of the missionary institutions in regulating the systematic acculturation of younger members of the Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) and domiciled communities, the Calcutta handbooks would play an important part in refining the category of whiteness for European subjects in the urban space of colonial Calcutta. Such regulation entailed an understanding and reconceptualization of intra-racial divides while preserving a definite distinction from native subjects. More specifically, the isolation of mixed-race and domiciled children reflected a shift in colonial policies towards championing an 'environmentalist' view of degeneration in opposition to a 'hereditarianist' view, which proposed that the 'traits of an unfit population would be biologically transmitted from parents to their progeny, irrevocably determining the latter's character'.⁴⁴⁰ This attitudinal

⁴³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴³⁸ *ibid.*, p.46.

⁴³⁹ *ibid.*, p.46.

⁴⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.157.

shift percolated down to the cultural space of the city, affecting governmental projects concerning Europeans as well as natives.

The effects of the increasing visibility of pauperism on the city streets, and an awareness of the colonial government's duty to redress their degraded condition, were registered in handbook narratives as well. These changes are most perceptible in the Newman series. For example, in the 1927 edition entitled *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta*, a detailed subsection is introduced in the 'Religion, Races and Types' section under the title 'Anglo-Indians'. Previous editions published under the title *Handbook to Calcutta* had limited themselves to mentioning Eurasians as one component of the demography, as one of the nationalities residing in Calcutta.⁴⁴¹ The 1927 Newman edition, however, provides a new cultural insight into the Anglo-Indian community's perception of their stigmatized origin, registered in their open contempt of the natives and their conscious partaking of British cultural discourse by 'referring to England as "Home"'.⁴⁴² In keeping with handbook narrative techniques, this subsection provides a brief description of the characteristic Anglo-Indian speech intonation and tendency to gesticulate; however, it also makes special mention of the commendable service rendered by Anglo-Indian police sergeants during a communal riot in Calcutta in 1926: 'Recently, during the serious communal rioting in Calcutta, in 1926, the Anglo-Indian Sergeants, of whom there are many in the Police force, acquitted themselves with credit, and during some memorable episodes they demonstrated considerable coolness, tact and courage.' The section reinterprets the liminal status of Anglo-Indians in enabling terms that comment on their administrative capabilities and proficiency in both vernacular languages and English, which made them valuable assets for administrative purposes, but adds that this betrayed their mixed-race origins and was therefore not publicized:

Where Indian coolie labour is concerned they make efficient supervisors, having special qualifications, as a class, of being able to

⁴⁴¹ Newman, 1875, p.66. The passage recurs in the 1882 and 1892 editions.

⁴⁴² Newman, 1927, p. 157.

use Hindustani or English with equal facility. Incidentally, Anglo-Indians do not boast of their knowledge of the language that is so useful to them, and Indians are held by them in open contempt.⁴⁴³

This particular sub-section exemplifies a new attitude on the part of the British administration in Calcutta to include and acknowledge the presence and problems of Anglo-Indian people. This attitude is in stark contrast to Stocqueler's exclusionary prose that drew strict lines of contrast between Europeans and Eurasians. Newman's (1927) account is a sympathetic overview of the cultural paradox lived by Anglo-Indians and how that had historically affected the growth of the community:

Descended from early English Settlers and Indians, their dark colour is regarded by certain classes of Europeans with a frown, and an air of aloofness undisguised. At one time members of the community were known as Eurasians (*Europe plus Asia*), but because of the opprobrium tradition attached to the term it was officially decreed that in future 'Eurasian' should be replaced by 'Anglo-Indian'—now the recognized term. In spite of social and other barriers with which the community has had to contend with, they have, of late years, made considerable advance, demonstrating at the same time an increasing interest in the legislative affairs of the country, with their own elected members to represent them upon administrative bodies. Many Anglo-Indians find employment in the Customs, Railway and Telegraph Services, for which spheres of activity they seem fitted. Their remuneration, however, is small, with the economic concomitant of a generally poor standard of living.⁴⁴⁴

It is also the first handbook among the ones I am reading here that mentions the charitable reform measures that were being adopted at the time to 'raise the status of Anglo-Indians through the medium of their own societies and associations as the Y.M.C.A. so that they come to a fuller recognition of the

⁴⁴³ Newman, 1927, p. 156.

⁴⁴⁴ Newman, 1927, p. 157.

value and necessity of the part they play in the life of the country'.⁴⁴⁵ Although Newman mentions that the remuneration received by Anglo-Indians is considerably small as compared to Europeans, the book does not hint at pauperism as a growing concern for the colonial government. Following up, the 1931 edition of Glen Hicken's handbook makes a more pronounced effort to mention pauperism as a considerable problem for the city and its inhabitants. In a section entitled 'A Tip for Those with Little or No Money', Hicken states: 'According to a report issued by the District Charitable Society, there were over ten-thousand unemployed Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in Calcutta during the early part of 1931 seeking relief, and a good few of these unfortunates were new-comers'.⁴⁴⁶ The handbook provides information that takes into account the difference between British-born subjects and Anglo-Indians, thereby making a significant departure from Mizutani's position that British policy decisions sought to neutralize the difference between Anglo-Indians (people of mixed blood) and poor whites or members of the domiciled community fallen on hard times.

Hicken states that the charity measures catered to specific clientele based on the accepted categories of whiteness:

Should a person suddenly find himself without means, friendless and homeless, the best course to adopt immediately is to see the Secretary of the European Unemployed Relief Committee at No. 5 Government Place, or the Secretary of the District Charitable Society at No.6 Wellington Square. The former relief Committee is intended only for British-born subjects, while the latter society is meant to assist and help Anglo-Indians in distress. There is also a 'refuge' at 125 Bowbazaar Street, a home for the homeless and helpless irrespective of caste, colour or creed.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ Newman, 1927, p. 157.

⁴⁴⁶ Hicken, p. 60.

⁴⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 60.

Highlighting the welfare measures of the colonial government, Hicken mentions that The European Unemployed Relief Committee would on occasion arrange to repatriate destitute Europeans; however, the author is quick to discourage fraudulent claims to charity, reiterating that ‘Charitable Societies in Calcutta do not indiscriminately render monetary help. In every instance searching inquiries are made’. Extreme cases, such as when people take to sleeping on the streets, are not because ‘help is not forthcoming’, but are ‘the direct result of the destitute person associating with undesirables—people who will not even attempt to earn an honest livelihood, but prefer to play on the credulity of kind hearted persons and exhort money by various means.’⁴⁴⁸ For Hicken and others, the Anglo-Indian section of the population, which mostly resided at the time in the urban slums of Lal Bazaar and Watgunje, amounted to a ‘floating mass’, emphasizing their alienation from common city space and their dissociation from the communities that were seen as properly representing urban demography. This floating mass had its own casual social groups offering survival tips to fellow vagrants, and along with the missionary associations listed above Hicken also offers information on what he condescendingly calls ‘poverty square’.

A popular resort for gentlemen of no ostensible means is the small park in Wellington square. Here they gather in the evenings and discuss matters which can only be of interest to a man who does not know when, or from where, his next meal is coming. [...] a stranger in Calcutta, with little or no money, can gain information from these unfortunates, [...] for it is they who know the *ropes* and what to do when money is scarce.⁴⁴⁹

Early handbooks took exception to the distressing sight of squalor and poverty that the presence of slums around the imposing European inhabited houses in the Chowringhee area had created. But these urban slums were a necessity, as they housed the native servants employed at the European-

⁴⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 62.

inhabited bungalows.⁴⁵⁰ Notwithstanding, urban slums fail to feature in the sections dedicated to New Calcutta in the handbooks dating from the first decade of the twentieth century onwards. It is through related references to missionary enterprises like the Salvation Army and the charitable contributions of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), or governmental committees for the amelioration of pauperism, that the presence of a large floating community can be inferred. Reference to the efforts of Christian missionary institutions towards alleviating pauperism among the urban poor (mostly Christians and those descended from white or mixed parentage) can be found, however, in some of the later handbooks such as Barry's *Calcutta 1940*. Barry presents an impressive account of the Salvation Army's contribution towards the city: 'The Salvation Army, established in Calcutta in 1888, ha[d] a splendid record of achievement and endeavour'.⁴⁵¹ He also lists the additional work done by the Army apart from its evangelical enterprises. The nature of institutions established by the Salvation Army makes for an interesting insight into the changing social life of the city and the various inflections it produced in the ways that social space was conceived and negotiated.

The Training Garrison for young men, at 37 Dharamatala Street.

The Salvation Army (Gidney) Hostel for young business women, at 38 Dharmatala Street

Naval and Military Home: - a 'home away from home' for soldiers and sailors, at 2 Sudder Street.

Men's Industrial Home: - which provides employment and offers night shelter for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, at 173 Lower Circular Road.

The Women's and Children's Industrial Home at Behala (for Indians), consisting of an Industrial Home, a department to deal with

⁴⁵⁰ Sinha, p.8-9.

⁴⁵¹ Barry, 1940, p.116.

and house young girls rescued from moral danger, a medical unit and an infant section which deals with foundlings and orphaned babies.⁴⁵²

Barry's text also includes care facilities opened under the auspices of women benefactors, like the Mary Cooper Home, 'for aged Europeans and Anglo-Indians who had been unable to make any provision for their old age'.⁴⁵³ In this account, we see an increased social awareness of the fringe elements of colonial society beyond the immediate purview of Englishmen associated with civil and official portfolios through welfare institutions like 'training garrisons' and 'industrial homes'. Social sensitivity to women participating in the public domain of commerce and industry is also acknowledged through the provision of exclusive hostels for them. In sum, growing state and missionary intervention in alleviating the conditions of the poor and managing fringe communities within the folds of respectability by allocating public funds towards welfare measures was a distinct characteristic of the metropolitan modern and its manifestation through governmental measures. However, in practice the colonial context, seen against the more progressive structures of the metropolitan modern, would continue to produce different forms of social and cultural unevenness, and these found their way into various literary narratives describing the experience of Calcutta at the time.

Kipling's Calcutta

As seen above, the evolving social scene in colonial India put into practice a changing discourse of colonial difference. In particular, the concept of 'purity' in colonial racial discourse was reinterpreted through an alliance between the various moral reform organizations and an emergent western medical discourse. In this context, purity was not considered to be a moral question but a medical and racial one; more specifically, it was a hygiene problem. The

⁴⁵² Barry, 1940, p.116.

⁴⁵³ *ibid.*, p.189. Other examples of charitable institutions for Anglo-Indian and European women were D'Souza Home and The Fendall Home listed in Barry (1940, 189-193).

complex relationship between the conceptual perimeters of whiteness and those various governmental projects that impacted the material reality of the city was reflected in literary representations of the city as well, notably Kipling's *The City of Dreadful Night* (1888), which provided further context for sensationalist descriptions of the unhygienic squalor of lived city space.⁴⁵⁴ The chapter 'Real Live City', for example, occupies itself with describing the 'Big Calcutta Stink' as 'diffused soul sickening expansiveness',⁴⁵⁵ reflecting Kipling's less-than-tolerant view that the city 'resembles the essence of corruption that has rotted for the second time'.⁴⁵⁶ This stink is attributed to the corrupt Babus and the Indian population who, according to Kipling, should be taxed to make up for their neglect of civic duties and their tendency to extract wealth from the unsuspecting British administration by fraudulent means to indulge in lavish lifestyles. The narrative brings into play the psychological and moral aspects of racial difference and anchors them in the environment of the city, which Kipling criticizes for its teeming slums, with the entire northern native part of the city being negatively characterized as a cloying claustrophobic trap in which the 'air [is] heavy with a faint sour stench—the essence of long neglected abominations—and cannot escape from among the tall, three storied houses'.⁴⁵⁷

In keeping with the parallel between moral/social degeneration and the visible decrepitude of physical city space, the darkest and foulest neighbourhood that Kipling encounters on his night-time sojourn is 'in the

⁴⁵⁴ Kipling's title is taken from the poem 'The City of Dreadful Night' by James Thompson (1834–1882). Kipling first discovered the poem in his school holidays while he was at United Services College. He later used it as a title for a story about Lahore, first published in the Civil and Military Gazette of 10th September 1885. *The City of Dreadful Night* was initially published as a series of eight articles, collected in *From Sea to Sea* Vol. II in 1888. It was then published by A.H. Wheeler & Co. in 1890, but was suppressed by Kipling. See David Page's introduction to *City of Dreadful Night* in *The New Reader's Guide to the Works of Rudyard Kipling* (2008) <www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_dreadful_intro.htm> [accessed 1 April, 2017]. The quotations included in this chapter have been taken from Rudyard Kipling, *The City of Dreadful Night* (New York: Alex, Grosset & Co., 1899). <www.archive.org/stream/cityofdreadfulnigo2kiplgoog> [accessed 1 April 2017].

⁴⁵⁵ Kipling, p.8. BCS is also the acronym of Bengal Civil Service, which is the primary target of Kipling's criticism.

⁴⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.9.

⁴⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.59.

heart of the city', where the prostitute quarters are located. As he comments despairingly, 'there are no houses here—nothing but acres and acres, it seems of foul wattle-and-dab huts, [...] The whole arrangement is a neatly contrived germ and fire trap'.⁴⁵⁸ Hicken in his 1931 handbook similarly dedicates an entire section to 'The Gaiety and Night-Side of Calcutta', albeit with a warning to unsuspecting Europeans not to stray beyond his parameters of knowledge. This particular feature of commenting on the social life of the city, as practised earlier by Mitchell (1890), Cotton (1907) and Firminger (1906), had fallen out of use by the time of the later handbooks, but Hicken provides a notable exception. For example, the aforementioned section of Hicken's handbook lists the various forms of social entertainment that enliven the 'Calcutta season':

From November to February Calcutta is at its best, for it is during this time of the year that carnivals, circuses, vaudeville, theatrical and operatic companies pay their annual visit, and vie with local places of amusements to provide, night after night, a varied and comprehensive programme, to suit every class and type.

Though the book suggests that there are 'very many more' theatres and talkies in the 'Indian quarter and suburbs', Hicken limits himself to describing the European establishments like the Globe and New Empire in detail, where 'exceptionally fine films were shewn'. The book also lists a varied fare of 'dinner dances, cabaret dances, exhibition dances, Cosmopolitan "Hops", Benefit Performances, Concerts, Boxing, Social Parties, etc.'. ⁴⁵⁹ These are mostly held in the hotels reserved for the elite and wealthy, while the social life of the lower orders of European and native night-life is described with distaste as:

The seamy-side of Calcutta [...] not touched upon in this *brochure* in any form or shape. It is uncalled for and unnecessary, since places of ill-repute are found, the world over, quicker than almost anything else

⁴⁵⁸ Kipling, p.64.

⁴⁵⁹ Hicken, p.52.

by those who seek them. Calcutta has its very generous share of all the evils associated with every big city in the world, [...].⁴⁶⁰

Notwithstanding, prostitution featured as a major framework for contextualizing many of the government's health policies and administrative measures, as discussed in the works of Ballhatchet and Banerjee.⁴⁶¹ Kipling's literary narrative—a heady brew of sensationalist bias, racial stereotype and nocturnal police patrols in the winding alleys of native Calcutta—starkly reveals the contradictions that would in turn characterize governmental projects undertaken in colonial Calcutta and their representation in handbooks.⁴⁶² In constructing a narrative that links Kipling's depiction of native and European women in the flesh trade, the various societies and associations of social welfare constituted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the gendered contours of social etiquette established by the city's club culture, I now want to locate the improvisatory nature of colonial governmentality practised in Calcutta, showing how it relates to the broader cosmopolitanism that characterized colonial city space. From this general framework, I will proceed to discuss the social life of Calcutta depicted over time in the Calcutta handbooks, relating this to the changing nature of colonial rule and tying it to the discursive production of European social life while focusing more particularly on the making of the British body in this social space.

Colonial governmentality

Deana Heath, in describing the displaced nature of governmentality in colonial India, enumerates three ways in which 'colonial governmentality was

⁴⁶⁰ Hicken, pp.51-54.

⁴⁶¹ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj, Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980); Sumanta Banerjee, *Dangerous Outcast: The Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Bengal* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1998).

⁴⁶² This analysis of governmentality is borrowed from Deana Heath's *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

a fundamental dislocation of the desires of the colonial regime'.⁴⁶³ Heath follows up on David Scott's formulation of colonial governmentality as precisely *not* a unitary project based on the reiteration of a single rationality, but rather one that highlights the 'temporaneous' and 'localist' nature of colonialism.⁴⁶⁴ Significantly, she locates several key incongruities in what she perceives to be the accepted definition of colonial governmentality, 'a set of technologies that are effectively applied to a [wide] variety of subjects in different contexts and time periods'.⁴⁶⁵ The way governmentality works in the colonial context brings the inherent contradictions in the colonial project into practice, Heath argues. Thus, 'while colonial governmentality, like its Western form, developed as means of managing population, of cultivating its resources and managing its health, colonial states tended to evince little actual interest in regulating the bodies of their subjects—at least of their indigenous subjects—in order to maintain a healthy and productive population'.⁴⁶⁶ Reasons for this ranged from financial expediency to the fear of stirring native hostility, or the need to appear progressive while pandering to both indigenous and colonial structures of power.

Margo Huxley further explains that in the western context the work of government is reconfigured in the modern state as 'training, fostering, inciting, and if needs be, coercing individuals to adopt self-regulating behaviours and to govern themselves as if they were free. [...] The regulation of others and self-intersect: the modern state and the modern individual "codetermine each other's emergence"'.⁴⁶⁷ However, in the colonial context the biggest obstacle to the operation of governmentality was the 'difficulty of generating a confluence of interests between the governance of others and of the self'.⁴⁶⁸ This, according to Heath, follows from colonialism's primary premise, which is to reproduce the differences between colonizers and

⁴⁶³ Heath, p.17.

⁴⁶⁴ David Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality', *Social Text*, 43 (1995), pp.191-220.

⁴⁶⁵ Heath, p.12.

⁴⁶⁶ Heath, p.12.

⁴⁶⁷ Margo Huxley, 'Space and Government: Governmentality and Geography', *Geography Compass* 2.5 (2008), 1635-1658 (p.1640).

⁴⁶⁸ Heath, p.14.

colonized on the basis of a despotic colonial rule that is founded on violence. This view is in keeping with Foucault's seminal essay 'Governmentality', which elaborates the changing equation between sovereignty and the art of government in relation to disciplinary institutions and practices.⁴⁶⁹ As is well known, Foucault's essay is primarily concerned to trace 'reasons of the state', i.e. those varying forms and functions of rationality that attempt to shape human conduct from the public spectacles of violence practised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to more recent liberal forms of governmentality in modern times. In the colonial context, as Heath argues, the governmental project is 'dislocated' by what Partha Chatterjee calls the 'rule of colonial difference' that undermines the emergence of the liberal citizen-individual who seeks to 'know, decipher and act on themselves' as the relationship between the state and subject is predicated on violence and fixed moral differences between the rulers and the ruled.⁴⁷⁰ Heath builds on Mark Brown's position:

While in the West the relationship between state and the subject is marked by a progressive elaboration of the latter's civil political and social rights, in the colonial context [it is] virtue, rather than right, [that] structures the relationship between state and subject. The colonial subject was required [...] to conform, to notions of morality, rationality, integrity, prudence, and self-control without receiving counter-part rights.⁴⁷¹

In colonial India, the development of statistics and population management as part of governmental practice imposed European institutions and regimes onto local knowledges and environments. The administrative measures adopted to help eradicate plague in Calcutta are a good example, at a point where the colonization of the native's body, as well as his/her 'deficient' environment, was put into practice as a means of managing the health of the

⁴⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', pp.87-104.

⁴⁷⁰ Heath, p.17.

⁴⁷¹ Heath, p.17. Heath quotes from Mark Brown "That Heavy Machine": Reprising the Colonial Apparatus in 21st century Social Control', *Social Justice*, 32.1 (2005), 41-52.

population at large. (Incidentally, the various health care and infrastructural measures adopted by the authorities to eradicate plague would meet with violent resistance from the natives as they protested against the coercive imposition of western medicine onto the native body).⁴⁷²

Heath goes on to problematize the concept of 'virtue' in mediating the relationship between state and individual in colonial India. She argues that predicating the relationship between state and individual on the basis of virtue rather than rights was problematic insofar as this was based on arbitrary notions of moral superiority. Thus, even when the colonized considered themselves to have attained such virtue, indigenous western-educated elites continued to be denied their rights, thereby undermining the moral legitimacy of colonial rule. On the other hand, colonizers themselves had to possess the moral legitimacy to evaluate themselves by the standards against which the colonized were judged and differentiated.⁴⁷³ This often resulted in governmental projects more effectively regulating the bodies of the colonizers than those of the colonized. Another aspect of the dual positioning of governmental projects within a western (imperial) rationale and a local (colonial) social and cultural context was that the natives undertook their own governmentalizing projects, fashioning technologies of self-governance by combining indigenous traditions of self-subjection with western ideas of self-discipline. S.N. Mukherjee differentiates between the traditional politics of *dals* (social factions) among indigenous Bengalis, which depended on caste hierarchies of a relatively closed society tethered to its rural moorings, and the modern politics of *sabhas* and *samities* emerging in the 1830s, which drew on western models of organized agitation where the social hierarchy was dictated by class and represented a more open urban society that allowed social mobility but were largely compliant with the British government. As Mukherjee states, 'Many sabhas and samitis (societies) were formed during

⁴⁷² 29th and 30th of April 1898. Subho Basu, 'Strikes and "Communal" Riots in Calcutta in the 1890s: Industrial Workers, Bhadrak Nationalist Leadership and the Colonial State', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32.4 (1998), 949-983 (p.967). I discuss this topic in further detail in chapter 3.

⁴⁷³ Heath, p. 19-22.

this period to further the cause of social and religious reform, for literary discussions and above all for political agitation'.⁴⁷⁴ Heath argues that this tendency to interpret colonial governmental projects in indigenous terms gave the natives a point of entry into critique that would ultimately transform governmentalizing discourses and practices.⁴⁷⁵ Such a reading of the 'paradoxes of colonial governmentality' and the transformations that native interventions would generate in governmental discourses and practices is particularly applicable to the *sabhas*, *samities* and other diverse associations that populated the social scene of Calcutta from the late nineteenth century on.⁴⁷⁶

Partha Chatterjee elaborates on Mukherjee's account by making a distinction between *early* modern (1830s) and *colonial* modern (post 1850s) in relation to the genealogy of such associations, describing *sabhas* and *samities* as 'distinctive features of a new urbanity that struggled to emerge in the city' in the early decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷⁷ The early *dals* were led by wealthy Bengali magnates who were keepers of traditional caste hierarchies, but they gradually evolved in response to the new social hierarchies of the urban milieu into 'associations of wealthy and propertied elite groups, [...] of mixed caste and even religious composition, based on free membership and acting as debating societies, organizations of social reform and promoters of causes and even political agitation.'⁴⁷⁸ Chatterjee emphasizes that these early modern social institutions belonged to a composite social fabric of Calcutta in the 1820s and 1830s that represented the grievances of both its native and European residents against the East India Company's policies.⁴⁷⁹ The *sabhas*

⁴⁷⁴ S.N. Mukherjee, *Calcutta Myths and History* (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1977), p.3.

⁴⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 15; p. 18. Mukherjee includes a particular example that demonstrates this when he talks about the establishment of the *Dharma Sabah* 'which was formed in 1830 in the wake of great agitation against the abolition of *sati*. Lord Bentinck inadvertently gave the Bengalis a chance to learn the techniques of agitation which were to be used later for more worthy causes' (p. 4).

⁴⁷⁶ Partha Chatterjee translates these terms as 'societies' and 'associations', respectively, in 'An Equal Right to the City: Contests over Cultural Space in Calcutta', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, 18.2 (2006), 166-184 (p.168).

⁴⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 169.

and *samities* were comprised of *bhadraloks*, ‘men who held a common position along some continuum of the economy, acquired high status through English education or administrative service or some other secular channel, and shared a common lifestyle’.⁴⁸⁰ Membership of such groups was open to all castes, and being a *dalapati* (leader of a group) meant ‘wealth and political access to the ruling British authorities’. The party leader usually styled himself after former kings and functioned as a patron of art and scholarship; Chatterjee also mentions ‘a hint of sovereign power in the regular use of armed retainers to keep the urban poor under control’.⁴⁸¹ These *dals* were functional in shaping Indian bourgeois opinion regarding company policies and maintained a continuity with traditional practices by determining ‘an ethical way of living in the city’.⁴⁸² Chatterjee attributes the shift from such social institutions, which were helmed by educated upper- and middle-class *bhadraloks* who in turn acknowledged the moral and cultural superiority of the British rulers, to the emergent Indian middle class from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century. As he remarks,

[This] was a time that the Indian economy became a characteristically colonial economy [...] Intellectually, the institutions of colonial education spread as the breeding ground of new cultural styles and movements that created the Indian middle classes and shaped an entire range of nationalist responses to colonial rule.⁴⁸³

These emergent social formations were primarily located in Calcutta and characterized the modes of thought and practice of the middle class intelligentsia as they encountered an increasingly overpowering and divisive colonial regime. Chatterjee associates the emergence of the colonial modern as being ‘accompanied by a split in the urban public sphere’.⁴⁸⁴ The new institutions of nationalist modernity performed what Heath describes as a

⁴⁸⁰ Banerjee, p. 64.

⁴⁸¹ Chatterjee, ‘Equal Right to the City’, p. 170.

⁴⁸² Bhabanicharana Bandhyopadhyay, *Kalikata Kamalaya* (Calcutta: Samachar Chandrika, 1823).

⁴⁸³ Chatterjee, ‘Equal Right to the City’, p.172.

⁴⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.172.

transformative critique of colonial governmental projects. They were founded on 'what was defined as a separate domain of national culture from which the alien rulers were excluded'.⁴⁸⁵ For example, in the 1875 edition of Newman's *Handbook to Calcutta*, 'The Bethune Society', which was established in 1851, is listed as promoting 'among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, and to encourage a freer intellectual intercourse than can be accomplished by other means in the existing state of native society'. Newman further observes that the monthly meetings of this Society were held in the 'cold season' at the Medical College 'at which discourses on Literary, Scientific, or Social subjects (were) delivered'; these meetings were attended by 'crowded audiences' and selected papers were published.⁴⁸⁶ The other association included in this edition is 'The British Indian Association', an exclusively native association also established in 1851. The objective of this latter association was 'to promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian government, by memorialising the authorities, here and in England, for the removal of existing and prevention of proposed injurious measures as may tend to promote the interests of all connected with this country'. The association therefore functioned as a borrowed form of social integration for the natives, providing a platform to critique governmental measures and policies. Newman approves of the 'good service' rendered by the 'intelligent criticism of Government measures', and mentions the 'powerful representation of the interests of the landed proprietors'.⁴⁸⁷ However, the representation of such social units in handbook narratives varied quite significantly over time. Thus Newman's *Handbook*, published in 1882 and 1892, picks out the 'Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association', reflecting the deepening concern of the government and British society at large with the social perceptions of lower-class Europeans. As the handbook states, 'Government-aided schools are being established in several hill stations, at which it is hoped that the children will get a more vigorous education than it

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.173.

⁴⁸⁶ Newman, p.215.

⁴⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 194.

is possible to obtain in Calcutta, and thus be enabled them [*sic*] to contend on more even terms with their “native” fellow countrymen’.⁴⁸⁸ The apparent juxtaposition between the ‘East Indian or Eurasian community and of the descendants of European parents born in India’ and the natives, described as their ‘fellow countrymen’, demonstrates once again the primary conflicts of race and class that plagued the definition of ‘white’ in colonial Calcutta. The same edition (1892) also includes a section on The National Indian Association, which was established for the ‘promotion of social intercourse between the native and European races, the secular education of native ladies, education of girls, [and] the publication of pure Bengali literature’. This association brought visibility to the domestic and, by implication, gendered aspect of colonial social space: ‘The Association carries on its work [...] arranging social gatherings of Bengali ladies at the houses of European ladies, as well as evening parties, &c, where European and native gentlemen may meet together’.⁴⁸⁹ The association also arranged for the home education of ‘native ladies’ due to the restrictions on the nature of public life in which native women were allowed to participate. Finally, the association also provided scholarships for native girls in Mofussil schools in order to enable them to complete their education in a Calcutta-based school. Unsurprisingly, the nature of governmental measures varied extensively, producing multiple governmental projects within the same administrative scope, each of which subscribed to a different version of the dominant colonial rationality of rule and population control.

Chatterjee’s analysis, which elaborates on the way ‘the rule of freedom’ was deployed selectively, working in tandem with ‘the rule of colonial difference’, emphasizes what Heath considers to be ‘the ultimate flaw of colonial governmentalities’.⁴⁹⁰ The ‘rule of freedom’ introduced western governmental measures into the urban landscape and ‘justified the deployment of the new, more liberal techniques put in place in British cities

⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴⁹⁰ Heath, pp.20-21.

in order to govern urban populations and make them more healthy, peaceful and productive'.⁴⁹¹ However, these measures also became a basis for the essentially divisive politics of colonial discourse:

The rule of colonial difference ensured that the difference between the white town and native town was known and observed by all residents, that official maps or directories specified the individual details of every house and its residents in the European wards and only large classes of populations in the native wards, that school for European or Eurasian students and those for 'native' students were supervised by different boards.⁴⁹²

The right to govern the self, which is integral to the way modern governmental projects function, was denied to native populations even after the moral and social fabric of native social life had been reorganized by a colonial modernity fashioned in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Calcutta by the western-educated middle class. Heath gives examples of 'conquest colonies' other than India to suggest that the 'falsity of [this] relationship became evident, particularly in exploitation colonies, in which indigenous elites continued to be denied the right to self-government. The denial of such rights further undermined, therefore, the moral legitimacy of imperial and colonial regimes'.⁴⁹³ In the particular context of Calcutta, the denial of rights aimed at working through a fine balance between the 'right to freedom' and 'the rule of colonial difference'. As Chatterjee sardonically puts it, 'The criteria by which the colonial could be declared as the exception to the universal rule were diverse'.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹¹ Chatterjee, 'Equal Right to the City', p. 173.

⁴⁹² *ibid.*, p.173.

⁴⁹³ Heath, p. 21.

⁴⁹⁴ Chatterjee, 'Equal Right to the City', p. 173.

European women and native men

Such exceptions, which put into practice the discursive operations of colonial difference, were based on a complex equation between racial and gender norms. One particular encounter described in Kipling's above-mentioned narrative demonstrates the precariousness of white racial prestige and exemplifies contradictions in the practice of governmentality in the colonial context most effectively. In the part of the city that Kipling describes as 'the last circle of the Inferno', there is a 'long, long, winding quiet road' with houses that are 'gaunt and dark', much like the physical and moral aspects of their inhabitants. These 'low, mean stalls', almost devoid of furniture, house Anglo-Indian prostitutes, and glimpses of a residual Christian life are visible in 'tawdry toilet tables, adorned with little plaster dogs, glass balls from Christmas-trees, and—for religion must not be despised though women be fallen—pictures of the saints and statuettes of the Virgin'. A dialogue ensues with a certain Mrs D, described as a 'rather pretty, slightly-made Eurasian'. She, we are told, is 'a lady with a story'. When the police hint at the legal fracas that precipitated her current condition, she is quick to respond to their curiosity with a casual avowal: 'They said I'd poisoned my husband by putting something into his drinking-water', breezily adding, 'Twans't proved'.⁴⁹⁵ The moral-social impact of this sensationalized encounter, which centres on the body of an Anglo-Indian female prostitute, brings to the fore desperate efforts to maintain the sacrosanct figure of the European ruler, the Sahib. In the context of the same encounter, a random interaction between Mrs D and an unnamed native spurs a critique that further captures the contradictory desires and impulses that characterized the colonial regime:

A shapeless Burmo-native trot, with high cheek-bones and mouth like a shark, calls Mrs. D—'Memsahib'. The word jars unspeakably. Her life is a matter between herself and her Maker, but in that she—the widow of a soldier of the queen—has stooped to this common

⁴⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 75.

foulness in the face of the city, she has offended against the white race.⁴⁹⁶

The police notably fail to empathize with the consternation of the narrator, perhaps because there is a discrepancy in the way that racial boundaries and their possible transgressions are perceived by the 'up-country' visitor (Kipling) from the ordered little British cantonments in the hilly regions of Shimla and Darjeeling, and the hardened police officers who patrol the inner-city recesses of Calcutta. Kipling strikes a narrative pose here as a provincial character commenting on urban Calcutta. His portrayal of this narrator-self is in keeping with the general perception of aloofness that was associated at the time with the hill cantonments in colonial India, where the temperate climate arguably made it easier to follow the social and cultural rituals practised back 'Home', and to cultivate a generalised insularity towards the less-than-genteel realities of Indian life.⁴⁹⁷ Here, the colonial city enacts the contradictions of the liberal-humanist project of empire by drawing attention to its capitalist exploitative underpinnings. Kipling uses several phrases in the text that combine the environmentalist and moral-racial frameworks used to characterize the city as being 'above pretence', compelling the narrator to search for 'the secret of the insolence of Calcutta'.⁴⁹⁸ This falls in line with Kipling's earlier criticism of corruption in Calcutta, which he attributes to allowing native members on municipal boards and other middle-grade administrative posts, and segues with the larger argument of this section, which pins British racial and social prestige on discursive representations of the ruling class. Kipling harks back to the 'good old days' of the East India Company when the company directors 'deported him or her who misbehaved grossly, and the white man preserved his *izzat*. He may have been a ruffian,

⁴⁹⁶ Kipling, p.74.

⁴⁹⁷ See Alan Johnson, 'The Savage City: Locating Colonial Modernity', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 25. 4 (2003), 315-332. It is important to note that Kipling's narrative plays on the fiction of the narrator, 'Kipling', who is distinct from the historical Kipling. The narrator-self seems to share characteristics with Kipling's historical self, but also serves as a metafictional device that allows for the voicing of critical stances and attitudes towards British governance policies in Calcutta.

⁴⁹⁸ Kipling, p.74.

but he was a ruffian on a large scale. He did not sink in the presence of the people'.⁴⁹⁹ The 'insolence' that characterizes Calcutta is thus attributed to a failure to maintain the exclusivity associated with British racial prestige, with Kipling asserting: 'Small wonder the natives fail to respect the Sahib, seeing what they see and knowing what they know'.⁵⁰⁰

Gill Valentine has described the recurrent way in which the comparatively less privileged bodies of the 'white' female and the 'coloured' native are played off against each other in order to secure the advantage of the white male body. As she argues, 'colonial ideologies about black masculinity (as dangerous, criminal and uncontrollable) and white femininity (as pure, vulnerable, etc.) continue to underpin social relation between black men and white women in contemporary western societies'.⁵⁰¹ This complex relationship between gender and race is further explored by Ann Stoler in her study of gender, race and morality in colonial Asia, where she establishes a connection between the 'sexual and conjugal tensions of colonial life' and the 'personal and public boundaries of race':

I suggest that the very categories of 'colonizer' and 'colonized' were secured through forms of sexual control that defined the domestic arrangements of Europeans and the cultural investments by which they identified themselves. In treating the sexual and conjugal tensions of colonial life as more than a political trope for the tensions of empire writ small, but as part of the latter in socially profound and strategic ways, I examine how gender-specific sexual sanctions and

⁴⁹⁹ Kipling, p.74. Italics author's. *Izzat* translates as 'honour' in English. In appropriating this word, Kipling creates an interesting parallel between the native concept of honour embedded within it and the Europeans' need to define their own social standing, which is expressed here in the vernacular with its attendant social and cultural connotations.

⁵⁰⁰ Kipling, pp.74-75.

⁵⁰¹ Gill Valentine, *Social Geographies, Space & Society* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p.20.

prohibitions not only demarcated positions of power but prescribed the personal and public boundaries of race.⁵⁰²

Stoler traces a shift in colonial relations towards stricter forms of racial segregation which caused the decline of earlier patterns of social relations across racial borders, such as concubinage, and introduced instead the politically neutral concept of prostitution.⁵⁰³ This shift was largely attributed to the 'entry of white women' into the colonies, which inspired an 'embourgeoisment' of colonial communities with a significant sharpening of racial categories.⁵⁰⁴ This completely reconfigured European social space, introducing new life styles and 'accentuating the refinements of privilege and new etiquettes of racial difference'.⁵⁰⁵ Stoler again:

Women's psychological and physical constitutions were considered more fragile, demanding more servants for the chores they should be spared. In short, white women needed to be maintained at elevated standards of living, in insulated social spaces cushioned with the cultural artifacts of 'being European'.⁵⁰⁶

However, Stoler is also quick to recount the 'political chronology' in which the 'intensities of [these] racist practices arose'. European women, who were being positioned as standard-bearers for the refined colonial morality and prestige now under threat from the 'primitive sexual urges and uncontrollable lust' of native men, were thus the strategic substantiation of a major ideological shift in imperial racial attitudes. The voices of European women protesting against

⁵⁰² Ann Laura Stoler, 'Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial Asia', *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History and Political Economy*, ed. by Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo (London: Routledge, 1997), pp.13–36.

⁵⁰³ This shift was identified earlier in the chapter as one towards a 'scientific' interpretation of race. Concubinage, Stoler asserts, was a favoured strategy of European companies to maintain a certain standard of life for their employees within a certain wage limit. There were restrictions on marriage and families in colonies as married life would necessitate higher wages for the maintenance of a superior social standard than the natives while also indirectly causing the proliferation of poor whites and thereby tainting 'white prestige' in the colony. See also Thomas Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt India 1857-1870* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1964).

⁵⁰⁴ Stoler, p. 19.

⁵⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 19

⁵⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 19.

the double standards of the practice of concubinage had earlier been ignored until, as Stoler says, 'their objections coincided with a realignment in racial and class politics in which they were strategic to both'. Not that the strategic role of European women in redefining the boundaries of white prestige and privilege empowered them in the process. Rather, the revised racial stratification that marked a shift in colonial ideology towards a stricter consciousness of racial difference acted as a double bind on the freedom of mobility and visibility of both the European (female) and the native (male) body to safeguard the boundaries of colonial rule and power:

A defence of community, morality, and white male power was achieved by increasing control over and consensus among Europeans, by reaffirming the vulnerability of white women and the sexual threat posed by native men, and by creating new sanctions to limit the liberties of both.⁵⁰⁷

To demonstrate this with a particular example: as late as 1931, Glen Hicken's *Pleasures and Palaces* arranges a list of cafés and restaurants in Calcutta according to the gender and social rank of their patrons. It thus provides a distinct list of places 'patronised by the Upper-Ten, Both Men and Women', 'First Class Establishments resorted to chiefly by Men', and finally a list of places 'patronised by a nondescript crowd' and 'Taverns where foreign wine and liquor are sold frequented by the riff-raffs of the city'.⁵⁰⁸ These social, racial and gender fault lines are tracked by Mrinalini Sinha in her essay exploring the social and political role of the white male exclusivity of 'clubland' in India. Clubs, says Sinha, represented 'an oasis of European culture in the colonies'. Newman's early edition (1875) registers the 'club land' as a privileged community, 'Members are admitted by ballot. All gentlemen received in general society in Calcutta are eligible'. The non-elected members included, 'The Viceroy; the Commander-in-Chief in India; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; North-Western Provinces and Punjab, Members of

⁵⁰⁷ Stoler, p. 22.

⁵⁰⁸ Hicken, p. 48.

Supreme Executive Council, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, are entitled to privileges of members'. The membership criteria took into account the provisional nature of citizenship in Calcutta, providing for 'Non-resident' and 'Absent' members.⁵⁰⁹

In comparing the aggressively protected all-European masculine space of the clubs in metropolitan London with their colonial counterparts, Sinha brings into play the complex intersection of gender and race. The admission of women into the masculinist space of the clubs was viewed by most of their male members with considerable distaste; as Sinha asserts, 'White women, indeed, were seldom allowed unrestricted use of the club premises. Although they had been incorporated grudgingly into clubland, they had no official standing in the clubs and their name seldom appeared in the list of members'.⁵¹⁰ In particular, she quotes W.O. Home, a civil servant in turn-of-the-century Madras, to explain the strategic inclusion of white women in the clubs in order to prevent them from engaging with Indians in alternative social spaces. As Home baldly states, 'white women, if left on their own in India, would lower the prestige of the ruling race'.⁵¹¹ This purported threat eventually resulted in white women being allowed into 'special ladies' quarters' appended to the clubs. By allowing women into clubs, the European exclusivity of the club premises could be protected under the alibi of keeping out the threat of native sexual advances. As Sinha puts it, 'the alleged protection of white women from the unprovoked attention of Indian men also made them crucial determinants in the "unclubbability" of Indians'.⁵¹² The Calcutta Club and United Services Club feature in almost every handbook from this time, and formed an important representation of the European community in the socio-cultural space of early twentieth-century Calcutta. Interestingly, the sections in these handbooks dedicated to enumerating the

⁵⁰⁹ Newman, 1875, p.197.

⁵¹⁰ Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies*, *At Home in the Empire*, 40.4 (2001), 489–521, (p.502).

⁵¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 501.

⁵¹² *ibid.*, p. 503.

clubs' services do not clearly state racial demarcations, but are listed nonetheless as European establishments. As Edmund Mitchell, in *Thacker's Guide book to Calcutta* (1890), writes of the Bengal Club: 'For this club, gentlemen in general society who are residents in Calcutta, are eligible for election as permanent members, and temporary residents as honorary members'.⁵¹³ Both Mitchell (1890) and Newman's *Handbook to Calcutta* (1892) stress the influential social network that membership of the Bengal Club entailed:

The members of the club are honorary members of the Byculla club at Bombay, the Madras Club, and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Club, the members of these clubs in like manner enjoying the privileges of honorary membership of the Bengal Club.⁵¹⁴

As Sinha suggests, 'these clubs, [...] represented an oasis of European culture in the colonies, functioning to reproduce the comfort and familiarity of "home" for Europeans living in an alien land'.⁵¹⁵ The clublands in India, Sinha further observes, because of their particular colonial location were 'already more of a "domestic" institution than [they] ever became in metropolitan Britain' because of the strategic inclusion of women among their clientele to justify the exclusion of native men. Nevertheless, the clubs in Calcutta maintained their function of creating exclusive social networks as they offered an alternative, albeit masculine space for the colonial elite to 'sustain a certain lifestyle that corresponded to the politically desirable self-image of a ruling white population in India'.⁵¹⁶ Sinha interprets this particular 'political mobilization of whiteness' in terms of unequal economic and social privilege:

The European social clubs functioned to underwrite the consolidation of a racially exclusive colonial elite in India. The clubs, for example, served to provide private European economic firms in India direct

⁵¹³ Edmund Mitchell, *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta: Its High-Ways and By-Paths, with a Chapter on the Government of India* (Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890), p.99. Punctuations followed as in original text.

⁵¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.99.

⁵¹⁵ Sinha, p. 489.

⁵¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.505.

access to the representatives of the colonial government, thereby contributing to the exclusive European control over the economy and the gradual decline of native economic competitiveness in the nineteenth century, especially in Bengal.⁵¹⁷

The informality of such social spaces contests the easy divide between ‘private’ and ‘public’ space. Bernard S. Cohn posits that the British ‘took control, by defining and classifying space, making separation between public and private spheres’.⁵¹⁸ In her critical analysis of Calcutta’s public and private spaces Swati Chattopadhyay elaborates on the different social and psychological constructions of domestic/interior and public/exterior space in native cultures vis-à-vis European cultures, showing how these constructed spaces impacted social customs and rituals of personal hygiene. However, to develop governmental projects that would help comprehend the complex social reality of the colonial city it was necessary to conceive of the colonial sphere as divided into public and private domains. In this sense, both the ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces of Empire are socially constructed categories that exist in a reciprocal relation to each other, constructing, reflecting and absorbing the paradoxical playing out of colonial governmental strategies. In the next section, I will explore the Calcutta handbooks’ contribution towards narrativizing the domestic private space of the European household in the context of the colonial exotic. By identifying particular categories that were used in handbooks to define the colonial domestic in relation to hygiene, I will delineate the material and affective associations of exotic colonial space with the western Victorian subject of ‘domestic science’ as a whole.

The domestic exotic: gender, hygiene and home

Handbooks were meant for public distribution and consumption. The need to narrate the European domestic space of colonial Calcutta in the public

⁵¹⁷ Sinha, p.506.

⁵¹⁸ Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of Knowledge, The British in India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), p.3.

narrative of handbooks required the imposition of standardizing categories on the private domains of colonial life, thereby making them visible and open to judgement and regulation. Dipesh Chakrabarty reads Bengali modernity in the context of the modernization of the Bengal domestic realm, linking it to nationalism, the promise of citizenship and the nation-state. His methodology is useful to my argument to the extent that it relates the creation of citizen-subjects to the modern civil society's division between the public and private:

The British instituted some kind of civil society in colonial Bengal. The modern civil society carries with itself the distinction of the 'public' and the 'private'. This distinction, in turn raises the question of the state. As Philippe Ariès says, the modern public/private split fundamentally relates to the position of the individual with regard to the (modern) state, that is, casting the individual in the role of the citizen, Bengali engagements with 'modernizing' the domestic cannot be discussed in separation from nationalism, the ideology that promised citizenship and the nation state, and thus the ideal civil-political society that the domestic order would have the duty of servicing.⁵¹⁹

Following on from Chakrabarty, Philippe Ariès's concept of a 'modern civil society' includes the private/public divide which places the individual in relation to the modern state, casting him or her as a citizen. Chakrabarty's essay dwells on the 'ways the project of creating citizen-subjects for Bengal/India was/is continually disrupted by other imaginations of family, personhood and the domestic', discussing the narration of the domestic with reference to vernacular household guides and advice manuals, which rephrased the standard formulations of Victorian England in the language, myth and metaphor of local cultures.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'The Difference—Deferral of a Colonial Modernity', ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler *Tensions of Empire Colonial Cultures in Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp.373-405.

⁵²⁰ *ibid.*, p.374.

The handbooks I discuss in my thesis differ, however, from Chakrabarty's narratives in intent, scope and target readership. To repeat, the handbooks to which I refer were meant for the *European* section of the population, where native social customs, environmental vicissitudes, health-related practices and economic circumstances were all represented in a categorical fashion. However, the handbooks do subscribe to the divide between the public and private in the context of city space. Information on private life, focusing mainly on manners, social customs, language, cuisine and domestic help, is provided via a more intimate and associative language. Along with Stoler, I would argue that many of the racial, political and ideological precepts of empire were embedded in the discourses of the domestic and the intimate.⁵²¹ European officers, residents and reader were thus all involved in the process of being constituted as citizen-subjects, and the handbooks can be seen as an important means of putting into practice the governmental strategies of colonial rule. However, as we will see, the colonial regime's initial attitude towards a compromise with the established customs, rituals and languages of India would evolve into a seemingly self-sufficient society that admitted native socio-cultural customs and people on exclusively British terms. Consequently, the need to register compromise all but vanished from the pages of handbooks written after the 1920s. This was in line with the administrative and attitudinal changes in colonial rationale I have been tracing here, suggesting once more that the study of handbooks produced over a certain historical period reveals—whether explicitly or implicitly—imprints of political change in the body of the handbook text. The following section will look at some these changes in relation to the representation of domestic help, tables of translation into the vernacular languages, and food habits in the Calcutta handbooks, comparing them with other literature that

⁵²¹ Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Kumari Jayawardena, *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia During British Colonial Rule* (Oxford: Routledge, 1995); and Margaret Strobel and Nupur Chaudhuri, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).

was available to serve similar purposes during the period. It traces the nature of representations of European domestic life in Calcutta, drawing attention to the discourse of hygiene as a constant referent for constructions of colonial exotic space.

Home and the other

European and indigenous domestic space in colonial South Asia has been subject to extensive research as a political category that is planned, ordered, mapped and controlled in relation to the various subjects that inhabit that space. As we have seen, the Calcutta handbook as a sub-genre engages with the private and the intimate in order to build narratives around the spaces produced in the service of empire from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Domestic space was by no means exclusive of the ideologies that structured the public space of colonial Calcutta, but neither was it simply an extension of the structures of difference that governed social interaction in, for example, offices, schools and the military. Rather, the intimate realm was negotiated under a definite set of domestic rules that were subject to generalized perceptions of the role of memsahibs in British Indian homes. As stated earlier (see Chapter One), colonial historians have tended to see the figure of the memsahib as a custodian of Englishness used both to address the threat of miscegenation and to contribute to strict forms of racial segregation between the rulers and the ruled. In this sense, the memsahib effectively embodied the changing structures of racial politics that shaped strict social codes in the public and private spaces of empire.⁵²² This perception falls short, though, of addressing what Mary A. Procida calls ‘the dynamic domesticity that transgressed imperial cultural boundaries while simultaneously solidifying imperial

⁵²² See Ann Stoler and Mrinalini Sinha and the section on Clubs and inter-racial marriage in the previous section.

dominance'.⁵²³ The colonial domestic sphere has therefore been read first and foremost as a *political* category: as Blunt and Dowling argue, 'the home on a domestic scale is intimately bound up with imperial, national and indigenous politics that are themselves articulated and contested through material and imaginative geographies of home'.⁵²⁴ In an essay relating to British domesticity in India, Alison Blunt similarly remarks that 'the domestic roles reproduced imperial power relations on a household scale and the political significance of imperial domesticity extended beyond the boundaries of home'.⁵²⁵

The concept of 'home' as explored in this section of the chapter borrows from Blunt and Dowling's definition:

Home is a *spatial imaginary*: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which are related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places. Home is hence a complex and multi-layered geographical concept. Put most simply, home is: a place/site, a set of feelings/cultural meanings, and the relations between the two.⁵²⁶

This definition brings together the material and imaginary aspects of home, extending them beyond the physical limitations of the house in order to challenge the normative understanding of home as a private gendered category and to develop instead a 'critical geography of home'. In order to analyse Anglo-Indian households as these are depicted in the Calcutta handbooks one needs to account for the proximity between these handbooks and allied genres like household guides and cookbooks. It is significant that both of these latter would come to prominence in India during the same period that witnessed an increasing popularity of handbooks. As Blunt states, 'the period between late 1880s and mid-1920s saw the publication of an

⁵²³ Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 125.

⁵²⁴ Blunt & Dowling, *Home* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.142.

⁵²⁵ Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24 (1999), 421-40 (p.423).

⁵²⁶ Blunt and Dowling, p.2.

unprecedented number of household guides, which were written for the second generation of middle-class British women to live in India after the suppression of the “mutiny”/uprising of 1857.⁵²⁷ This period also witnessed an increased number of European women travelling to India, and a resultant consolidation of British domesticity after the turbulent period that followed the ‘Mutiny’ years. Mary Procida’s analysis of Anglo-Indian cookbooks likewise takes into account the popularity of this genre in the early twentieth century. Both Blunt and Procida read household guides and cookbooks respectively as unconscious governmental strategies of control. Having first established that Anglo-Indian kitchen guides actively discouraged the European memsahib from investing her energies in supervising the kitchen beyond the odd perfunctory visit, Procida argues that ‘these cookbooks uncover the processes through which the British controlled their empire and the extent to which this control infiltrated even the most mundane aspects of imperial life’.⁵²⁸

It should hopefully be clear by now that the handbook as a witness to governmental technologies of rule has two conflicting aspects to it. The previous section dealt with the ways in which handbooks were used to document the impact of governmental projects on public space and institutions, regulating the population but failing to counteract the many contradictions and paradoxes that colonial space offered to a Foucauldian understanding of governmentality. In line with Huxley’s interpretation of governmentality as the ‘conduct of conducts’—a way of fashioning subjects as citizens—I will use this section to consider how those same handbooks served as a reflection of the *slippages* ‘between governmental aspirations and the outcomes of programmes’ designed to incorporate the ‘private’ space of European households into the ‘public’ discourse of handbooks and related genres.⁵²⁹ I therefore agree with Procida and Blunt in reading handbooks and allied genres as ‘cultural technologies of rule’, but as I showed earlier the

⁵²⁷ Blunt p.423.

⁵²⁸ Gowans, p.138.

⁵²⁹ Huxley, p.1645.

handbook genre tends to problematize the too-easy concept of an ‘unconscious reflection of everyday life’.⁵³⁰ Even though it does not provide ‘covert or explicit political commentary’, the handbook brings together characteristic features that draw from multiple disciplines and genres of study—anthropological measures of population regulation, household guides, cookbooks, memoirs, historical narratives—in order to build a multi-scalar narrative of the colonial experience through a collage of narrative devices borrowed from popular genres. In what follows, I will show some examples of informal advice and hints listed in early handbooks (*T. Black & Co.’s book* and *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book*), which later evolved into self-contained genres in the early twentieth century along with a growth in British domesticity in the subcontinent. In so doing, I will refer in passing to three representative accounts of such genres: the popular *household guide*, e.g. Flora Annie Steel’s *The Complete Indian housekeeper & Cook*, which was already in its seventh edition in 1909; *advice manuals* such as *The Memsahib’s Manual* (1914), and books dedicated exclusively to *cookery* and *cuisine* such as the Constance E. Gordon’s *Anglo-Indian Cuisine (Khána Kitâb) and Domestic Economy* (1913).

The *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book: or, Stranger’s Self-Interpreter and Guide*, published in 1850, includes a section entitled ‘On the Natives of India, their Character, Customs and Prejudices’ that offers an intriguing glimpse into the mid nineteenth-century conciliatory attitude of the British towards the Indian populace. The compiler of the handbook states his objective in no uncertain terms:

It is (without the least pretension to erudition) an immediate, temporary, local assistant, to such persons as have not either inclination, abilities or time to enter into a more intense, accurate, and laborious disquisition on the Eastern languages, that they may, on their arrival, communicate their wants in the common occurrences

⁵³⁰ Procida quotes this phrase from Annie Goldman, “I Yam What I Yam”: Cooking, Culture and Colonialism” in *De/Colonizing the Subject*, ed. by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p.170 and Jean-François Revel, *Culture and Cuisine* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1982), p.3.

of life, avoid the inconvenience and imposition arising from a doubtful or perverted interpretation, to the detriment of their concerns; and be able to facilitate their intercourse with natives, without waiting till they have acquired, by long habit, what continued occasion requires they should put into immediate practice.⁵³¹

The author criticizes the general European tendency to form preconceived notions about the natives of India, for instance ‘that they are a degraded race without a single good quality, thus inducing a reciprocal prejudice, under which mutual contempt and hatred are the natural consequence’. He advises that ‘this illiberal and impolitic conduct is the duty of every European to studiously avoid’.⁵³² As for judging the character and customs of the Indian people, he warns that ‘so idle is it [...] to ascribe uniformity of character to a country so extensive’.⁵³³ Though the *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book* was produced within six years of Stocqueler’s divisive narrative, it prescribes a decidedly more liberal approach towards interracial interaction and expands the scope of such interaction beyond the master-servant relationship in the domestic sphere. It does follow the general narrative structure of the handbook, such as the expected section on the ‘Natives of India’, but diversifies in its content to address issues of caste, rank, religious diversity and the ensuing codes of conduct appropriate for specific exchanges.

More specifically, the author draws attention to Hindoo and Moohummudun [*sic*] prejudices in advising readers to pay heed to the religious practices of particular sects and castes when looking to employ native servants; he also offers advice on social customs that need to be observed in respect to all classes of natives.

Never touch them whilst they are smoking or eating—nor touch their culinary utensils—nor their food—nor their water jars—nor unnecessarily approach their fire-places—nor enter their cooking

⁵³¹ *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book*, p.9. Quoted from the Preface to Captain Hadley’s *Grammar*.

⁵³² *ibid.*, p.466.

⁵³³ *ibid.*, p.468.

rooms—nor desire their presence or attendance (if not table servants) at a table during meal times.⁵³⁴

Europeans are forewarned to maintain a 'Christian character' to garner the respect of the native inhabitants: 'In the endeavour to conciliate the respect and esteem of the natives, those (Europeans) who most emulate the virtues and amiabilities of the Christian character, are, without doubt, the most successful'.⁵³⁵ This insistence on a 'Christian character' was central to the moral construct of the civilizational rationale and its governmental projects, as discussed above. The handbook then elaborates on etiquette to be observed when receiving native visitors, such as 'shoe and hat etiquette', 'salutations', 'modes of address' and 'forms of thanks and apology'. 'Acts to avoid' form a separate section that includes an array of instructions:

Never give a native letters closed with wafers wetted except in water—nor present anything to them with the left hand—nor put the feet on a chair or table occupied by them—nor in their presence lift up the feet so that the soles of the shoes may face towards them—nor unnecessarily touch them, especially their beards—nor take off their turbans; this last act being understood by them as an insult, figuratively equal to depriving them of their heads—nor give them *three* of any thing when that number can conveniently be avoided.⁵³⁶

This particular section of the handbook also concentrates on private rituals for exhibiting deference and insult. The section on 'shoe and hat etiquette' is an example of the varied measures of self-fashioning that were adopted at the time by the different sects and classes of native society, showing how the structures guaranteeing British racial prestige adjusted to the subtle textures of difference (and deference) that social interaction produced. The author suggests that natives should follow the indigenous custom of taking off their shoes when entering the private quarters of Englishmen as a mark of respect

⁵³⁴ *ibid.*, p.472.

⁵³⁵ *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book.*, p. 474

⁵³⁶ *ibid.*, p.478.

that corresponds to European men taking off their hats on similar occasions. On instances when native gentlemen wear their shoes to private gatherings and 'neglect this national testimony of respect, though they are received with all the ceremony of English etiquette', they should be 'rebuked'. The neglect of this custom is interpreted as an undue liberty that shows the European host in poor light: 'In order to take this liberty, they (natives) sometimes affect to tell us, that it is a matter of little consequence; yet among themselves, they will boast of having been permitted to do so, and speak contemptuously of the English for allowing it'.⁵³⁷ However, exceptions can be made for 'some few hindoo gentlemen, who wear English shoes, in the apparent desire of further conforming to English etiquette'. Rules are also different for 'native friends, who as visitors, sit at the same table, [where] liberal allowance should be made for departure from acknowledged native custom'. Consideration is also shown to native men 'who have received the benefit of an English education' and retain shoes on all occasions 'when the prejudices of their own kindred do not compel them to uncover their feet'.⁵³⁸ Therefore, what is considered a necessary ritual of respect is, in another context, dismissed as a redundant prejudice.⁵³⁹ The 'Miscellaneous notes', which compile advice regarding such social sleights of hand, have a characteristic tone of intimate confidence, encouraging self-fashioning through the adoption of western education and culture.

The narrative of social rituals for inter-racial contact shows a distinct class and caste consciousness. This class and caste bias is evident as well in the author's suggestions regarding the hiring of domestic servants. It is suggested that 'Europeans in India should be very particular in securing the

⁵³⁷ *ibid.*, p.477.

⁵³⁸ *ibid.*, p.476.

⁵³⁹ Bernard S. Cohn (1996) provides a critical reading of the symbolic significance of social rituals in which documents, objects and salutations were an organic part of social interaction. For example, the Mughal *firman* presented by the Nawab to the British merchants was not limited to a mercenary exchange of money, but rather represented a sharing of the authority to rule and collect taxes. The British, according to Cohn, viewed all exchanges as having a monetary value attached to them and did not take into account the cultural import of social customs. In *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book*, however, we see an awareness of the cultural and affective import of social rituals in maintaining white racial prestige.

services of respectable servants'. The concept of respectability is then associated with caste hierarchy, emphasizing native caste-based prejudices, but in the context of hygiene and cleanliness. '[W]ith reference to Hindoos—caste having the same influence on them that rank has upon the English in inducing habits of cleanliness in dress, person, and manners—the lower their class the less their pride, and consequently the more their indifference to those habits of cleanliness so essential in the individuals who discharge the duties of cooks and scullions'.⁵⁴⁰

Class-based hierarchies function, in turn, in relation to gendered aspects of private space within the overall context of colonial domesticity. The author is severely critical of some European women's practice of admitting native man-servants 'of all descriptions' into their bedrooms. He argues that this can easily be prevented by employing ayahs (female nurses) instead, as practiced by certain British ladies who have, 'sufficient sense of propriety to prohibit it'. The ladies who prevent such practices are 'respected accordingly' and those that fail to do so are subject to ignominy: 'I will not say, in broad terms, in what light the others are looked upon by the people'.⁵⁴¹ These 'people', who look down upon such flagrant breaches of social decorum, are both European and of native society. In this last sense, the concepts of 'honour', 'civility' and 'decorum' that framed British racial prestige at the time were interpreted as being co-dependent on native conceptions of caste and the gendered segregation of space, functioning as an ideological support to the European right to rule. The creation of an exclusively female space within the domestic space of the European home is an interesting incorporation of the native practice of 'purdah' or 'andar-mahal'; it is also an extension of the gender and racial binds that applied to native men and European women in the public space of clubs, as discussed in the section above.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴⁰ *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book*, p.474.

⁵⁴¹ *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book*, p.475.

⁵⁴² Swati Chattopadhyay argues that the *andar-mahal* (inner precincts of the middle and upper-class household) and the practice of *purdah* (seclusion) in Bengali social discourse had everything to do with the family's claim to respectability. As a cultural construct *purdah* conveyed protection from unwanted physical, aural but, most significantly, visual contact.

Similarly detailed advice on the pitfalls of procuring domestic help occurs in *T. Black & Co's Hand Book of Calcutta* (1864). Black's description of the general situation of domestic help available in India subscribes to the medically inflected racial theory of casting the native as lazy in body, demanding constant supervision and psychologically debased, conniving and prone to stealth:

In short, domestic servants form one of the most common annoyances here: leaving aside their honesty, they are, as a body, generally inclined to laziness, are obstroperous [*sic*] and require constant attention to see that they perform their legitimate duties.⁵⁴³

The chief 'vice' cited is leaving service without notice, often after having stolen some valuables from the household. Black is quick to warn that any legal action to procure the stolen item is likely to be of no avail and will only lead to futile expenditure. This risk, he suggests, should be mitigated by means of recommendation letters or holding the head-servant responsible for all subsequent employments. The handbooks produced during the first two decades of the twentieth century seldom comment on the employment of servants themselves apart from providing a table of wages listed for each type of service provided according to contemporary market rates.⁵⁴⁴

However, Hicken in his 1931 handbook provides a glimpse into the local network for procuring servants that offers a more personalized approach to their management. As he says:

There are no recognised Servant's Agencies in Calcutta, servants are usually procured through the servants of friend and acquaintances—a procedure far from satisfactory. If one does not have a friend or

However, Chattopadhyay also comments on how these spaces generated intense speculation in British circles influenced by Orientalist visions of 'sexual promiscuity and/or enslaved brown women deprived of monogamous domestic bliss' (p.266).

⁵⁴³ T. Black & Co's *Hand Book of Calcutta* (Calcutta: T. Black & Co., 1864).

⁵⁴⁴ These include Firminger (1906), Cotton (1907) and Newell (1920).

acquaintance the next best thing to do is to get in touch with some of the numerous servants who visit the New Market daily.⁵⁴⁵

The early handbooks mentioned here, *The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book* (1850) and *T. Black and Co.'s Hand Book* (1864), have extensive sections

	Rs. per month.
Khansamah or Butler, ...	8 to 16
Khitmutgar or Table Attendant, ...	6 to 8
Babarchy or Cook, ...	6 to 9
Durwan or Porter, ...	5 to 7
Hurkaru or Messenger, ...	5 to 7
Coachman, ...	8 to 10
Syco or Groom, ...	5
Mussalchy or Scullion, ...	4
Sirdar Bearer or House and Furniture Domestic, ...	6 to 8
Mate Bearer or Deputy ditto, ...	5 to 6
Punkah Bearer assistant to No. 9 and to pull the Punkah, ...	4
Mehter or Sweeper, ...	4
Bheesty or Water Bearer, ...	4

A single Gentleman on first arrival in India will find two personal servants suffice, viz. a Table Servant and a Bearer, the wages should be

Table Servant, ...	7 to 10 Rs.
Bearer, ...	6 to 8 ..

The higher rates are given only to servants who may have been long in their master's employ and may be considered trust-worthy.

Wages of out-door servants are generally these :—

	Rs.	As.	P.
Barber, Gentleman's, monthly	1	8	0
Carpenter, ditto	10 to 12	0	0
Tailor, Gentleman's, ditto	6 to 8	0	0
Ditto Lady's 1st class, ditto	8 to 10	0	0
Ditto ditto 2nd class, ditto	6 to 7	0	0
Washerman (for each person) ditto	3 to 5	0	0

Fig. 2.2. This table indicating servant's wages is copied from *T. Black & Co's Hand Book*, p. 73.

⁵⁴⁵ Hicken, p.115.

dedicated to an assortment of practical advice. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the composite knowledge of the early handbooks was broken down into specific genres dealing with either household-related advice or cuisine, and sometimes structuring information in accordance with the role to be played by the European mistress in managing her home. This is clearly demonstrated in the list of publications attached to *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* (1906).⁵⁴⁶ In this and other respects, handbooks pre-empted the conduct manual. Conduct manuals and handbooks often covered similar ground, but offered different approaches. Flora Anne Steel's *The Complete Indian Housekeeper* (1909), for example, provides at least partial remedies to some of the complaints registered by T. Black. Steel provides a rationale for the seemingly unintelligible ways of native servants and suggests a sustained method of 'training' to achieve expected service. As she patronisingly observes, 'The Indian servant is a child in everything save age, and should be treated as a child; that is to say, kindly, but with the greatest firmness'. Any kind of 'absence or neglect on the part of the mistress, results in the servants falling into their old habits with the inherited conservatism of dirt'.⁵⁴⁷ The first duty of the mistress is therefore to familiarize herself with the language of command, 'to give intelligible orders to her servants; therefore it is necessary that she should learn Hindustani'. Backing this is a rigorous system of awards and fines designed to train the servant in the Christian virtues of order and obedience. 'There is very little to which we can appeal in the average Indian servant, but then, until it is implanted by training, there is very little sense of duty in a child [...]'.⁵⁴⁸ Another curious practice that plays on this domestication of the exotic other via the language of filial discipline is forcefully feeding castor oil to servants who might otherwise be prone to 'forgetfulness'. 'To show what absolute children Indian servants are, the same author has [...] adopted castor oil as an ultimatum in all obstinate cases, on

⁵⁴⁶ See Mary A. Procida and Alison Blunt, op. cit; see also the section titled 'Governmentality and Hygiene', (p.200) for a list of popular housekeeping publications during this period.

⁵⁴⁷ F. A. Steel and G. Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper & Cook: Giving the Duties of Mistress and Servants, the General Management of the House, and Practical Recipes for Cooking in All its Branches* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), p.2.

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.3.

the ground that there must be some physical cause for inability to learn or to remember'.⁵⁴⁹ As we have already seen, this particular aspect of the physical manifestation of racial ideology in the corporeal being of the subject, linking it to moral/psychological and physical debilitation, would be a major obstacle

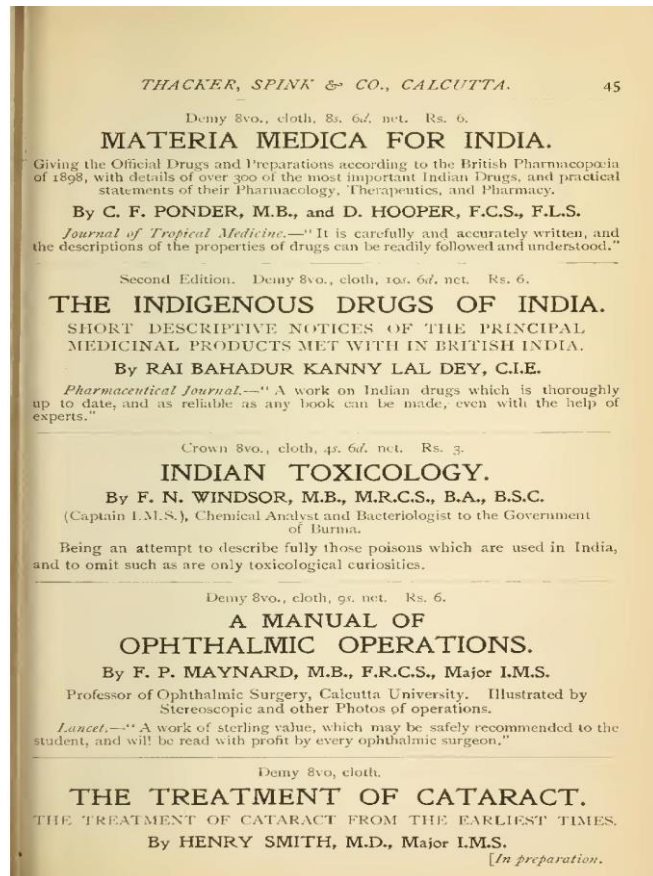
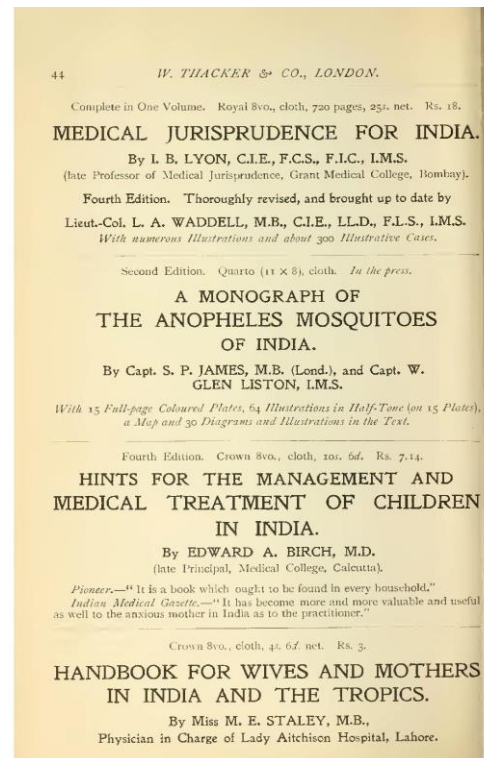
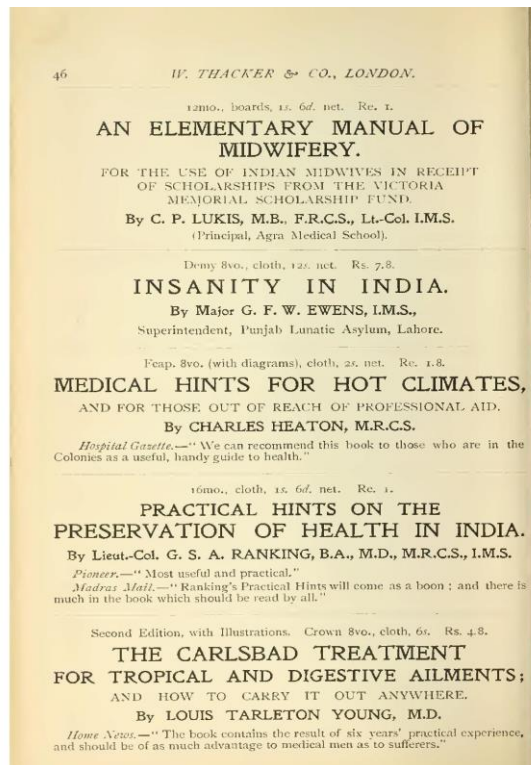


Fig. 2.3 These pages have

been reproduced from *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* 1906) pp. (appendices) 44-46.

⁵⁴⁹ *ibid*, p.3.



to the construction of compliant citizen-subjects in the colonial polity as a whole.

Similarly, T. Black's handbook begins with a section, 'Hints for Visitors to Calcutta', which elaborates on the climate and its ill effects on the European constitution, but predictably concludes on a note of general distrust towards the natives:

Above all, punctuality should be observed in all his movements; but in order to maintain such, he will have to keep his staff of servants on the qui vive, for those individuals, in common with all natives, pay no regard to time, so that by availing himself of its value, he may not only attain to eminence and distinction in whatever station he may be placed but also outwit the crafty and designing Native, with all his tergiversation and tact, in the torturing of words, actions an

expression, so as to best suit his own immediate views, at the sacrifice of the position of his European friend or acquaintance.⁵⁵⁰

At moments like these, the rationale of structuring the European way of life in Calcutta is based on an understanding of the native character in the opposing extremes of childlike innocence, implying susceptibility to regimes of control and obedience, and as sly and scheming, a corrupt manipulator of words and deeds.

For Huxley and others, the structuring of the European subject in colonial Calcutta was implemented as a 'conduct of conducts', and handbooks, like conduct manuals, came to stake out the principal patterns of such disciplinary regimes.⁵⁵¹ However, this particular aspect of governmentality was also tied in with the actual material body and its affective associations, as David Arnold's pioneering research on western medical discourse as a colonizing mechanism of control in British India has shown. As Arnold suggests, 'Colonial rule built up an enormous battery of texts and discursive practices that concerned themselves with the physical being of the colonized (and, no less critically, though the interconnection is too seldom recognized, of the colonizers implanted in their midst)'.⁵⁵² The handbook needs to be seen in this context of the medical discourse of hygiene. What Arnold calls the 'corporeality of colonialism in India' also manifests itself in handbook form as an ethnographic attitude, following along the lines of a colonial anthropology that bundled social, ethnic, psychological and moral attitudes into neat categories based on colour, religion and class.⁵⁵³ The European self was then defined in relation to such primary categories of differentiation. Peter Pels's work provides a useful analytical link to the various ways in which anthropology and colonialism

⁵⁵⁰ Black, p.54.

⁵⁵¹ For an elaboration of governmentality discussed as a 'conduct of conducts', see Margo Huxley.

⁵⁵² Arnold, p.8.

⁵⁵³ See, Talal Asad, *Anthropology and Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973); *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. by N.B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India* (1996), and Graham Huggan, *Interdisciplinary Measures* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001).

worked together to project seemingly universal Manichean essentializations of 'us' and 'them', though these gave way in practice to much more complex and particularist negotiations of colonial rule. Pels regards anthropology as an 'academic offshoot of a set of universalist technologies of domination', a 'statecraft' that comprised 'forms of identification, registration, and discipline [which] emerged in tandem with technologies of self-control that fostered notions of cleanliness, domesticity, ethnicity and civilization'. Anthropology therefore 'precariously straddled a world of paradox and contradiction', 'negotiating ethnic, civilized, and savage identities [which] were at the juncture of these technologies of domination and self-control'.⁵⁵⁴ As handbooks were to an extent inspired by the theoretical and taxonomic methodologies used in colonial anthropology, my study is interested in the extent to which the theories and fieldwork methods employed in anthropology as instruments of colonial governmental planning provided a general self-reflexive framework for the various technologies of self-fashioning that were available to the colonizers in Calcutta and other colonial cities elsewhere. More particularly, I now want to position handbooks within the discourse of *colonial hygiene*, which would transform the body into a site of struggle as well as material evidence of colonial racial ideology, as Arnold's aforementioned work implies.

Governmentality and hygiene

The deleterious climate of India was a major concern in the development of western medicine as a colonial discourse. The perceived strangeness of India and the malevolence of its climate were accentuated by the physical discomfort and the high mortality rates witnessed among Europeans. Early romantic picturesque representations of India in, say, the paintings of the Daniell brothers thus came to be replaced by an awareness of the savage

⁵⁵⁴ Peter Pels, 'Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History and the Emergence of Western Governmentality', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26 (1997), 163-183 (p.165).

effects that the pathogenic climate could have on the human constitution.⁵⁵⁵ Early interest in appropriating local medicinal practices, diet and dress to serve the interests of European health were replaced in turn by the rigorous application of western medicine as a powerful tool of colonial intervention. This happened both *spatially*, in terms of developing a medical topography of Bengal, and *physiologically* by introducing vaccinations and other physically intrusive forms of medical control and surveillance in Calcutta and elsewhere.⁵⁵⁶

Arnold explains this shift as tantamount to a cultural critique of the native population, where the focus of medical research extended from environmental factors to include native practices of self-fashioning as symptomatic of disease and debilitation:

From explaining ill health and disease almost exclusively in terms of India's physical environment, medical writers by mid-century were moving towards explanations which gave greater prominence to the peculiar characteristics of Indian society, morality and culture. India's pathogenic environment had been stretched to include social cultural idiosyncrasies as well as climatic and topographical phenomena, though the distinction between the two was often blurred.⁵⁵⁷

An interesting example of this is supplied in the *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book* (1850), which, in listing the type of clothing most suitable for the Indian climate and the kind of material that might endure in the Indian heat and survive the washing practices of indigenous *dhobis* (washermen), advocates the practice of wearing 'Turbans and Kumurbunds [*sic*]'. Quoting from Dr. Johnson's *Tropical Climates*, the author remarks:

⁵⁵⁵ Arnold, 1993, p.33.

⁵⁵⁶ James Ranald Martin in *Notes on the Medical Topography of Calcutta* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1837) developed a medical topography of Calcutta under the orders of the Government of India. The plague vaccinations took place in Calcutta around 1907–1910; further details are given below.

⁵⁵⁷ Arnold, 1993, p.41.

The former (Turban) to defend the head from the direct rays of a powerful sun; the latter, apparently, for the purpose of preserving the important viscera of the abdomen from the deleterious impressions of cold [...] A very good substitute for the Turban is a large cotton handkerchief folded up in the hat; and where we are exposed to the direct influence of solar heat, with much advantage be kept moistened, with water. In situations where atmospheric vicissitudes are sudden, a fine shawl round the waist forms an excellent kumurbund, and should never be neglected, especially by those who have been some time in the country [...].⁵⁵⁸

Several innovations of the Anglo-Indian community to battle the extremes of climate in the early days of the nineteenth century are also listed, such as the punkhas (fans),

an oblong, superficial, light frame of wood, covered with cotton cloth or tussar silk, and suspended length-ways, , by hooks and ropes, from the ceiling of a room : and then, by a rope from its centre, pulled backwards and forwards, thus acting as a fan, over the heads of those who sit beneath it.⁵⁵⁹

These were commonly used during repasts or were fitted over beds 'going all night'. The swinging rope was passed out of the room and pulled by servants sitting outside it. An alternative was 'Khus-Khus tuttees', described as screens thatched with khus, fixed at a doorway and frequently doused with water. These cooled the breeze by evaporation as it passed into the rooms; newcomers were advised to not to sit too near them for fear of catching cold. These features were quintessential objects associated with the European household in the hot and humid climate of Calcutta.

The *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book* then embarks on a detailed section on health and hygiene, enumerating climatic conditions like exposure to the

⁵⁵⁸ *Anglo-Hindustani*, p.427.

⁵⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.431.

sun, suitable sites for building houses, and the most conducive manner of laying out rooms. Cooking forms an essential part of medical discourse, with specific instructions given on preparing and preserving food and homemade remedies for common agues. Cuisine related to medicinal properties and meant to serve the invalids and those recovering from disease can similarly be found in Steel's *Indian Housekeeper*, *Memsahib's Manual* and *Khána Kitâb* (*Anglo-Indian Cuisine and Domestic Economy*, 1913). Cuisine and the storage and preservation of food items are major concerns in early handbook narratives like the *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book* and *Black's Hand Book of Calcutta*. These concerns were categorically grouped together in books exclusively on cuisine and health in the early twentieth century. In comparison, later handbooks only have brief sections on the environment and its effects, with Barry's *Calcutta 1940* (1940) including a section entitled 'The City's Health' where the author makes a sharp distinction between the early days of the settlement, which were plagued by epidemics and death, and mid twentieth-century Calcutta, which was increasingly 'immune' to such threats, testifying to the success of colonial governmental measures in the city that introduced an ordered social organization that prevented 'corrupting' influences :

Once upon a time the European residents of Calcutta gathered together yearly to congratulate one another on having escaped with their lives through another season of pestilence. Today every citizen, whether he is of the East or West, has just as much expectation of longevity in Calcutta, as he would have anywhere else. It is not that Calcutta is health resort, but its rapid advancement in Medical Science, Sanitation and Health Culture, has brought the town into line with the healthiest cities in the world. ⁵⁶⁰

To illustrate the handbook's complicity in manufacturing narratives of colonial governmental success, one need only recall the great famine of 1943, which was followed by a cholera epidemic in which '379 lives were "claimed"

⁵⁶⁰ Barry, p.8.

in Calcutta during September 1943, with 456 others “killed” during the first ten days of October’.⁵⁶¹ To understand the significance of the material realities of everyday life in colonial Calcutta one also needs to view them in relation to the affective associations they generated. The moral/social impact of the changes wrought by the discursive functioning of hygiene in everyday habits of prevention and cure took on added significance as carefully constructed practices within governmental projects. To clinch this link between the affective and material aspects of governmental control over the discourse of hygiene and health, I will now look at the translation of ideologies of colonial rule into images of everyday consumption.

The understanding of governmental projects as an intersection of the regulation of others and self-regulation, whereby the ‘modern state and the modern individual co-determine each other’s emergence’, is a compromised assumption in colonial governance.⁵⁶² The plague riots of 1908-1910, for example, were organized to protest the ways in which western medical discourse was shaping both colonial material space and affective associations between different religious and ethnic communities.⁵⁶³ Srirupa Prasad in her discerning study *The Cultural Politics of Hygiene* sets out her subject of inquiry as follows:

The emergence of hygiene as a socially and medically useful knowledge and practice in India and its intertwined relationship with cultural and social transformation in Bengal. It shows how hygiene emerged from within the colonial governance and political engagements of the Bengali middle class, and through a focus on the formation of modern and cultured subjectivities. [...] it investigates

⁵⁶¹ S. L. Kotar and J.E. Gessler, *Cholera, A World Wide History* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2014), p.266.

⁵⁶² Huxley, p.1641.

⁵⁶³ The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first few years of the twentieth witnessed the outbreak of cholera and bubonic plague in Calcutta. Most of the contemporaneous official documentation and medical research into the origins of and contexts for these diseases either explicitly or implicitly targeted native ways of life. H.M. Crake’s thesis on the ‘Epidemiology of Plague’ in Calcutta (1896-1907), for example, listed ‘climate’, ‘population’, ‘overcrowding’, ‘religion’ and the ‘drainage system’ as the chief reasons for the spread of the epidemic.

how the emergence of hygiene as a powerful ideology, knowledge and practice redefined and reconfigured two of the most influential realms of social life in early twentieth century Bengal- the household and the nation. It argues that hygiene emerged and materialized within the domestic and national realm around two intertwined and mutually reinforcing axes: the emergence and arrangement of objects, commodities, and things; and affect'.⁵⁶⁴

The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century emergence of hygiene as a controlling discourse and practice was linked in turn to the growth of commodity consumption. The production, availability and visibility of commodities related to medicine, cosmetics, household appliances and food items helped crystallize a whole set of new meanings and values associated with practising hygiene. For example, Blunt and Dowling in discussing the 'material practices of imperial home-making' cite Anna Davin's study of the interconnections between maternity and domestic consumption in metropolitan homes, showing how these were shaped by imperialism: 'Imperial politics influenced practices and representations of motherhood in Victorian Britain, whereby the promotion of public health, hygiene and home economics explicitly tied domestic reproduction to national and imperial ideas about racial purity and strength'.⁵⁶⁵ My own contention is that a similar nexus of public health, hygiene and home economics, interlaced with imperial ideals of racial purity, was reproduced in colonial Calcutta (and by extension India) through advertisements in household guides and cookbooks, which drew on the pure trust and faith of the mother/infant relationship in order to build credibility for their brands among the British-Indian community. They posited their products as safeguards and supplements that would act as preventive measures against the hostile climate and miasmatic environment of the colonial city and, by implication, the country as a whole.

⁵⁶⁴ Srirupa Prasad, *Cultural Politics of Hygiene in India, 1890-1940* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.4-5.

⁵⁶⁵ Blunt and Dowling, p.145.

A ready example to hand is an advertisement for Virol in *Khána Kitâb* (*Anglo-Indian Cuisine and Domestic Economy*, 1913).⁵⁶⁶ Constance Gordon introduces the items advertised in her book under 'Recommended for the Bazaar List', followed by a more specific subtitle, 'Special Hint to Mothers'.⁵⁶⁷ In this passage, she extols the virtues of Virol as having 'justly earned a wonderful reputation as a pick-me-up for feeble children, also for invalids and the aged'.⁵⁶⁸ The book, as its name suggests, is principally about set menus for meals and recipes suited to the various types of domestic scenarios prevalent in India such as camps, military cantonments, bachelor establishments and family establishments. However, there is also a special section dedicated to popularizing 'the advertisements of special articles selected for inclusion in this little volume', with the express reason that 'only those considered to be of special benefit in India have been chosen'. The products selected are those deemed to provide nourishment and medicinal benefits, but also those specifically suited to Anglo-Indian cuisine: 'Fry's Delicious Chocolates', 'Brown and Polson's Paisley Flour recommended for cakes'.

The advertisement for Virol plays out some of the main material and affective aspects of the colonial capitalist discourse of hygiene. As Prasad argues, 'hygiene worked effectively by attributing emotions to a range of practices, involving both the individual (citizen, householder, neighbour) and the collective (social, cultural and national) body'. Affect in this context 'was a catalyst that translated pestilence, filth and disease into a socially and culturally authorized vocabulary of purity, pollution and cleanliness'.⁵⁶⁹ The image used in the advertisement for Virol is that of a native *ayah* or nurse administering a dose of strengthening medicine to the child entrusted to her care (see image on next page). The literature attached to the ad then mentions that 'this beautiful child was one of the Virol Babies of All Nations at the Ideal Home Exhibitions. Her mother says she was very backward for her age, but

⁵⁶⁶ Constance E. Gordon, *Anglo-Indian Cuisine (Khána Kitâb) and Domestic Economy* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1913)

⁵⁶⁷ Gordon, p.190.

⁵⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.190.

⁵⁶⁹ Prasad, p. 5; p. 11.

after taking Virol she is now one of the sturdiest children for her age'. The Virol advertisement borrows the unifying metaphor of colonial exhibitions that was extremely popular during the Victorian era. Such exhibitions provided a visual metaphor for the essential connection between home (i.e. England) and the colonial 'outposts' in the peripheries. Deborah Ryan has explained how the Ideal Home Exhibition 'showed a more domestic view of Empire than the international exhibitions and frequently featured anthropological displays, representing "primitive" peoples not just as exotic others, but also as domesticated imperial subjects'.⁵⁷⁰

In this context, the picture of *ayah* and child not only incorporates the affective and material aspects of hygiene, but also lays bare the paradoxical sentiments of othering and domestication that characterized interracial relations within the domestic space of the colony, where intimacy, care and dependence were all fraught with suspicion and the threat of contamination.

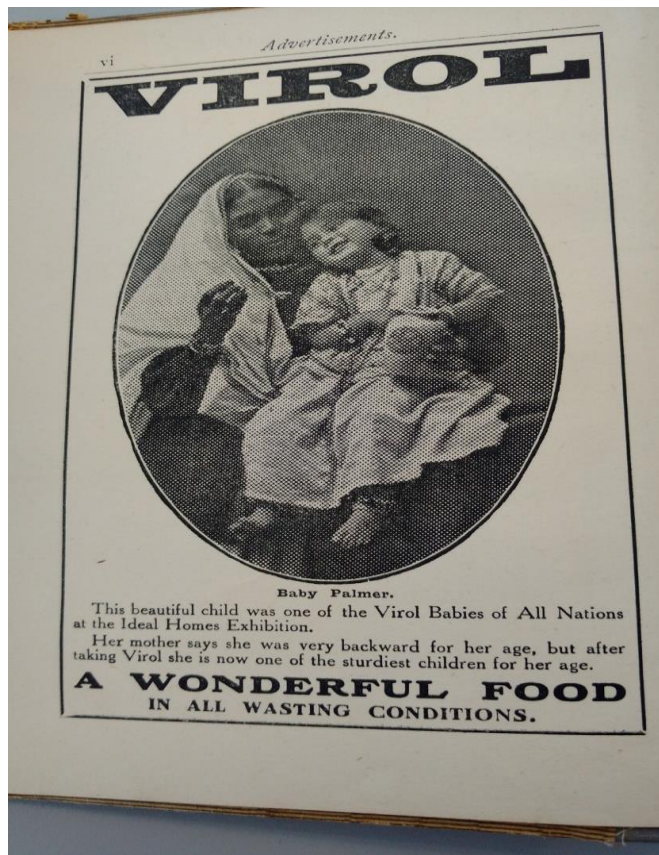


Fig. 2.4. This image is taken from Constance E. Gordon's *Khána Kitâb* (1913)

⁵⁷⁰ Ryan, p.16, qtd. in Blunt and Dowling, p.146.

As mentioned in the previous section, European mothers at the time were advised to keep their children away from Indian servants so as to prevent corruption, such as acquiring the Indian way of speaking, which was considered tantamount to a moral contamination of character. The Virol image therefore registers a confirmation of the nostalgic importance of the European household in colonial India, but is also symptomatic of everything that threatened the exclusivity of white racial prestige. The ayah or nurse, a common figure in colonial family photographs, had access to the two most intimate spaces of the European household, the bedroom and the nursery. Both of these spaces became complicated sites of conflict and insecurity, as demonstrated in the previously mentioned pattern of sending European children abroad at a young age to prevent them from developing an affinity for India. The *Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book's* stinging criticism of white women allowing male native servants to enter their bedrooms also comes to mind. In these and other ways, the Virol advertisement is a fitting image with which to sum up the bodily politics I have been examining in this chapter: a politics that evokes a complex set of associations with the health and hygiene to which Calcutta as a city and the colonial capital of India aspired.

Narrating the domestic space emerges as a structural anomaly in the Calcutta handbooks as a sub-genre. The early handbooks discussed in this chapter, such as Stocqueler (1850), T. Black & Co. (1864) and Eastwick (1882) insert the domestic through sub sections titled as 'hints' and 'advice' where the narrative breaks from the standardized objective mould to address the precarious sense of control on the intimate space of interracial interactions. Through the narrative devices of tables, translation of dialogues between 'masters' and 'servants' on predictable household issues and activities related to personal hygiene the handbooks from this period induced a sense of order and predictability into the domestic sphere. As the focus of the handbook narrative shifted to more complex social groupings in the form of Clubs and Associations in the early twentieth-century handbooks such as Firminger (1906) and Cotton (1907), the personal domain of household management received less narrative attention. However, the emergence of advertisement of

goods and services in handbooks in the late 1920s introduced the domestic, personal and intimate through visual representations. Food items, medicines and services previously unattainable in Calcutta were now supplied through the expansive networks of mobility that the early twentieth-century initiated. As these circuits of mobility developed they effected major changes in the colonial mode of life in the city, they reorganized social hierarchies and revised racial and moral codes of categorization. The Calcutta Handbooks in this sense became enablers of these circuits of mobility, representing their possibilities and reach across the British Empire.

CHAPTER THREE

The Spatial Organization of the City in the Calcutta Handbooks

Introduction

The previous chapter moved from a consideration of the colonial British subject in the context of the ‘metropolitan modern’ to the more intimate and private realm of the ‘domestic exotic’. The relationship between the structures of metropolitan modernity shaping public space and the everyday practices of the ‘domestic exotic’ as described in the Calcutta handbooks were read in the chapter as corresponding to the discursive formation of hygiene as a civilizational discourse. This triangular network was then seen as connecting the public and private lives lived in colonial Calcutta to the uneven operations of colonial governmentality. While I previously focused on *cultural* aspects of the ‘metropolitan modern’, I now want to examine the *administrative* and *spatial* understandings of the term ‘metropolitan’ in the colonial context. My argument in this chapter will build on geographical components in the handbook genre to see how metropolitan modernization was incorporated into popular representations of Calcutta as British interest in the area shifted from basic economic concerns to administrative control.

‘The shape of a city is never accidental’, Partho Datta insists in his analysis of the growth and development of urban planning in Calcutta. As Datta explains, ‘The colonial state is crucial to an understanding of the history of urban form in India: urban planning, through which state regulation was effected, became instrumental to ordered and rational government, just as it graphically embodied the ruling ideology’.⁵⁷¹ This thesis has focused so far on the handbook’s complicity in the ideological control of the historical narrative of Calcutta and the micro-management of the body’s interactions with its environment. However, underlying both of these strategies is the material

⁵⁷¹ Partho Datta, *Planning the City, Urbanization and Reform in Calcutta c. 1800- c. 1940* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2012), p.2.

manipulation of city space, which is caused by the geopolitical insecurities of empire as well as the coercive influence of imperial capital. As the nature, influence and rationale of imperial domination change the modes and objectives of capital circulation in the city, so too do the discourses that influence topographical shifts. The handbooks tell the story of Calcutta's distinctive shape and show how this shape changes over time. By reading handbook narratives alongside urban planning reports and administrative measures, I seek in this chapter to demonstrate (1) why these changes take place, and (2) how the handbook serves as one of the cultural mechanisms that naturalize and justify the colonial shaping of the city.

Historical accounts provided in W. Newman's (1882), Thacker & Spink's (1892; 1906) and Cotton's (1907) handbooks all include the development of city planning and municipal measures taken by the British administration in Calcutta. The account of the development of the city's administrative consciousness provided in these handbooks connects the spatial arrangement of the cityscape with the narrative format of the handbook. As has been argued throughout this thesis, the concerns of imperial capital shaping Calcutta as an uneven terrain during the colonial period consolidated the related categories of infrastructural, cultural and political influence in certain areas at the expense of others.⁵⁷² This economic unevenness was combined with a punitive model of town planning following the 1857 Revolt against colonial oppression, aimed at influencing early city planning measures. The handbooks I look at in this chapter will be read for their stylistic, formal and modal appropriation of this logic of imperial capitalism, whereby modes of representation, formal features, and narrative devices all conceal the 'applied problematics and realities of [colonial] rule'.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷² The preference of Calcutta over other regional towns was taken up by Curzon as a major reason to partition the province of Bengal. This was also a major concern with Muslims who advocated the two-nation theory, and it was a prominent reason for low Muslim participation in the anti-partition Swadeshi movement that followed the 1905-6 public meetings. See M.R.A. Baig, 'The Partition of Bengal and Its Aftermath' in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 30.2 (1969), 103-129.

⁵⁷³ Tomas Lemke defines 'governmentality' as, 'applied problematics and realities of rule' in 'Foucault, Governmentality and Critique', *Rethinking Marxism*, 14 (2002), 49-64. This

The chapter has two sections. The first section focuses on mapping as a key device for arranging, managing and manipulating space, taking into account its geographical and metaphorical significance. This section also reads maps alongside the literary content of tour plans that organize the city in certain set trajectories. This is done through a comparative analysis of the maps provided in *W. Newman & Co.'s Hand-book to Calcutta* (1882) and Walter K. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (1906), which I will refer to as *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger) in subsequent paragraphs.⁵⁷⁴ My analysis concentrates on the *materiality* of handbook maps. By 'materiality', I mean the actual map and its physical characteristics, but also the spatial experience of material space that is suggested by these maps. The materiality of maps is expressed through categories like the hierarchical relation between the map and its accompanying text. It includes the cartographic means of 'flattening' the city by manipulating the physical dimensions of the map and changing the volume of information it contains. It also refers to those images of expansion that symbolize infrastructural and technological advancement in the city, resulting in circuits of mobility that make new forms of socio-economic relations possible. The influence of the map text over the written material depends on the reader's aptitude in integrating the details of the map into their understanding of Calcutta at that given time. As I will show, later handbook maps would benefit from the consolidation of cartographic science in India, for example, *Thacker's map*, which provides an elaborate scale of detail expanding on the volume of information contained and consequently amplifies the size of the map attached to the text. Information collated in the maps were dependent on contemporaneous changes in survey technologies and cartographic science. The volume of cartographic information was directly dependent on the greater availability of good-quality documentation

definition approximates the way in which I understand governmentality as a critical concept. See Chapter 2 and the 'Introduction' for a detailed study of 'governmentality' in relation to this thesis.

⁵⁷⁴, *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive* (1892); H.E.A. Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New* (1907); W.K. Firminger, *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (1906) and John Barry, *Calcutta Illustrated* (1953). The other book from Thacker's publishing house referred to in this chapter is Edmund Mitchell's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta: its High-ways and By-paths with a Chapter on the Government of India* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890).

and the superior mapping practices of government institutions and trained individuals. At the same time, later maps moved away from a detailed to a more minimalist approach that served primarily to highlight tourist interest points in the city. Such changes, I will argue, were predicated on corresponding changes in the ideological structures of rule that were adjusted to the shifting importance of the city in the context of British rule in India. The material form of the maps was also reliant on changes in publishing methods. The inclusion of photographs created a more immediate association with material space, while advertisements introduced sponsorship that influenced the information included in the maps.

In this other ways, handbook maps necessarily involved an element of *time* as well as space, which was represented through buildings and streets appearing and disappearing in subsequent maps or older infrastructural networks being subsumed under new means of connecting city space. Cartographic representation, in short, would contribute significantly to the effect of spatiality that was created by the literary narrative of these books. By focusing on these material aspects of handbook maps, this chapter makes the political tensions inherent in the spatial narrative of the handbooks apparent and helps further uncover the history of the city's representation.

I conclude my section on map reading with a brief reference to John Barry's *Calcutta 1940* (1940) in order to discern some changes in the purpose of maps in handbooks during the first half of the twentieth century. My main contention here is that the earlier focus on using cartography to re-emphasize the ideological underpinnings of the handbook narrative during the first decades of the twentieth century is gradually elided in favour of a standardized guidebook narrative format with a simplified map that traces 'tourist routes' onto the city's topography. I argue that this shift towards a standardized guidebook narrative reflects declining political interest in Calcutta as the economic and administrative centre of the British Raj, initiated

by the shift of the capital to Delhi in 1911.⁵⁷⁵ It also registers a change of representational mode in handbooks published after 1920. Later (post-1920) handbooks were receptive to the cosmopolitan aspects of trade and socio-cultural life in Calcutta, moving away from the evident thrust in handbooks of 1880–1910, which had depicted Calcutta as primarily a British colonial city.

The history of Calcutta's urban planning forms the archival reference point for the second half of the chapter, which looks particularly at E.P. Richards's (1914) and Patrick Geddes's (1919) respective reports in order to locate trajectories of spatial investment and dispossession, creating pockets of vulnerability that correspond to the cultural invisibility of Eurasians and domiciled Europeans discussed in the last chapter.⁵⁷⁶ The second section looks at how the history of urban planning as recorded in handbooks published after 1900, and its means of organizing space, are reflected in the ordering principle of these handbooks' narrative devices such as lists, tables of exchange, advertisements and appendices.⁵⁷⁷ I look at discontinuities in the open narrative format of the handbook to see how 'exotic space' is expressed and managed in the formal structure of the handbook. I refer to the colonial contexts of such taxonomic structures, developing connections between the handbook format and anthropological treatises (traced in Chapter Two), and the political conception of colonial heritage (discussed in Chapter One). Finally, I locate the origins of the handbook format in early taxonomic forms of rational control that would help build a connection between the textual narrative of handbooks and their governmental impact.

⁵⁷⁵ See Chapter One for more on the political interests vested in consolidating Calcutta's position as the colonial capital in the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century.

⁵⁷⁶ E.P. Richards, *The Condition, Improvement and Town Planning of the City of Calcutta and Contiguous Areas* (London: Routledge, 2015); *Barra Bazar Improvement: A Report to the Corporation of Calcutta* by Prof. Patrick Geddes (Calcutta, 1919). Town-Planning Reports relating to India and Palestine by Sir Patrick Geddes from the Hellen Meller Collection, National Library of Scotland. Acc. 12497.

⁵⁷⁷ H. A. Newell, *Calcutta, the First Capital of British India* (1920); W. Newman & Co., *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (1927); Glen Hicken, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (1931); G. W. Tyson, *Calcutta: The City of Palaces* (1932).

Uses of maps in handbooks

Maps are integral to the handbook's physical form as well as their narrative arrangement. In the Calcutta handbooks, these are usually attached to the front or back covers in roll-folds or parallel folds so as to fit the petite size of the book.⁵⁷⁸ The maps unfold to reveal a geographical image of Calcutta that presents the handbooks' depiction of city space. A reciprocal relation can be traced between the handbooks' literary narrativization of Calcutta and the maps' visual illustrations of such a narrative. As previously argued, the handbooks' mode of representing the city is locked in a constant struggle with the political and socio-cultural realities of empire to create impersonal ('safe') categories for places, people and practices that nonetheless reveal the anxieties attendant on colonial appropriation. Likewise, mapping strategies can be connected to illusory schemes of territorial control. In what follows, I will draw on M.H. Edney's account of the development of mapping as practice and metaphor within the colonial ideology of rule in order to contextualize my understanding of the function of maps in the Calcutta handbooks.⁵⁷⁹ Through a close reading of two maps alongside their adjacent texts in W. Newman and Co.'s *Handbook to Calcutta* (1892) and *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger, 1906), I aim to study some of the spatial aspects of colonial control as these are represented in the handbook narrative over the politically turbulent decades of the early twentieth century.

The map and the accompanying text are both mimetic representations of the city of Calcutta. The city is the third and actual referent in the handbook narrative. In keeping with my earlier definition of 'memory sites', a concept used in Chapter One to historicize colonial rule via the architecture and concrete structures in Calcutta, the term *place* is understood here as a topographical location or construction that provides a stable materiality and

⁵⁷⁸ Excepting John Murray's *Handbook of Bengal Presidency* (1882) and H.E.A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New* (1907), all the other Calcutta handbooks referred to in this thesis are portable and medium sized. Glen Hicken's book is described as 'an Indispensable Pocket Guide to Calcutta'.

⁵⁷⁹ M. H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

fixity to the political and cultural discourses that produce it.⁵⁸⁰ Alternatively, *space* as a category refers to the experiences generated through the interactions between places, people and non-living objects that structure the affective associations of particular sites. The format of listing such ‘memory sites’, which are connected up with one another through tour itineraries, provides the topographical network traced by the handbook map.⁵⁸¹ In the typical handbook, the literary text and the map are intrinsically related through the idea of ordering space (See Fig. 3.1). By representing the politically sanctioned socio-cultural networks of spatial interaction in their tour format, which lists selective places, the Calcutta handbooks tended to reproduce the imperially controlled spatial relations of which they were a product. As John Hutnyk suggests, guidebook maps function as ordering mechanisms that overlap with the traveller’s expectations and guides visitors through the foreign city towards expected monuments and sites.⁵⁸² However, this experience of a city as a ‘tableau laid out across time in a packeted [*sic*] geography’ is a product of official ‘routing’ across the city. By and large, the Calcutta handbooks provided a tour that was mapped out so as to ensure minimum spillage into the excesses of everyday lived reality.⁵⁸³ Hutnyk talks of ‘alternative mapping’ as a means of countering this predictable and controlled experience, but concedes that even the everyday is eventually absorbed into the general pattern of consumption.⁵⁸⁴ Travel literature, he

⁵⁸⁰ Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller, ‘Beyond National Memory. Nora’s *Lieux de Mémoire* across an Imperial World’, in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp.1-18 (p.9). Geppert and Muller define ‘Sites of Memory’ as ‘events, persons, institutions, commodities or concepts into which symbolic capital has been invested at times’. The Calcutta handbooks as creators and purveyors of ‘Sites of Memory’ deal with the physical markers of British rule while also participating in a dynamic process of remembering and forgetting through narrative strategies that shape the handbook content (see also Chapter One).

⁵⁸¹ Michel de Certeau, ‘Spatial Stories’ in *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 118-22.

⁵⁸² John Hutnyk, *The Rumour of Calcutta* (London: Zed books, 1996), p. 117.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.118-119.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.134-142.

CONTENTS	
MAP.	PAGES
INTRODUCTION.	1-61
CALCUTTA.	
ITINERARY.	
FIRST DAY—MORNING.	
Visit Dalhousie Square—Commercial Museum—St. John's Church—Hare Street—Government House—Town Hall—High Court—Eden Gardens	61-115
FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON.	
Drive along Chowringhee and Circular Road across Zeerut Bridge to Alipore. Visit Zoological Gardens—Belvedere House—Agricultural Garden and Hastings House. Continue westward to Diamond Harbour Road and note Kidderpore House and St. Stephen's Church	116-126
SECOND DAY—MORNING.	
Visit Stuart Hogg Market—St. Paul's Cathedral and Victoria Memorial. Proceed via Lower Circular Road to the Strand, Prinsep's Ghat, Gwalior Monument and Fort William	126-139
SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON.	
Visit the Three Jain Temples	139-142
THIRD DAY—MORNING.	
Visit the Indian Museum—Chowringhee and Park Street Cemeteries	143-149
THIRD DAY—AFTERNOON.	
Visit Kalighat	149-153

viii		PAGES
FOURTH DAY—MORNING.		
Visit the Mint—Old Mission Church and the Marble Palace of Raja Mullick in Mukhtaram Babu Street, Chore Bagan		153-162
FOURTH DAY—AFTERNOON.		
Visit the Botanical Gardens		162-166
OTHER PLACES OF INTEREST.		
Parsi Towers of Silence: Armenian Church: Jewish Synagogue: Portuguese Cathedral: Greek Church: Dharamtolla Mosque: Thackeray's House: Bose Research Institute: Clive's House: Dum-Dum: Cossipore Gun and Shell Factory: Barrackpore: Serampore: Bhot Mandir		166-190
CHIEF CLUBS		191
GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL		191
GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA		192
VICEROYS OF INDIA		192

CONTENTS		pages
Calcutta	...	1-8
Itinerary :-		
Tour No. 1 :-Howrah Station to Park Street via Strand Road—Clive Street — Dalhousie Sqr. — Esplanade East — Chowringhee Road	...	9-32
Tour No. 2 :-Chowringhee Road to Ballygunge Railway Station via Park Street — Park Circus — Old Ballygunge — Ballygunge Circular Road — Gariahat Road — Rash Behari Avenue — Ekdalia Road	...	87-93
Tour No. 3 :-Chowringhee to Sealdah via The Southern Half of Chowringhee Road, Lower Circular Road and the Connecting Thoroughfares	...	121-127
Tour No. 4 :-Esplanade Row West to Kalighat Bridge via Strand Road South — Hastings — Kidderpore — Alipore	...	149-153
Southern Tour :-From the Southern End of Chowringhee to Tollygunge via Ashutosh Mukerjee Road and Russa Road	...	163-166
Northern Tour :-From the Junction of Bentinck Street and Lower Chitpore Road to Paikpara via Bow Bazar Street — Central Avenue — College Street — Cornwallis Street — Upper Circular Road — Belgatchia	...	171-180
Places of Interest and Importance :		
Victoria Memorial — St. Paul's Cathedral — The Presidency General Hospital — Belvedere — Zoological Gardens — The Royal Agricultural Society of India — Alipore Meteorological Office and Observatory — Government House — The Indian Red Cross Society —		
viii		

St. John's Church — The General Post Office — The Dalhousie Institute — The Bengal Secretariat — St. Andrew's Church — The Bengal Telephone Corporation — All India Radio — Calcutta Tramways Company — Calcutta Bus Service — The Town Hall — The High Court — Bengal Legislative Council House — The Eden Gardens	...	33-86
Church of Our Lady of Dolours — St. Xavier's College — St. Joseph's College — Loreto House — Park Street Cemeteries — The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal — The Indian Museum — The Bengal Government Industrial Museum — Salvation Army — The Young Men's Christian Association — The Calcutta Mint — The Ochterlony Monument	...	93-120
La Martiniere — The Armenian Holy Church of Nazareth — The Armenian College — The Nakhoda Mosque — Islamia College — Calcutta Madrassah — The Muslim Institute — Scottish Church College — The Corporation of Calcutta — The Corporation Commercial Museum — The Elevated Reservoir at Tallah — Sir Stuart Hogg Market — The Imperial Library — The Commercial Library	...	128-148
The Calcutta Maidan — The Royal Botanical Gardens — The Cenotaph — The Lascar War Memorial — The Bengalee War Memorial — The Race Course	...	154-163
The Dhakuria Lakes — Ashutosh College — The Temple of Kali	...	167-171
The Marble Palace — The Jain Temples — The Calcutta University — The Medical College Hospitals — The Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine — The Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases — The All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health — D'Souza Home — The Fendall Home		
ix		

Fig.3.1 Contents list from H. A. Newell's *Calcutta the First Capital of British India* (1920) and John Barry's *Calcutta* 1940.

posits, is ‘inherently colonial’, and the ‘imaginary landscapes’ of the global economy have significant bearing on descriptions of local space.⁵⁸⁵ Hutnyk defines cartography in travel literature and guidebooks as a ‘mode of enclosure’, a means of ‘fixing’ a space in definite terms, usually terms dictated by a particular mode of spatial consumption. This is of significance in the following section, as *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (Firminger) deploys maps that draw on survey reports to produce specific and enclosed narratives of Calcutta’s city space. While I am well aware that maps can be both visual artefacts and verbal narratives, I will focus on the visual representation of maps rather than looking at literary narrative as a map in itself.⁵⁸⁶

Representing places and creating spaces in the Calcutta handbooks

Thacker’s Guide Book (Firminger, 1906) comes with two maps attached to the book. The map that depicts the entire region of Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood bears the title ‘Plan of City of Calcutta’, and is set to a scale of 3 inches to a mile (Fig 3.2). I will henceforth be referring to the ‘Plan of the City of Calcutta’ as *Thacker’s map*. This map is compiled from official survey reports of various parts of Calcutta taken at different points in the late nineteenth century. Details of the institution compiling the survey reports, and the dates during which the cartographic information was gathered, are

⁵⁸⁵ Hutnyk’s claim that all travel literature is ‘inherently colonial’ makes a generic use of the term ‘colonial’ that neither explains nor justifies the specific material, political and economic contexts of colonialism. In the context of my own research, I see ‘travel literature’ as maintaining a certain relation of power over the geographical territory it takes as its subject. However, this relation of power is complex and uneven given the context and what the text seeks to achieve through its narrative.

⁵⁸⁶ See, Robert R. Tally, ‘On Literary Cartography: Narrative as a Spatially Symbolic Act’ *NANO: New American Notes Online*, 1 (2011)

<<https://www.nanocrit.com/issues/issue1/literary-cartography-narrative-spatially-symbolic-act>> [accessed 29 December 2017] (n.p). As Tally states, ‘The storyteller, like the mapmaker, determines the boundaries of the space to be represented, selects the elements to be included, establishes the scope and scale’. Therefore, ‘in producing the narrative, the writer also produces a map of the space, connecting the reader to a totality formed by the narrative itself. Narrative is thus a spatially symbolic act in establishing a literary cartography for the reader’.

mentioned under the map legend located at the upper right hand corner of Fig.3.2.

I have transcribed the survey information below:

- The area within Town limits has been taken from the Survey of Calcutta of 1887 to 1904 on a scale of 1 inch to 50 feet
- Chi-Panchannogram from Capt: W. J. Stewart's Survey of 1868-70. Supplemented by surveys under the Superintendence of Col W.H. Wilkins Asst. Surveyor General
- 24- Paraganas and Howrah portions have been taken from Hooghly River Survey of 1881-83 by Major S. H. Cowan, brought up to date by Supplementary Surveys
- The Kidderpore Docks are taken from plans supplied by the Port Commissioner's Office⁵⁸⁷

The surveys were compiled during different time periods, ranging from Capt: W.J. Stewart's Survey of 1868-70 to the official Survey of Calcutta of 1887-1904. The map thus sutures heterogeneous geographic realities existing at separate points in time to create a cartographic representation of Calcutta city space in 1906. This anachronistic composition, which aims to bolster the map's claim to scientific objectivity, paradoxically enhances its fictionality. Edney has worked on the historical impact of such cartographic incongruities, exposing the fictionality of maps in which imaginary geographies are projected onto physical space in accordance with the ideological expectations of the imperial civilizational project.⁵⁸⁸ Moreover, two of the sources from which the survey reports cited in Thacker's map were drawn were private surveyors explicitly commissioned by the administration to draw up a report.

⁵⁸⁷ Quoted from the section of the map represented in Fig. 3.2.

⁵⁸⁸ See Edney for the interrelation of mapping and the emergence of military and taxonomic 'enlightenment science' (1997, p.18).

As Edney states, 'surveys were exercises in negotiation, mediation, and contestation between surveyors and their native contacts'. This suggests that the knowledge they generated was more a representation of the power relations between the conquerors and the conquered than of some topographical reality.⁵⁸⁹ Edney refers to the 'cartographic compromises' undertaken by the British administration as a 'technological fix' between the practical limitations faced by surveyors and mapmakers and the cartographic ideals of 'coherence, order and rigour'.⁵⁹⁰

Thacker's Guide Book (Firminger) is particularly significant in this regard because Thacker, Spink & Co. were the official publishers of the Census Reports compiled by the Bengal Secretariat.⁵⁹¹ Therefore, the Calcutta handbook sub-genre can be seen as intrinsically linked to the official cartographic projection that the British government of India wanted to disseminate at the time. Thacker's map seeks to impose a totalizing representation of Calcutta in accordance with the geographical information gleaned from the various government surveys. This can also be seen in terms of the area covered by the map, which includes the immediate suburbs of Calcutta. Additionally, the map marks out the transport options available to travel to these outlying places from the city proper. The inclusion of suburban Calcutta within the scope of the handbook narrative is a conscious reflection on the rapid administrative growth of the city, which had expanded by absorbing surrounding areas within its boundaries.⁵⁹² From the railroads that branch out from the Howrah railway station on the eastern coast of the river, to the numerous jetties that line the riverfront on either side, the map shows the porous boundaries of this ever-expanding conurbation.

⁵⁸⁹ Edney, p.26.

⁵⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 26; p. 33.

⁵⁹¹ An account of the range of publications (books and treatises by government officials and military and/or official documents) by Thacker, Spink & Co. is provided later in the chapter, especially in my discussion of the role of advertisements in handbooks.

⁵⁹² The following section on urban planning compares the growth of the city comparing the Census of 1901 with the Census Report of 1911. The Census of 1911 shows the 'Suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur, Manicktollah and Garden Reach' which had become a part of Calcutta proper, indicating the change in the municipal boundary of Calcutta.

But while the map and the corresponding text are primarily meant to locate and emphasize the various political, local and social boundaries that structure spatial interaction and contribute to the hierarchization of city space, they also depict and anticipate the large numbers of people who were travelling at the time to Calcutta from the suburbs for employment purposes on a daily basis.⁵⁹³ A historical study of Thacker's map makes visible the boundaries that were initially established to define the city, but also suggests that these in time became redundant and were eventually redrawn in order to accommodate newer versions of Calcutta over the course of the nineteenth century. As Partho Datta states,

Calcutta had a well-defined boundary since the eighteenth century due to the protective encircling ditch, intended to stop the Maratha raids. In 1794 the 'limits' of Calcutta were fixed by an official declaration. These coincided, more or less, with the boundaries of the Maratha ditch, which later became the Circular Road.⁵⁹⁴

Datta traces a slow expansion of the city from the eighteenth century, when the European precinct was located around the Dharmatalla area and Chowringhee, further south, was seen as a suburb of Calcutta.⁵⁹⁵ However, Chowringhee would eventually evolve into the residential and cultural centre of the European settlements in Calcutta, which converged around the new Fort William in the south.⁵⁹⁶ Hicken recapitulates these bygone days, and the gradual evolution of the European settlement in Calcutta, in his concise and fast-paced style:

⁵⁹³ 'A large population of non-residents also entered the city daily by train and boat, and lived mostly in scattered neighbourhood's outside the town's boundaries'. The town planning commissions considered the daily influx of this 'floating population' in the city when devising taxation schemes that would pay for urban welfare measures (Datta, p. 174).

⁵⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.174.

⁵⁹⁵ See the 'old Calcutta' maps attached to the back cover of the Census Report of 1901, Vol 7 for a collection of maps demonstrating the growth of Calcutta. A. K. Ray 'A Short History of Calcutta' Part 1 in *Census of India*, 1901. Volume VII *Calcutta Town and Suburbs*, (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902).

⁵⁹⁶ A. K. Ray in *A Short History of Calcutta*, published as part of the Census Report of 1901, confirms that 'William Bailie's map of 1792', which was the map of the old town of Calcutta with its original 18 wards, included Chowringhee, which contains forty-five European houses and paddy fields in this map.

The envy of visitors from other parts of the world is the great *Maidan* extending from the Esplanade to the Race Course, and the handsome avenues cutting across constitute the chief glory of Calcutta. This same *Maidan* was once a jungle infested with tigers, but the moment it was cleared Europeans quickly abandoned their old quarters and Chowringhee soon became a fashionable residential quarter. To-day Chowringhee with its palatial buildings, its magnificent shops, theatres, hotels and cafes, its stream of traffic, is a never to-be-forgotten sight, and is often looked upon with awe by strangers from the mofussil.⁵⁹⁷

The suburbs accommodated the labour poor who travelled to city on a daily basis for work, but resided outside of its civic laws and taxation dues. By the end of the nineteenth century (Census Report of 1911), the immediate suburbs had been absorbed into the city and new suburbs were growing fast out of the expanding hinterland that housed factories and jute mills, which were excluded from city boundaries because of municipal strictures and public health measures. Following a report on the conservancy and cleansing of Calcutta by Dr. Lidderdale, the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, and the Census Commissioner H. Beverley, the government passed a resolution in June 1885 to accept the committee's recommendation to unite the city and its suburbs. Newman's map, attached to its 1882 edition (Fig.3.3), shows some of these suburban areas, but generally adheres to the circular road as the northern limit of the city, whereas Thacker's map published in 1906 shows an even wider area under the 'City of Calcutta' appellation that stretches far beyond the limits set by the circular road.

⁵⁹⁷ Hicken, p.6.

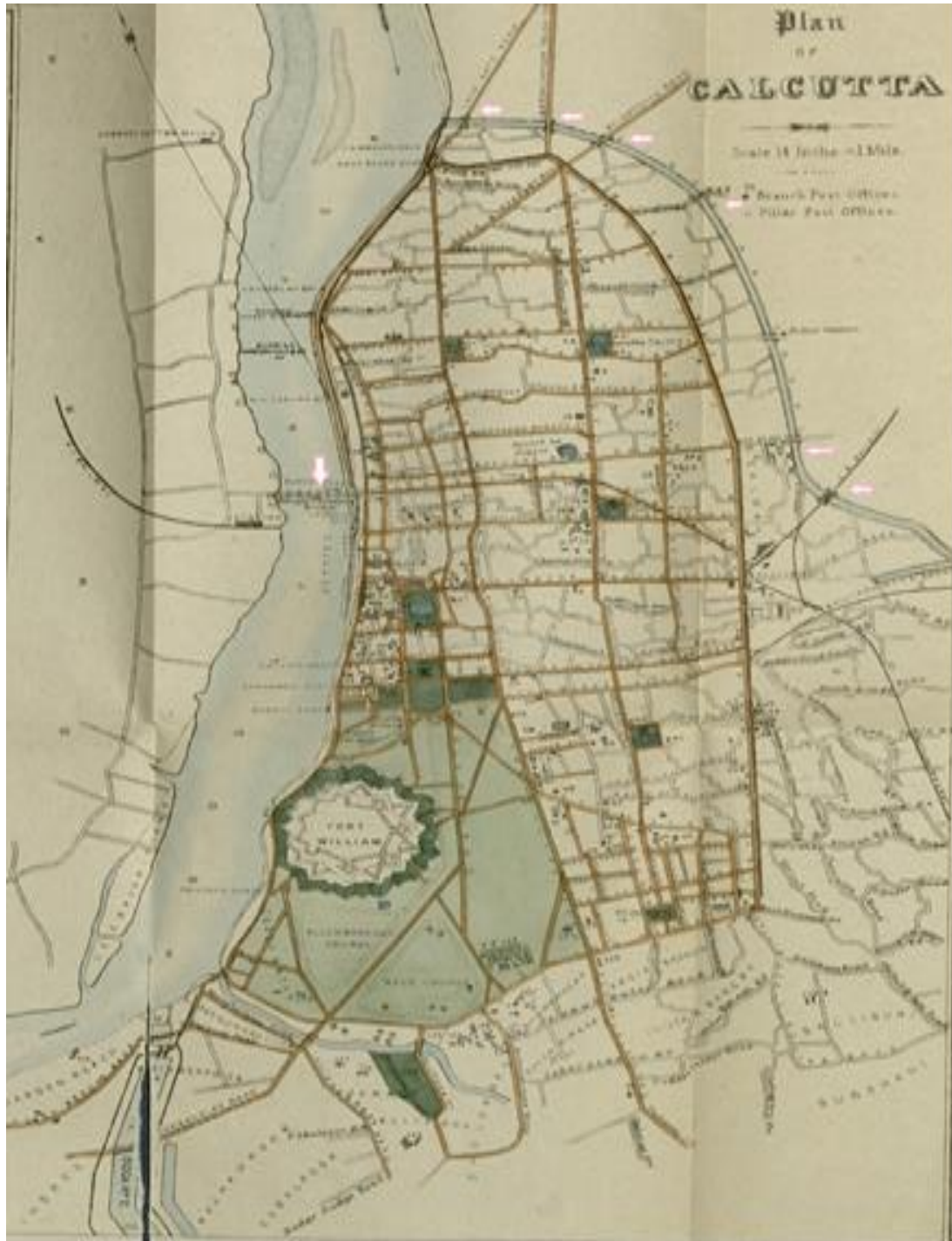


Fig.3.3 'Plan of Calcutta', attached to the front cover of *W. Newman's Handbook of Calcutta* (1882) and showing the bridges that connected the city with its surrounding suburbs marked out with white arrows. There were relatively few roads across the canal (marked with white arrows) in 1892 and the area beyond the canal is not included in the map.

H. Beverley, the Census Commissioner who advocated the merging of the suburbs into the jurisdiction of Calcutta City, affirmed the importance of the cultural and economic contribution of these areas to the urban texture of

Calcutta. Incidentally, the comparison Beverley provided to justify his claim is a reference to a similar geographical parallel in London, metaphorically superimposing the 'first' capital of Britain onto the 'second city' of empire. As Beverley states:

The boundary line which divides the Municipality of Calcutta from that of the suburbs, though of historical interest, is more or less artificial. The distinctions between the privileged town area governed by English law and subject to the original jurisdiction of the High Court, and the ordinary mofussil world outside the Circular Road, are fast dying out. Socially and economically there is no reason whatever why the houses on one side of the circular road should be considered to be a part of Calcutta more than those on the other. In the same way Howrah is as much a part of the metropolis of India as Southwark is a part of London. [...] The warehouses and factories on the right bank of the Hooghly contribute to the trade, wealth, and importance of Calcutta equally with those on the left. They equally attract population to the metropolitan centre, and in any statistical account which professes to deal with the population on the trade and commerce of the metropolis as a whole, they ought not to be omitted.⁵⁹⁸

Here, the diffusion of the city's boundaries relates to a more general historical shift in the rationale of empire building in eastern India. The initial boundary around the white town with the Old Fort at its centre was an essential safeguard of the East India Company's economic interests against the invading Marathas and the Nawabs of Murshidabad. But with the political ascendance of the British in Bengal and eastern India, the boundaries were no longer associated with security, but were rather viewed as markers of expansion.

⁵⁹⁸ H. Beverley in the *Census of Calcutta* (1881), quoted in Datta, p. 175.

The numerous small bridges that connected northern Calcutta to the country lying beyond the ditch that marked the city's boundaries and the significantly broader structures that bridged the river Hooghly in the west and Tolly's Nullah (also called the Govindpur Creek) in the south are metaphors of *extension*—a symbolic as well as material means of diffusing the economic, cultural and political capital of the British city into the infrastructure and cultural psyche of its hinterlands. (Bengal was incidentally also the largest province of British India.)

According to Georg Simmel, a bridge freezes 'movement into a solid structure', while Heidegger states that a new bridge reorganizes how people dwell and move within that area. Bridges initiate new social patterns, forming a locale or connecting different parts of a town, or the town with the country, or the town with the 'network of long-distance traffic, paced and calculated for maximum yield'.⁵⁹⁹ The bridges that the handbooks described and were represented on their accompanying maps served a similar purpose. However, in the colonial context the expansion of mobility was not just a technological advancement, but also a means of control and surveillance and, most importantly, a medium of trade. Compared to Simmel and Heidegger Firminger uses a distinctly prosaic tone in *Thacker's Guide Book*, remarking that:

In 1871 an Act was passed to enable the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir G. Campbell) to construct, at the expense of Government, a bridge across the Hughly (sic), to fix tolls, and to appoint the Port Commissioners to carry out the purposes of the Act. [...] The construction of the Calcutta-Howrah floating-bridge was completed in 1874 under the supervision of Mr. (Sir) Bradford Leslie, C.E.K.C.I.E. [...] (it) proved to be of great utility, some 40,000 or 50,000 foot

⁵⁹⁹ The comments by Simmel and Heidegger are quoted in John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), p.20; p. 32.

passengers crossing it daily. It was described at the time as a structure of great novelty and originality in its design.⁶⁰⁰

The construction of the Howrah Bridge was a long time in the making. In the year 1855–56, a committee was appointed to consider proposals for a bridge across the Hughly (*sic*), either in or near Calcutta, but the subject was allowed to drop until 1868, when the idea was revived. Sir W. Grey, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was in favour of a road-bridge at Armenian *ghat* (port) as a ‘temporary measure’.⁶⁰¹ Firminger suggests that ‘the question of a more permanent structure’ was apparently ‘mixed up with the question of a central railway station for Calcutta’. The British Government of India was more inclined towards ‘bring(ing) passengers by rail into Sealdah’ by building a permanent bridge higher up the river that would support the commercial traffic of the factories based along the riverbanks of the Hughly, north of Calcutta.⁶⁰² The pontoon bridge sanctioned in 1871 as a ‘temporary measure’ was opened to the public on 17th October 1873, and served some ‘40,000 to 50,000 foot passengers who crossed it daily’.⁶⁰³ The other major bridge listed in *Thacker’s Guide Book* (Firminger) is the hydraulic overpass (named Hastings Bridge) over the Govindpur Creek, which was also popularly referred to as Tolly’s Nullah after Captain Tolly who was ‘permitted by the government to excavate this (the Govindpur Creek) ancient silted up river-bed and open a way into the Sunderbuns’. Firminger mentions that Captain Tolly had reimbursed himself by setting up a bazaar or ‘ganj’ for himself from which the place derives its name—Tollyganj. This oblique statement illustrates the cultural connection between the infrastructural investments made by British imperialists and the indigenous urban communities they fostered. The creek was instrumental in connecting trade routes south of Calcutta. Firminger confirms that this ‘hydraulic lifting bridge carries the Port Commissioner’s trains from the Docks (Khidderpore Docks) on their way to the Eastern

⁶⁰⁰ Firminger, p. 164.

⁶⁰¹ Firminger, 163–64. Quotations marks included in the original but source not stated.

⁶⁰² The river ‘Hugly’ is spelled differently across handbooks. I have used Firminger’s spelling in this context. The modern spelling is ‘Hooghly’, or more infrequently, ‘Hughli’.

⁶⁰³ Firminger, p. 164.

Bengal Railway at Chitpore. Further down the stream and to the left is Khidderpore Bridge ‘across which the Tramway Company runs its lines’⁶⁰⁴. These bridges concretized the infrastructural requirements that connected the inland rail routes to the shipping docks, and in the process permitted the economic, social and political life of the city to extend further south. The Census of 1911 included the area around the Khidderpore docks—places like Garden Reach, Ekbalpore and Tollygunj—within the municipal boundary of the city.

Anthony King has defined the first cities as having been ‘created by dominance by some groups over others to extract an agricultural surplus and provide services in one geographically defined society’. The logic of this process was to further extend, ‘by developments in transportation (initially shipping), the boundaries of one society to incorporate other territory and peoples overseas. In this, the city—as a cultural artefact—becomes an instrument of colonisation, defined for our purposes here as the establishment and maintenance, for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate and subordinate to the ruling power’.⁶⁰⁵ The connection that the British administration would draw between the establishment of the railways at Howrah (the opposite bank of Calcutta) and the requirement of a bridge across the Hughly to connect the traffic of people to Calcutta on the opposite bank can be likened to what King defines as the machinations of the ‘colonial city of control’.⁶⁰⁶ As King observes,

At the urban level, where the ‘typical’ (if not the only) colonial city was previously a port with the development of railways, it became increasingly part of larger system, of administrative and military towns (district, regional, national), transport nodes, harbours, mining, markets, [...]. As these grew, they had their own impact on

⁶⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 165. See Fig.3.4.

⁶⁰⁵ Anthony D. King *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.15.

⁶⁰⁶ King, p.39

the existing space economy with regard to domestic industry, agriculture and distribution of population'.⁶⁰⁷

With the gradual development within an increasingly global economy of a transnational industrial-capitalist urban culture, the colonial cities served as a 'vehicle by which the capitalist urban culture was transferred to the "tropical" world as the colonial and metropolitan cities were increasingly linked in a single urban system'.⁶⁰⁸ Howrah Bridge allowed railway commuters from across the subcontinent and daily wage earners from the suburbs to access the metropolitan capital city and Hastings Bridge over Tolly's Nullah, connecting the trade routes coursing over the eastern part of the city with the shipping yard in Khidderpore and enabling the circuit of imperial capital to function smoothly. The bridges represented on the map as bold lines link the city with its opposite bank, and dotted lines branching out further represent railway tracks, with both also functioning as metaphoric representations of the economic circuit connecting Calcutta with its suburbs. At the same time, the numerous bridges across the Circular Canal, which was once the earliest official boundary of the city, represent the nature of the 'modern capitalist city'. Calcutta had evolved from its early trade-related concerns with security to a 'capital city' that relied on science-based technology, enabling unprecedented numbers to be accommodated in dense settlements, medical science to control disease, and better sanitation measures to be implemented along with innovative architecture and associated social codes. The bridges highlighting the connective infrastructure of the 'colonial city' can thus be seen as exhibiting the changing rationale of the capitalist empire-building process.⁶⁰⁹

The increasing importance of opening up the British establishment of Calcutta to incorporate the surrounding countryside can also be seen in the gradual shift in the representation of the city itself. As the city grew, its transportation networks expanded and multiplied. However, the way this

⁶⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.38.

⁶⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.39.

⁶⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 30; p. 32.

expansion was represented in maps created a visual image which emphasized progress through visual codes of connectivity and prospects of mobility, promising development that ensured a steady flow of capital as well as infrastructural investment by way of town planning. Newman's map (Fig.3.3) centres on the Fort with the river forming the western boundary to the city and the Circular canal forming the eastern boundary. The map concentrates on the area covered by the three villages of Sutanautee, Dihi Calcutta and Govindpur, which the British had initially purchased from the Moghul representative, the Nawab of Murshidabad, in 1690. In contrast to this centralized framing in Newman's map, the map used in *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger) (Fig.3.2; 3.4) opens up to a broader geographical area. Locating the river as the central visual axis, it shows the city as having developed on either side connected by bridges, railways and tram lines apart from the numerous jetties that lined the Hooghly river on either bank, emphasizing Calcutta's genesis as a river-port town. The visual emphasis on the centrality of the river not only connected Calcutta's political eminence to Britain's maritime trade, and to the empire at large, but also created a resemblance in the way the cities of Calcutta and London were mapped.⁶¹⁰ Furthermore, Thacker's map shows the eastern railway lines stretching out of the map on either side of the city, from Howrah railway station in the west and Sealdah railway station in the east. The railways serve as a visual metaphor connecting Calcutta with greater India as a part of the broader British cartographic project of consolidating the disparate Indian states under British authority.⁶¹¹

This visual metaphor finds a verbal referent in the text of the handbook that organizes this increased mobility under 'river trips' to port towns up the

⁶¹⁰ See 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark', by John Roque (1746); 'Mogg's Strangers Guide to London And Westminster, Exhibiting All the Various Alterations & Improvements Complete To The Present Time' by Edward Mogg in 1834; 'Map Of London Published In The Post Office London Directory For 1886', published by Lithog, Kelly & Co., and the 'LONDON PLAN. West End Pimlico City Southwark Islington Lambeth' published in J. Scott Keltie, *The World-Wide Atlas of Modern Geography*, 5th edn (London: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1900). These references highlight the river Thames as central to the visual representation of London.

⁶¹¹ See Dominic Davies, *Imperial Infrastructure and Spatial resistance in Colonial Literature 1880-1930*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017), p.4. For insight into the role of infrastructure 'in colonial literary writing [and] the infrastructures of that writing'.

Ganges and 'railway trips' to the hill stations in the north of the state and other prominent towns within the province.⁶¹² The map and the verbal text both incorporate detailed information on the east bank of the river in Thacker's edition, in keeping with Beverley's suggestion to include the immediate suburbs that contributed to the commercial interests of the city. The geographical area represented as Calcutta in the earlier maps such as Fig.3.3 (Newman's map, 1882), highlighted through the use of colour and topographical details, had expanded by the time of Thacker's map (1906) to extend cartographic scrutiny to the suburban areas, which were increasingly becoming part of the urban circuit.

Edney reflects on this process of accumulating the disparate cultural and political components of India under a 'single all-India state coincident with a cartographically defined geographical whole'.⁶¹³ This was a long drawn out process that ultimately resulted in India being painted 'red' on the map.⁶¹⁴ Therefore, as Edney puts it,

The maps of India produced both by Company's officers in India and by its client cartographers in London increasingly reflected that organization, replacing the Mughal provinces with British districts and creating a geographical entity defined by the extent of British dominated states and provinces'.⁶¹⁵

Edney contends that the British cartographic enterprise depended on the certainties of an Enlightenment epistemology that supposedly granted an unchallenged superiority to the rulers as intellectual masters of the Indian landscape.⁶¹⁶ However, as he also shows, this 'epistemology was

⁶¹² Thacker, Spink & Co. and Newman & Co. also published railway guidebooks that catered to European travellers in India, and these in turn inspired a whole range of vernacular railway guides published for Indians travelling in trains. See Aparajita Mukhopadhyay's 'Colonised Gaze', cited op.cit.

⁶¹³ Edney, p. 12.

⁶¹⁴ Arthur D. Innes, *A Short History of the British in India* (London: Methuen & Co., 1902), p.5. 'steps by which India came gradually to be painted red on the map'. See Edney, p.15 for similar reference to the colour red instead of 'pink'.

⁶¹⁵ Edney, p.15.

⁶¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 16.

[fundamentally] flawed'.⁶¹⁷ The surveys on which mapmaking depended were often inadequate, and were nuanced by the linguistic and epistemological gaps between the surveyors and their native contacts who worked on the ground. These gaps translated as white spaces on the maps, discrepancies that exposed the ineffectuality of cartography as a means of homogenizing the knowledge of India in a rationally ordered whole.

Mapping a shift in the colonial ideology of rule

As argued thus far, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century maps of Calcutta reinforced the dominant colonial ideologies of order and control. However, the narrative scope of the handbook brings the visual and verbal narratives of city space together. Graham Huggan has suggested that the dual function of maps in literature is to direct the reader's attention towards the importance of geographical location in the text that follows, but also to supply the reader with a referential guide to the text. Therefore, the iconic status of the map provides a contending version of 'reality' that may differ significantly from the way in which the literary narrative structures space: for example, it may challenge the ordering principles of the verbal narrative by imposing a different organizational structure of its own.

The map operates as a source of information but, more importantly, it challenges the reader to match his/her experience of the text with the 'reality' represented by the map. The map in this sense, supplies an organisational principle for the reading of the text: information gleaned from the text is referred back to the map for verification, so that the act of reading the text involves an alternation between verbal

⁶¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 16.

and visual codes. [...] which may reveal flaws in the process of mimetic representation'.⁶¹⁸

In view of these observations, one may argue that reading a map as an icon exposes the vulnerabilities of the representational practices in cartographic and literary narratives by exposing the ideologies embedded within them.⁶¹⁹

The official maps commissioned by the colonial government in India were primarily intended to replicate the colonial ideology of rule. However, differing realities collided on the map's surface, reflecting the contingencies of knowledge acquisition that resulted from the linguistic and epistemological gaps existing in the British interaction with native societies.⁶²⁰ The discrepant narratives of significant sites in the adjoining literary narrative showed how places outgrew their intended purpose and evolved to accommodate functions that were often in conflict with their designated role. For example, the Town Hall erected for 'public meetings, Concerts and Balls' (Newman, 89) also served as the venue for the meeting and formal declaration of the Swadeshi Movement on 7th August 1905.⁶²¹ Firminger describes the Town Hall's function as follows: 'the steps which lead up to the southern portico [of the Town Hall] are chiefly for use on such ceremonial occasions as the proclamation of newly acceding Emperors of India'. A general description of the Town Hall ensues: 'On the South side there is a large room used until quite recently by the Calcutta Corporation for its meetings. The lower hall was, of course intended as a Dining Saloon, the upper as the Ball-Room and the side rooms as Card Rooms'.⁶²² In stark contrast to the cultural underpinnings of the Town Hall as representative of British history, the formal declaration of the Swadeshi Movement, which pledged to boycott

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., p. 415.

⁶¹⁹ Graham Huggan, 'First Principles for a Literary Cartography' in *The Map Reader*, ed. by Martin Dodge, Chris Perkins and Rob Kitchin (John Wiley & Sons, 2011), pp.415-418.

⁶²⁰ Edney mentions that British officials needed to negotiate the linguistic and epistemological divide in seeking knowledge of landscape and societies that could not be directly observed. (1997, p.47).

⁶²¹ Description of the Town Hall, quoted and summarized from W. Newman & Co.'s *Handbook to Calcutta*. Warren Hastings was the lieutenant governor of Bengal; John Plamer was a merchant of the East India Company.

⁶²² Firminger, p.45.

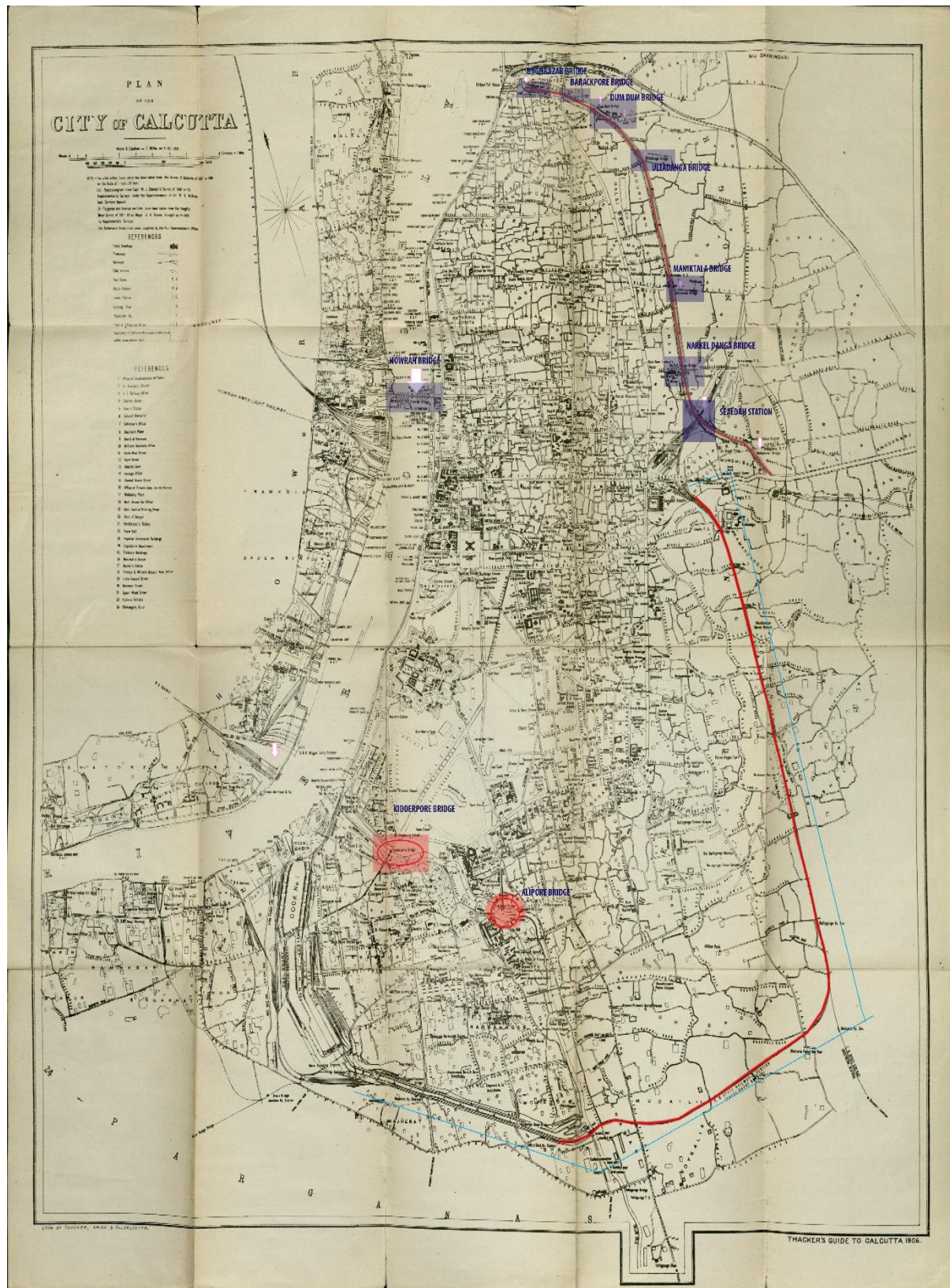


Fig.3.4 Map attached to the back cover of *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta*, and marking out the main bridges constructed across the Circular canal (marked out in red) and the Ganges within blue squares and the railway that connects Sealdah Station on the eastern extreme with Khidderpore docks in the south-west with a red line. The red circles mark out the bridges across Tolly's Nullah.

British goods and foster indigenous industries, was itself held at the Town Hall. The Movement's participants also laid the foundation for the Federation Hall to be erected for such gatherings in the future. The Movement, which fanned out in strong nationalist opposition to the Partition of the Bengal presidency in 1905 under the orders of the Viceroy Lord Curzon, would soon gather substantial popular support.⁶²³ However, later handbooks such as those by Newell (1921), Newman (1927), Hicken (1932), Tyson (1932) and Barry (1940) do not mention this meeting or the passing of a resolution to boycott British products. Rather, like *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger), they resort to what Pierre Macherey calls 'an eloquent silence' about their immediate political context. Following Macherey's assertion, the literary text, when read 'strategically, manifests, uncovers, what it cannot say'—which is particularly applicable to *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger).⁶²⁴ Given that the text includes extensive quotations from government publications and reports, it is striking that it completely omits explosive public resentment at the time towards the political machinations of the British Indian government.⁶²⁵ It is in these explicit silences, Macherey suggests, that the 'presence of ideology can be most positively felt' (see also Introduction).⁶²⁶

J.B. Harley defines cartography 'as a body of theoretical and practical knowledge that map-makers employ to construct maps as a distinct mode of visual representation'.⁶²⁷ Insisting that maps are not mirrors of topography but cultural texts that re-describe socio-political and economic worldviews, Harley defines two distinctive sets of rules that have dominated western

⁶²³ See Rabindranath Tagore's *Home and the World* trans. by Surendranath Tagore (London: Macmillan, 1919).

⁶²⁴ Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, p. 84.

⁶²⁵ The first chapter includes a lengthy analysis of Firminger's (*Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta*) inclusion of the reports on the excavation of the Old Fort William compiled by C.R. Wilson and a meticulous report on Lord Curzon's decision to reinstate the Holwell monument to commemorate the death of the early British settlers of Calcutta at the hands of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah of Bengal in 1756.

⁶²⁶ Macherey, p.32.

⁶²⁷ J. B. Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *The New Nature of Maps, Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxton (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p.153.

cartography since the seventeenth century: ‘the technical production of maps’ and ‘the cultural production of maps’. Here, Harley employs the Foucauldian ‘revelation’ of ‘the omnipresence of power in all knowledge even though that power is invisible or implied, including particular knowledges encoded in maps and atlases’, along with ‘Derrida’s notion of the rhetoricity of all texts’ and the ‘search for metaphor and rhetoric in maps’.⁶²⁸ The objective version of ‘cartographic truth’ is therefore put under analytical pressure, revealing the ‘hidden aspect’ of the map’s social origins. As Harley further notes, ‘In the map itself social structures are often disguised beneath an abstract, instrumental space, or incarcerated in the co-ordinates of computer mapping’.⁶²⁹

Applying Harley’s concepts, it is clear that the maps attached to the Calcutta handbooks reveal a lot more than they originally intended to represent. Harley focuses on the interplay of social and technical rules ‘as a universal feature of cartographic knowledge [which] produces the “order” of [the map’s] features and the “hierarchies of its practices”’.⁶³⁰ Harley’s understanding of the cultural and technical production of maps, where the objectivity of cartographic facts is challenged by being put into the wider context of the maps’ social origins, can also be demonstrated in relation to Thacker’s and Newman’s maps. The maps used in these handbooks were usually sourced from official surveys and replicated colour schemes, font styles and perspectives similar to the established maps in circulation, even though their content was usually simplified to synchronize with the literary text. The maps used in Thacker and Newman’s handbooks therefore reinforced the visual codes of official maps, but improvised in compiling the index or map key that corresponded to the literary text.

The map used in *Newman’s Handbook* (Fig.3.3) does not specify the surveys from which it draws its cartographic information, but uses a colour scheme and layout similar to maps published earlier in the nineteenth century.

⁶²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 156.



Fig 3.5 Map published in London (Jan, 1852) under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge by George Cox. The map has been sourced from the online collection of the Harvard University website. Series title: 'Harvard Map Collection digital maps. Imaging the Urban Environment.'

A good point of comparison is the map (Fig.3.5) produced by George Cox in 1852 for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK). Cox's map, presented above, resembles Barrow's reading of the Calcutta map of 1842, which serves as a prototype for Newman's map (Fig.3.3), studies the use of rhetorical and structural features to encode colonial order and hierarchy:

Of all the maps, however, the 1842 plan of Calcutta perhaps best expresses the power of the maps to make the working class viewer derive a sense of pride and satisfaction in being British [...]. Four elements in the plan suggest how British national identity was reinforced: the plan makes Calcutta a recognizably British city; it transforms India into the working class; it shows the serenity that comes with political control; and it depicts the advantages to Britain of colonial trade.⁶³¹

This analysis is relevant to the understanding of Newman's map (Fig.3.3). *The Fort* and the *Esplanade* dominate Newman's map with the *Government House*,

⁶³¹ *ibid.*, p. 693.

the *Race ground* and the new *Mint* commanding attention at the centre of the map on a part of the city that was predominantly British. The streets that are marked out in yellow re-impose the grid-system roads that were a product of the infrastructural reform measures implemented by the various urban administrative bodies set up over the course of the nineteenth century.⁶³² The map corresponds to an extensive index that lists post offices, telegraph offices, railway houses, government buildings, banks, churches and chapels, courthouses, treasuries, hospitals, schools and colleges. Social welfare

REFERENCES.

- 1 Free Church Institution.
- 2 Emerald Theatre Hall (Native).
- 3 Bengali Theatre Hall (Native).
- 4 Biss Theatre Hall (Native).
- 5 Bethune School.
- 6 Christ's Church.
- 7 General Assembly's Institution.
- 8 General Female School.
- 9 Oxford Mission.
- 10 Leper Asylum.
- 11 Alms House.
- 12 Bethune Brahmo Home.
- 13 Mayo Native Hospital.
- 14 The Mint.
- 15 Armenian Church.
- 16 Roman Catholic Cathedral.
- 17 Synagogue of David (Jewish Synagogue).
- 18 Greek Church.
- 19 Presidency College.
- 20 Race School.
- 21 Calcutta University.
- 22 Hindoo Hostel.
- 23 Reservoir Water Works.
- 24 Lady Dufferin's Lunatic Hospital.
- 25 Hindoo School and Sanskrit College.
- 26 Medical College Hospital, Eden Hospital, Sera Hospital and Eye Infirmary.
- 27 St. John's Chapel.
- 28 Police Hospital.
- 29 Church Mission Premises.
- 30 Conservancy Depot.
- 31 Gas Works.
- 32 Bonded Warehouse.
- 33 Orphan House.
- 34 Indemnity Office.
- 35 General Post Office.
- 36 Office of Examiner Military Accounts and Opium Customs.
- 37 Sir Ashley Eden's Statue.
- 38 R. I. Railway House.
- 39 Writers Buildings.
- 40 Police Office.
- 41 Town Guard.
- 42 Magistrate's Office and New Police Court, (old Barrack).
- 43 Small Cause Court.
- 44 Melville Hall.
- 45 Foreign Department.
- 46 St. John's Church.
- 47 Government Press.
- 48 Stationery Office.
- 49 Bank of Bengal.
- 50 Reservoir Water Works.
- 51 High Court.
- 52 Town Hall.
- 53 Government House.
- 54 Treasury.
- 55 Lord Bentinck's Statue.
- 56 Telegraph Office.
- 57 Old Mission Church.
- 58 Dalhousie Institute.
- 59 Currency Office.
- 60 Baptist Chapel.

measures like the 'Leper Asylum' and the 'Alms House' are also included in this index. Within the context of Newman's narrative, these buildings are mostly interpreted as colonial institutions established for the benefit of Indians.

Fig 3.6. Excerpt from the index provided on either side of Newman's map (see appendix for entire map) listing native hospitals, theatres and educational institutes (highlighted in blue) and government and private charity organisations (highlighted in pink). The list also mentions the religious institutions of the various migrant communities in Calcutta, such as the synagogue, the Armenian Church and the Greek Church, which have been highlighted in green.

⁶³² A detailed account of the development of city planning measures will be provided in the following section of this chapter.

Significantly, no Hindu temples are mentioned, nor do mosques find a place on the map. The only Indian buildings mentioned are those that champion western cultural forms such as the 'Emerald Theatre Hall (Native)', listed at number two in the index, the 'Bengal Theatre Hall (Native)' at number three, and the 'Star Theatre Hall (Native)' at number four. Some streets bear local names and certain educational institutions such as the 'Hindoo School and Sanskrit College', while medical institutes like the 'Mayo Native Hospital' are included. (Incidentally, the 'Sadaran Brahmo Somaj' has also been included, which was the platform for a spiritual and philosophical movement started by the western educated upper middle-class Bengalis in resistance to the age-old orthodox norms of Hinduism.) Arguably, Newman's map functions as a metaphor of cultural assimilation by foregrounding those practices of native social life that showed the pervasive influence of British cultural and educational norms. In Barrow's words, 'A British viewer might well have recognized his city in this plan of Calcutta, and thereby have understood that British colonialism enabled the diffusion of a British way of living'.⁶³³

Furthermore, Newman's map employs a number coding of sites of significance—what I have previously defined as 'memory sites'—as a means of establishing a hierarchy of power that emphasizes symbolic control over territory. Barrow refers to number coding as a means of imposing ownership of territory: 'The prominence given to British-controlled lands and the significance attached to political divisions are indications that the SDUK maps were part of a process whereby political territory was increasingly defined in proprietorial and hierarchical terms'.⁶³⁴ In the context of Newman's map, the system of number coding works in relation to the index of important sites provided on the map. However, the index functions with the literary text of the handbook as its immediate referent. Together, the map and the textual

⁶³³ Barrow, p. 695.

⁶³⁴ *ibid.*, p.689. 'The maps depict India as a national colonial possession through their use of colour, number coding, and conception, through the depiction of non-British-controlled territory and through the elision of the East India Company'. Newman's map replicates these formal devices of colour and number coding as symbols of the British colonial presence in Calcutta. The city is posited as the controlling capital city of the Raj and therefore an effective resource point in imperial trade and communication.

narrative substantiate the spatial hierarchy of colonial Calcutta and offer ways of claiming imperial dominance over property and space through statistical measures such as index tables and numbering systems.

Thacker's map (Fig.3.4), being a later publication, includes a larger portion of the suburban area within the scope of greater Calcutta, as discussed above. However, it differs from Newman's map in significant ways, primarily because it represents the dense native settlements in the northern part of the city in exhaustive detail. Newman's map includes the principal thoroughfares of northern Calcutta, but Thacker's version marks out the localities, also called *paras*, in greater detail.⁶³⁵ It includes the river *ghats* (steps leading down to the river, also used for docking ferries) adjoining the native localities lining the river, and bearing the names of the local patrons who donated funds towards their construction. The map also lists the *post office* located within the office premises of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, lending visibility to the leading bilingual daily that nurtured Indian journalism in its nascent state and also documented and contributed to the nationalist upsurge in the state during the early 1900s.⁶³⁶

Thacker's map gives visibility, too, to markers of native religious sites such as the *Mohameddan Burial ground* (also labelled as the *Nakhoda Burial ground*) located in the Maniktala area.⁶³⁷ The map acknowledges the expansion of British political control over extended parts of the Indian peninsula through its reference to the *Mysore Prince's Burial ground* to the south-west of the city in the Monohurpur area, and the *mosque* erected by the sons of Tipoo Sultan at the busy intersection opposite Dhrrumtola tank. These examples, along with the *Palace of the King of Oudh* on the banks of the river Hoogly in the Garden Reach area, commemorate the political victories of the East India Company and successively by the British government over native

⁶³⁵ John Archer defines 'paras' as 'a term applicable to a small locality in which the citizens generally acknowledge a shared community identity'. John Archer, 'Paras, Places, Pathogens: Framework for the growth of Calcutta 1800-1850', *City and Society*, 12. 1(2001), 19-54 (p.7). <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/city.2000.12.1.19/full>> [accessed 1 January 2018].

⁶³⁶ These places are marked and annotated in fig. 3.7

⁶³⁷ All names and words transliterated from the vernacular are in italics.

Princes who had been brought to Calcutta as a means of exiling them from their regional centres of power and rendering any possibility of rebellion ineffective.⁶³⁸ However, given the omission of these sites from Firminger's literary narrative of Calcutta it can be safely claimed that the visibility of native sites of cultural importance in the map used in *Thacker's Guide book* is not meant to signal a more inclusive racial policy on the part of the British government, but rather to emphasize the 'veracity' of mapping as a representational technique.

The *Hindu temple* at Kalighat is also depicted on this map. It is of some importance as Kalighat is represented as the southern extreme of the early British settlement in Calcutta in the 'Census of 1901', in a map entitled 'Conjectural Map of Calcutta at the time of the British Advent'.⁶³⁹ This site is one that had been essential to early maps of Calcutta as a geographical reference point, but then lost its significance when the city expanded. Eventually the temple found its place again, as an important marker of native religious and cultural customs in the latter-day maps. Thacker's map also enlists the *native bazaars* that formed an important segment of trade and connected the imperial economic circuit with the native relations of production and distribution.⁶⁴⁰ *Machua Bazar*, near Jorasanko in the north, and *Boitak Khana Hat* on the intersection of Bow Bazar Street and Circular Canal, are just two examples out of the several local bazaars that the map represents.

⁶³⁸ Firminger, p.112. *Thacker's Guide Book* (Firminger) does describe the garden reach establishment of the deposed king of Oudh, but only through quotations from Lady Dufferin's description of the 'break up of the Garden Reach establishment' after the king's death, and another major section about his deposition is quoted from T. Rice Holmes *History of the Indian Mutiny* (1904). Also see Bunny Gupta and Jaya Chaliha, 'Exiles in Calcutta: The Descendants of Tipu Sultan', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 18.1 (1991), pp. 181-188 for the history of the burial ground in relation to the Mysore king's exiled family.

⁶³⁹ A. K. Ray, *A Short History of Calcutta*, (1902), See appendix 2.

⁶⁴⁰ See Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978), p.15.

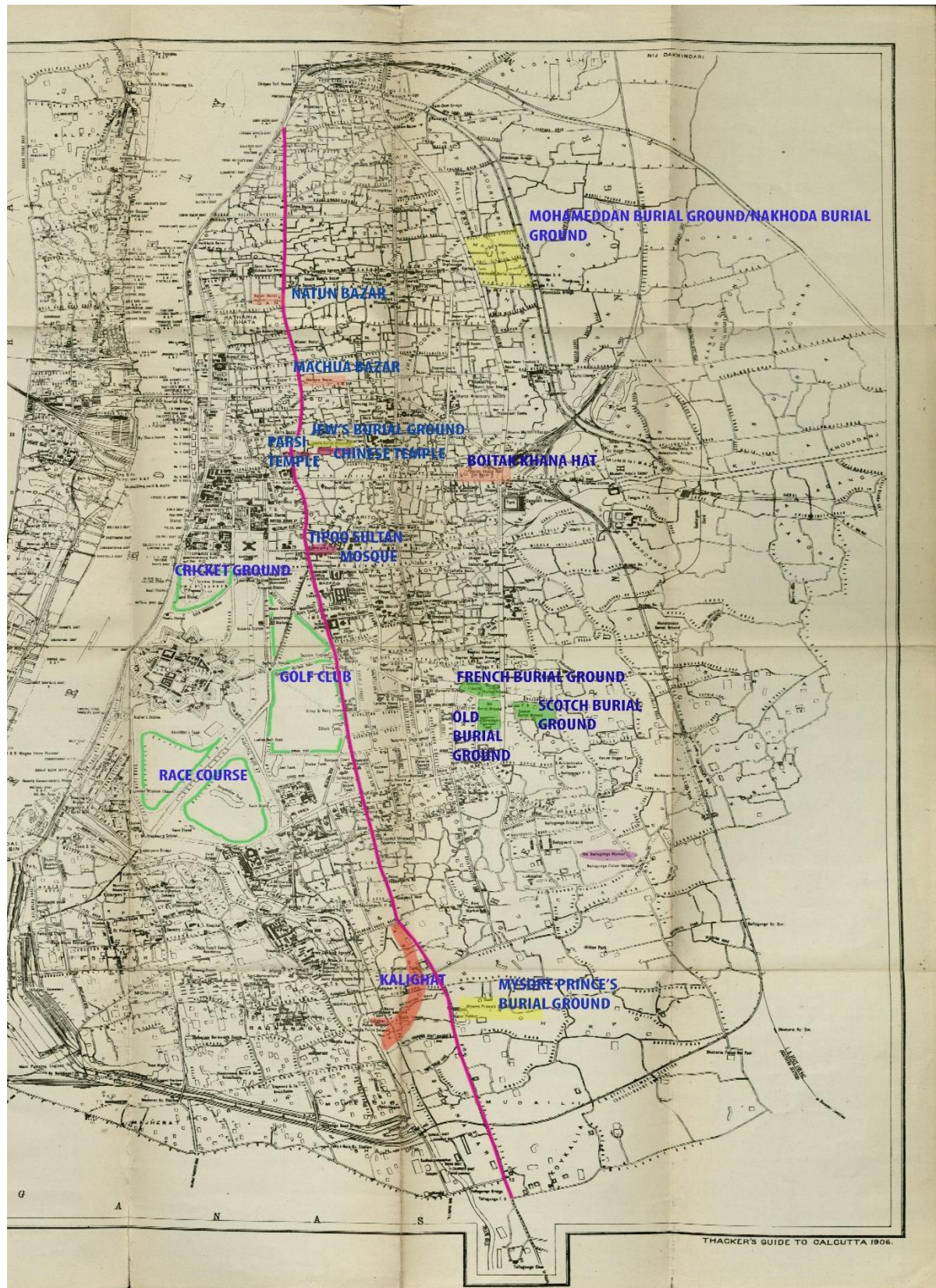


Fig. 3.7 showing bazaars, burial grounds, places of worship and the Maidan. The map also charts the ancient Pilgrim's Way shown in the Census of 1901 (see appendix) along which the settlement of Calcutta developed. (Attached to the back cover of *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, 1906)

The *Boitak Khana Hat* reveals the palimpsestic narrative of Thacker's map, which superimposes history into local everyday spatial practices. The 'hat' is a small-scale local bazaar, reminiscent of the early commercial forms of trade that attracted European merchants to the shores of rural Bengal. More importantly, the *Boitak Khana Hat* is a historic remainder of the local market set up by Job Charnock and his companions when they first landed in what would become Calcutta, offering an innocuous yet integral spatial reminder of the city's history and its mercantile beginnings (see also Chapter One). The map can thus be read to reveal older map surfaces buried under layers that document improvements made to the city's topography. The older maps, such as the ones included in the appendix of the Census of India, 1911 comprised three or four place markers (sites of consequence to the pre-urban area that later became Calcutta); these still survive in the crowded map of 1906. The significance of these places was devalued in the cartographic quantifiers of the time. However, an historical reading of the mapping of Calcutta makes one aware of the early local/native sites of memory that marked certain pre-urban ways of life and cultural practices that were appropriated, changed or replaced by the alternative practices and mobilities that urban infrastructures generated.⁶⁴¹ Cotton's handbook abounds in such examples. As he remarks, 'The tiger-haunted jungle which cut off the village of Chowringhee from the river was cleared, and gave way to the wide grassy stretch of *Maidan* of which Calcutta is so proud'. He adds that the clearing of the *Maidan* (Esplanade area) was accompanied by 'filling up a creek, which had cut off the (English) settlement on the south' which became Hasting's Street and led 'the European inhabitants to gradually forsake the narrow limits of the old palisades', resulting in large bungalows springing up in the Khidderpore region in the south.⁶⁴²

The evident differences between the two maps representing Calcutta exemplifies the shifting rationale of colonial rule. Newman's map (1882) bears

⁶⁴¹ 'Mobilities' emerges as a crucial analytical term to determine the objectives and consequences spatial rearrangement and infrastructural.

⁶⁴² Cotton, p.268.

comparison with early maps aimed at popularizing the extent and significance of British-owned territories. The use of colour adds to this exaggerated emphasis on the visual impact of order and discipline, also conveyed through the grid-system roads that privilege linearity and an implied ease of access as well as surveillance (See Fig.3.3). Meanwhile, the roads marked out in dull yellow on the Newman's map highlight the infrastructural measures adopted by the city improvement trusts with vested interests in organizing city space. The roads concentrate on dividing the core city into manageable blocks that facilitate surveillance and municipal control and also enable the easy traffic of people and goods around the city. The use of colour coding is accompanied by the availability of western facilities and amenities, principally around the European settlement, such as the *Railway stations*, *Race course*, the *Mint* and the *Town Hall* as well as the *Court of Justice*. Territorial hierarchy, as depicted on the map, affords primary visibility to the Fort and its surrounding Esplanade, which form the secure centre of a predominantly British settlement at the centre of the town.

However, in the version of Thacker's map (Fig.3.7) that is included in the 1906 edition, the territorial pre-eminence of the European part of Calcutta is neutralized to an extent by the large scope of the map, which includes native ways of life. The map aims for scientific neutrality with its black-and-white colour scheme, and the depiction of the fort and the surrounding esplanade is not visually imposing. One way of understanding this shift in representational rationale is to gauge it against the changing economic and political interests of Britain in the region. As the early economic objectives of the British inhabitants of Calcutta developed into a broader political interest in the region, the change in socio-economic outlook impacted the administrative management of city space. The economic concerns of empire needed to be redefined in terms of developmental narratives accompanied by discourses of liberal utilitarianism that characterized Britain's politics in India at the turn of the century.

An example of this redefinition is the *Maidan* (an open space around the fort, also called the Esplanade). This esplanade area was originally

necessary to have a clear line of fire in the event of an attack on the new Fort. However, as the British built up political strength this defence strategy was gradually absorbed into the nineteenth-century preoccupation with sanitary reforms and hygiene, and the esplanade was redefined as the 'lung' of Calcutta.⁶⁴³ The *Maidan* was thus co-opted into an administrative drive to restructure congested areas by introducing straight roads, tanks and squares to allow air circulation. In Thacker's map (Fig.3.7), the open space surrounding the fort has been subdivided into the *Parade Ground*, *The Race Course* and the *Polo Ground*, all contributing significantly to British cultural life in Calcutta (See Fig.3.7).

It should be clear by now that the changing projection of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Calcutta through cartographic means was a way of registering the increasing complexity of colonial rule as it confronted the need to accord a measure of visibility to native institutions of significance. The emerging western-educated middle class were becoming increasingly conscious of representation in the public and political life of the city. Newman's text, published in 1882, contains passages on the *Parsi Agiaree*, the *Jewish synagogue*, the *Armenian Church* and Hindu and Muslim places of worship, though these are not represented on the map that accompanies the text. The earlier edition of Newman's handbook (1875) includes the topics mentioned and the content is retained in the later editions of 1892 and modified to an extent in *The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (1927). However, the maps accompanying the texts do not show these sites. Alternatively, Thacker's map includes mentions of the *Parsi Temple*, the *Chinese temple* and the *Jew's Burial Ground*, which are not listed as cultural sites in the literary text of the handbook (see Fig.3.7, where these places are marked out in blue).⁶⁴⁴ These sites occur in what is otherwise considered as the 'grey town': the intermediate space wedged between the 'white' European part of the town around the Fort and the Esplanade and the 'black' native town in the north

⁶⁴³ See Partho Datta, *Planning the City*, p.7.

⁶⁴⁴ These are mentioned in passing (when describing Ezra Street) without being categorized as places of worship or of cultural interest. Firminger, p.63.

(see also Chapters 1 and 2).⁶⁴⁵ The presence of these communities attested to a network of local trade that existed in close proximity with other cities in Asia and the old Mediterranean world. Sinha gives a detailed account of these communities, their trading interests, and the various philanthropic, cultural and religious institutions they set up in order to continue their way of life in the British capital.⁶⁴⁶ This cosmopolitan sector of Calcutta receives brief attention in the *Thacker Handbook*'s telling of Calcutta's story, which concentrates on its British heritage. The invisibility of this racially intermediate space was discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Notwithstanding, gauging examples of such omissions against their visibility on Thacker's map creates an interesting paradox that reveals the different, often conflicting, modes of colonial ideology that operate in different representational mediums. For example, the 'scientific objectivity' of the map, which is supposed to ensure its validity as a mode of representation, makes visible the presence of minority communities like the Parsees and the Armenians; also the social and religious spaces dedicated to these communities, which are doggedly ignored in the verbal narrative of the handbook text.

The above observations reveal a discrepancy between the map/text of Thacker's 'Plan of Calcutta' and the literary text that accompanies it. The map text seemingly exhibits a more inclusive and broader spectrum of Calcutta's 'reality'. The literary text, for its part, has a more distilled and pared-down narrative that focuses on the essentially British characteristics of Calcutta. This seems inevitable given that W.K. Firminger, the writer of this particular handbook, had the then Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon proofread his work and suggest suitable omissions:

I am indebted to Lord Curzon of Kedleston for the kindly interest he has taken in my work. In the midst of his most overwhelming duties,

⁶⁴⁵ See Pradip Sinha, pp.21-22. The 'grey' area or 'intermediate' town was elaborated in detail in Chapter Two, which dealt with the complicated racial and political status of the mixed-race and other European minority groups that resided in this area.

⁶⁴⁶ Sinha, pp. 38-44.

he found time to read through the bulk of my proofs, and he has both saved me from repeating many of those time-honoured blunders so dear in local tradition [...].⁶⁴⁷

As emphasized earlier in this section, the inclusion of a greater number of native institutions in Thacker's map (Fig.3.7), which seemingly provides a more visually balanced representation of Calcutta as a colonial city on the map, with a proportionally huge native population, should not be understood as exhibiting an inclusive social policy in representing Calcutta in English handbooks. Rather, the nature of maps themselves had changed. They had become more precise and detailed, putting into practice the objectivity that ascertained their accuracy. The northern parts of the city that remain largely uncatalogued on the early maps, charting only the road patterns, are documented in detail in Thacker's map. However, the 'white space' of omission is retained in the literary narrative, which does not incorporate these topographical features in the way it reproduces the city for spatial consumption.⁶⁴⁸ Nor does the proposition of scientific objectivity rule out that Thacker's map is presenting its own distilled version of Calcutta. For example, the native theatre houses marked out in Newman's map are not represented in Thacker's version. An exploration of the map text reveals certain structures of privilege that are incongruous with the text's narrative objective. Alternatively, the maps conceal some structures of power by flattening them out in the uniform scheme of the map's image. The second map attached to Thacker's 'Plan of Calcutta' narrows down on the prime business area of Calcutta, lining the river and port to highlight their strategic locations. A visual comparison between the two maps' depiction of the riverfront reveals

⁶⁴⁷ Firminger, p.vi.

⁶⁴⁸ Newman's *Handbook* (1882) provides the opposite example, whereby the literary text documents several principal sites of local cultural and religious significance but the map attached to the book does not represent them. As I have argued here, Newman's map subscribes to an older function of maps that were fashioned as attempts to represent order and control over British acquired territory and facilitates the assimilation of foreign geography into the consciousness of empire. Thacker's map, which cites survey reports and rigorously follows the methods of scientific cartography, serves a different purpose. It highlights the technology of urbanism and the precision of empire-making ideologies that use scientific objectivity to guarantee the unerring authenticity of its representational technique.

the political ideology that replaces older forms of economic intervention. The older fort and church are now replaced by government administrative houses, customs buildings, big godowns and sailor's homes. The previously privatized trade of the East India Company and its protected settlement has now evolved into a global system of imperial trade, connected to a sophisticated machinery of resource extraction and colonial administration.

This transition from a glorified narrative of imperial influence to an emphasis on restructured city space is further strengthened when one considers the two other maps attached to the back cover of *Thacker's Guide*. The second map attached to *Thacker's Guide* (Fig.3.8) reinforces the older and more sustained myth of British territorial supremacy by opting to represent in detail a significant portion from the 'Plan of Calcutta' discussed so far. The page provides two maps, the first of which is the 'Plan of Fort William & Part of the City of Calcutta, Surveyed by W. Wills Lieutenant of the Artillery Company in Bengal 1753'. This resonates with C. R. Wilson's project of excavating the remains of the Old Fort and rewriting the events that transpired on the fateful day of June in 1756, commemorated as the 'Black Hole tragedy' and perpetuated as an enduring memory through the Holwell monument that was reinstated at the heart of the city by Lord Curzon (see Chapter One).⁶⁴⁹

The literary text of *Thacker's Guide* includes an entire section on 'In Search of the Old Fort and Black Hole'. It reiterates the long association of British presence in Calcutta and the creation of the city proper. It also reinvents the historical record of the 'Black Hole tragedy' as a document of the emotional and psychological costs of empire. The second map is entitled, 'Plan of the portion of Calcutta covered by the map on the opposite page in 1905'. This map (Fig 3.8) provides concentrated attention on the area around *Lal Dighee*, which had once been occupied by the Old Fort (as shown in the

⁶⁴⁹ See Chapter One for a detailed analysis of Lord Curzon's policy to historicize the British advent in Calcutta, which had the wider aim of naturalizing British rule in India and emphasizing sacrifices made by early European travellers towards establishing British governance in India. The Black Hole tragedy and the Mutiny of 1857 were two important events in this context.

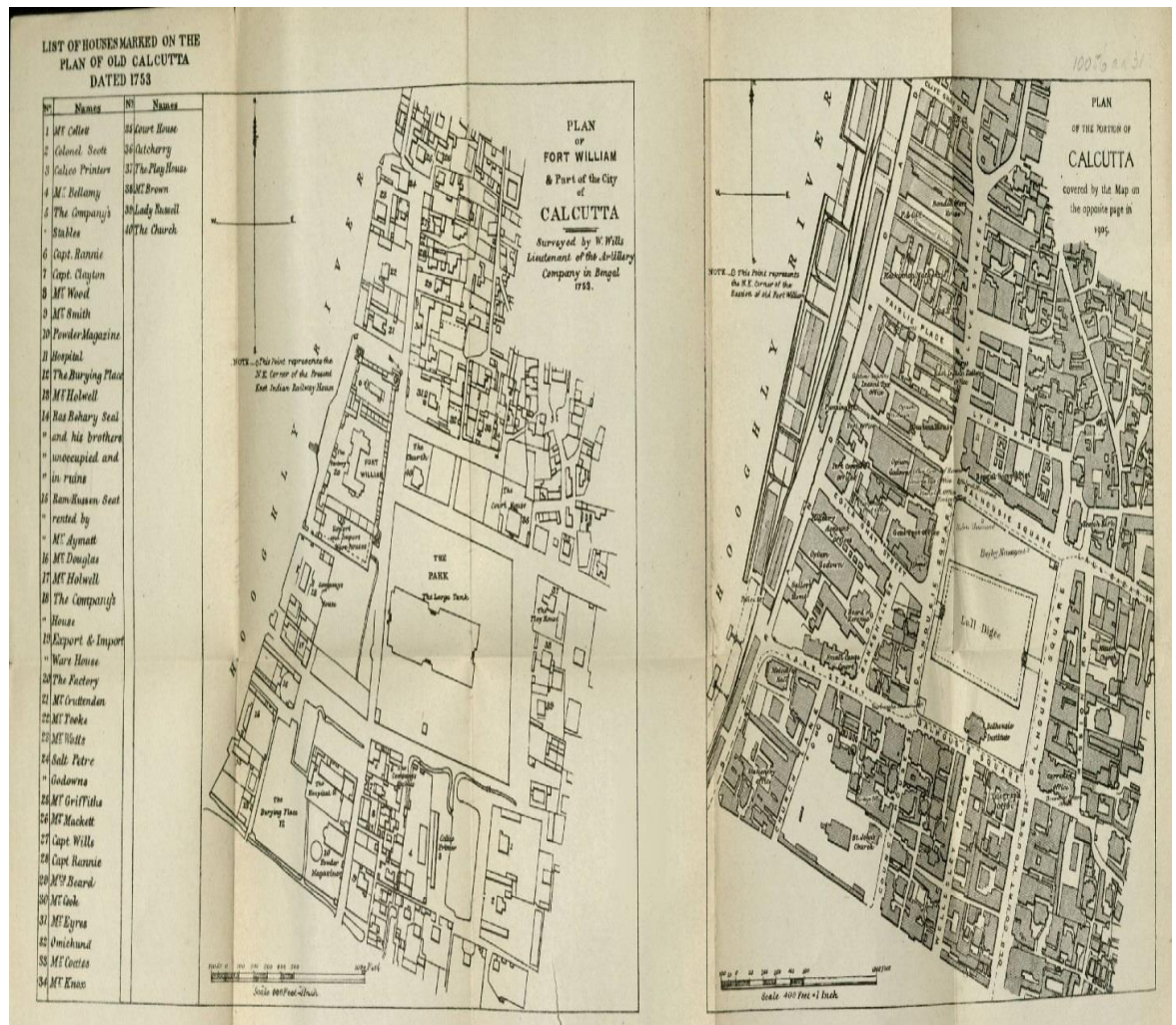


Fig. 3.8 This map is provided as an appendix to the Plan of Calcutta discussed above. It contains two maps of the Calcutta riverfront area. The one of the left represents the Old Fort William and its neighbouring houses and structures, dated 1753, and the one on the right is the representation of the same area, a prime location for imperial trade and commerce, dated 1905. (Attached to the back cover of Thacker's *Guide to Calcutta*, 1906).

adjoining map) but accommodated most of the government buildings and prominent commercial houses in 1905. The section of the city under scrutiny represents a close network of power and houses institutions, such as the *Mint*, the *General Post Office*, the *Telegraph Office*, the *High Court* and the *Bengal Secretariat Office*, all of which accentuate the progressivist narrative of empire. It makes visible the concrete connections between the liberal, Enlightenment-oriented narrative of empire that was put into practice through improvement schemes and taxation policies, and the economic

structure of imperial commerce that produced the city of Calcutta.⁶⁵⁰ The close links between the financial and governance sectors are visually represented through the physical proximity of the *Bengal Secretariat*, the seat of the government, to the *Customs House*, *Opium Godowns*, the *Board of Revenue*, the *Military Account Office* and the Port Commission Office. Adding to this image of the mercantile empire is the *Sailor's Home*, also located along the same row of buildings and an accessible means of cheap labour for the ships that docked at the adjoining port.⁶⁵¹

In providing contrasting visual representations of the same area as it changed over the years, the maps discussed above suggest a definite shift of focus from the Fort and its surrounding esplanade as a guarantor of security from hostile armies, to a situation where the prestige of empire was built on economic stability and political might. Significantly, the reader depends squarely on the map to build the connection between a narrative of nostalgia for 'old Calcutta' and the humanitarian claim of progress and economic development in the region.⁶⁵² The warehouses and opium godowns are absent from the description of the properties on Strand Road in the verbal narrative of the text describing the contemporary city. The literary narrative concentrates solely on the historical significance of the government buildings. The map in this example puts things in perspective by revealing the proximity of political and economic centres of power. The visual dimension fills in the silences in the literary narrative, and also hints at the latent intentions of such omissions. The two maps of the same geographical area separated in time showcase a visual cross-section of history. The modern day godowns, Income Tax office and Port Commission occupy the place where the Old Fort William

⁶⁵⁰ See the governmental schemes relating to historiography listed in Chapter One.

⁶⁵¹ In his *City of Dreadful Night* (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler, 1890), first serialized in the *Pioneer* in 1888, Kipling dedicates an entire chapter to the Port Commission Office and the Sailor's homes, narrating a typical day at the Shipping Office where the captain engages his crew. Kipling's portrayal presents a sad case for the ship's labourers who live hard lives, are prone to deserting and are paid unfairly or end up sick and dead in the 'kintals' (Anglo-Indian slums) of the city or wash up further down the river. See also Chapter Two.

⁶⁵² See 'palliative imperialism' in Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the Literary Cultures of South Asia*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

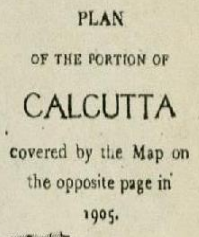


Fig. 3.9 Map showing all the mercantile houses such as godowns and business offices, in pink, and Government buildings, in red (Attached to the back cover of Thacker's *Guide to Calcutta*, 1906).

stood. By placing the maps in parallel to one another, *Thacker's Guide Book* enjoins its readers to contemplate how a space in the city has evolved to make way for modern forms of global imperial trade. The visual impact of these two maps, when viewed together, puts the palimpsestic quality of the geographical image represented in a conventional two-dimensional map into perspective. 'Memory sites' converge and are included in a linear progressivist narrative of colonial rule. Simultaneously, other sites of power are concealed despite their material influence on Calcutta's city space. This process of selection is essential to the purpose of the handbook as a controlled (and controlling) narrative of space that organizes and neutralizes discrepancies through the structural nuances of its narrative.

The standardization of the handbook map

As argued above, the Calcutta handbooks written during the late nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century derived purpose from the British government's drive to restructure the public perception of empire, both in India and 'back home' in Britain. The handbooks published during this period, specifically Edmund Mitchell's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta: Its High-ways and By-paths* (1890), W. Newman & Co.'s *Hand-book to Calcutta: Historical and Descriptive* (1882; 1892), H.E.A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New* (1907), and Walter K. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta*, all retain features of the early handbooks popularized by John Murray and T. Black & Co., such as lifestyle guides and language translation tables, and combine these with contemporary discourses aimed at reinventing Calcutta's past.⁶⁵³ However, after the shift of the capital to Delhi, the later handbooks lost this immediate purpose of the political restructuring of city space and fell into the pattern of general guidebook narratives. The socio-economic determinants of the urban

⁶⁵³ The bibliographical details are cited above.

environment of Calcutta changed, and so too did the cultural representations it produced.

The standardization of the handbook narrative in its literary manifestation was also reflected in its cartographic aspect. The handbooks written at the turn of the twentieth century, *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* (Firminger, 1906) being one example, deploy several maps, usually sourced from the official surveys conducted by qualified surveyors appointed by the government. The early handbooks had a definite structure with a significant section dedicated to the historical narrative of Calcutta accompanied by translation tables, tables of weights and measures, even the wage lists of the domestic help. Later handbooks would shed many of these features. Their structure inclined towards the standardized format of guidebooks, cutting down on length of the history of 'old Calcutta' to ensure a more contemporary account of the city as well as to help portability. For example, John Barry in his *Calcutta 1940* (1940) organizes his content in a tour format, which sets out routes for travel. However, the alternative format of a list of the places to visit is provided for ease of access to information. This dual format serves to organize the city in two patterns. Firstly, the tour is organized according to contiguous areas, defined as localities, which can be explored in order to discover places of interest (see Fig.3.1). Secondly, the handbook provides an 'objective' listing of these selected sites of interest, which are unmoored from their geographic specificity. The 'famous monuments' list corresponds to brief histories of the sites, which lack a significant engagement with the academic and other established sources that buttressed the lengthy histories of Calcutta provided in the turn-of-the-century handbooks. The maps attached to these handbooks illustrate this narrative change in the cartographic representation of the city. The later handbooks, of which Barry's *Calcutta 1940* is an example, slip into a simplified mapping technique of guidebooks that is less sensitive to intricacies of scale and of topography. The maps attached to G.W. Tyson's *Calcutta, a City of Palaces* (1932) and John Barry's *Calcutta 1940* (1940) are examples of this argument (Fig 3.10).

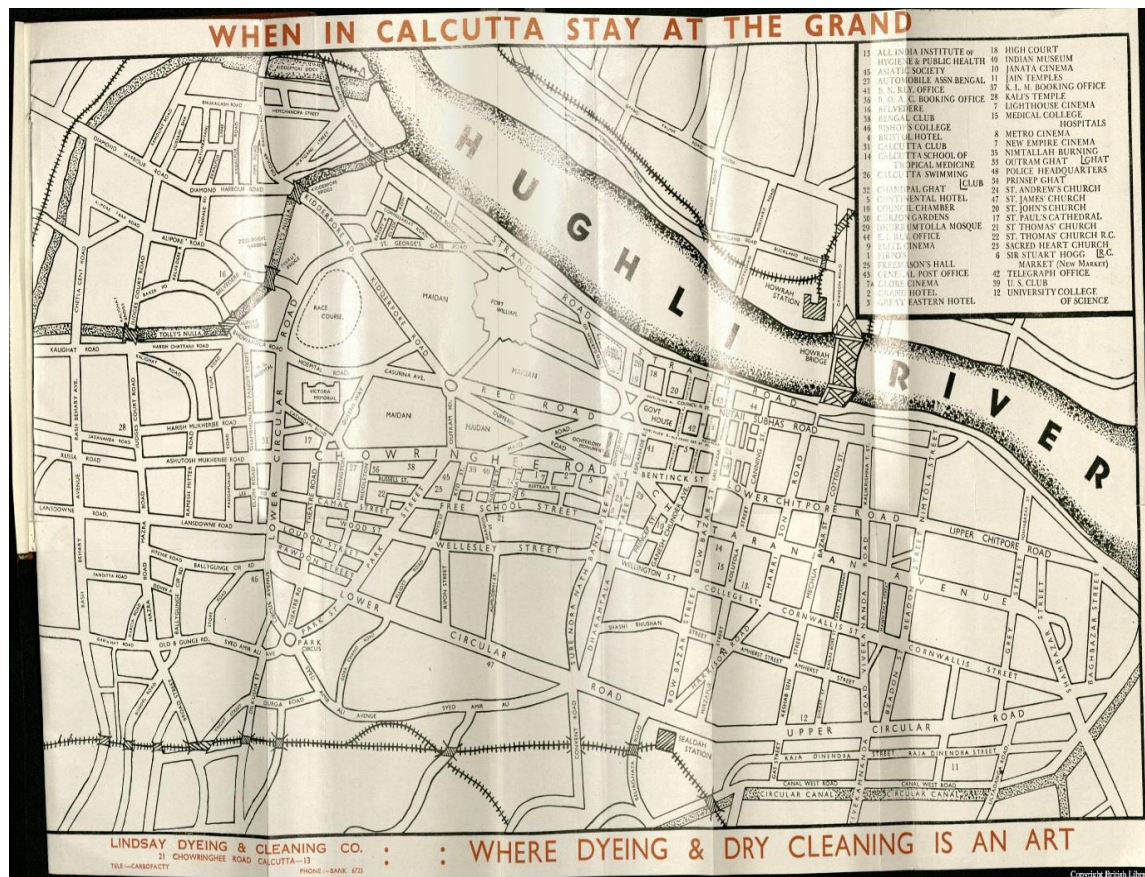
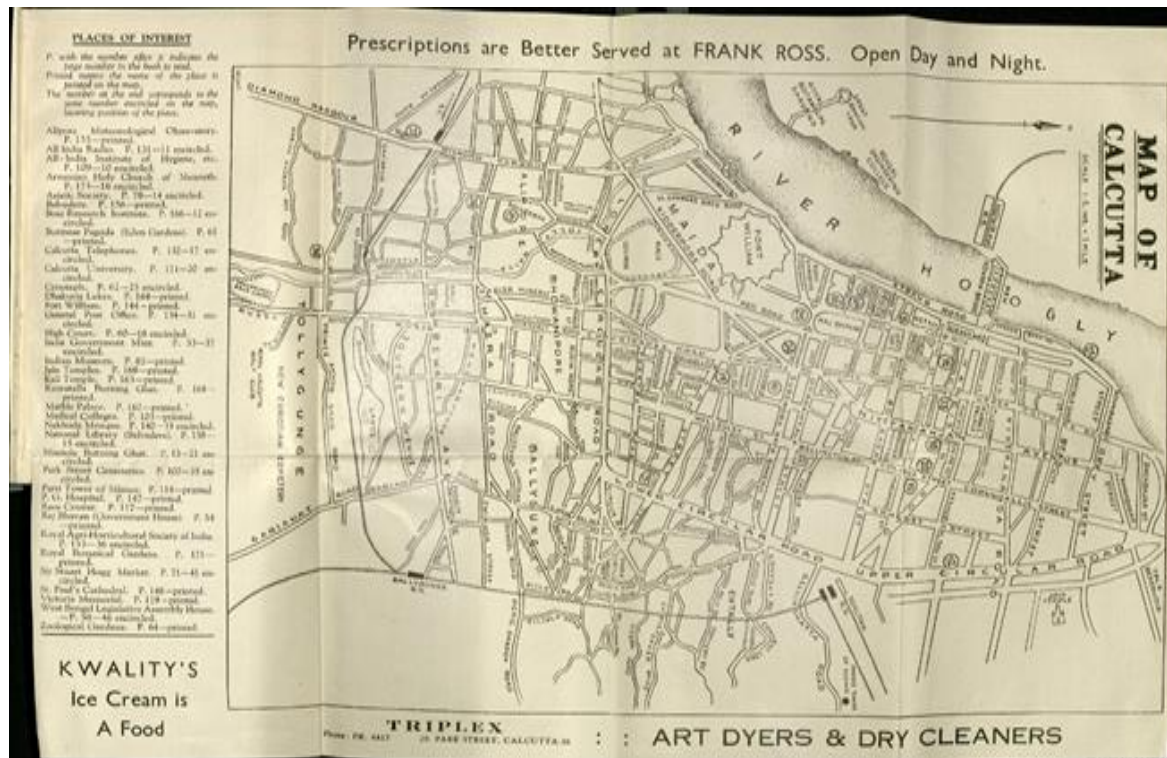


Fig 3.10 Map of Calcutta attached to Tyson's *City of Palaces* (1932) and



'Map of Calcutta', attached to the front cover of John Barry's *Calcutta 1940* (1940).

Barry's text comes provided with a 'Map of Calcutta' on a scale of 1.5 inches to a mile. However, it lists only the main thoroughfares of the much-expanded city. The format of the map develops on the format of Tyson's map, so that the index of important sites provides the corresponding page number in the book where the details of the site are listed; it also supplies information on whether the name of the site is printed on the map or must be located against a particular number printed in the map index. The choice of sites of significance is standard and inclusive of local communities. The map itself, though, is a simplified version of the narrative. Moreover, it does not conform to the scientific accuracy of cartographic details, which was a guarantee of scientific objectivity in the maps used in *Thacker's Guide book* (Firminger); nor does it use cartographic codes of colour the way Newman's map does. It is difficult to trace the municipal borders marked out in Newman's map and the grid system of roads that demonstrated the administrative desire to restructure the city with the fort and the European quarter as its centre. The palimpsestic quality of the map is flattened out, with reduced information limiting its depth and reducing its capacity to generate unexpected connections between people and spaces in the city.

Here, the iconic status of a map that adds value to its visual images through the use of decorative embellishments, use of colour, manipulations of size, and choice of centrality, is diminished. Barry's map is simple—simplistic even—in that it emphasizes an easy transmission of facts. The numbering system is more exact, with the page numbers of the verbal text encrypted onto the map surface, grafting the literary narrative and suggested tours onto the map. The map fashions an easy-to-access dialogue between the verbal and visual narratives of the handbook. The text's digressions, including excerpts of anecdotal or historical information, do not find a complementary visual richness in the map. The map, it seems, is a more limited version of the verbal narrative. Meanwhile, both Tyson's map and the 'Map of Calcutta' in Barry's text are hemmed in with advertisements for popular products and brand names that highlight a significant feature of the late handbooks. The use of photographs of 'memory sites' in these texts attach an added reference point

to the visual production of the city through maps.⁶⁵⁴ Barry's text also includes a map of the New Market (previously the Stuart Hogg Market) that emphasizes the book's desire to be contemporary and amenable to daily consultation. The old trappings of nostalgia for the past, which fostered a sense of belonging and continuity, are now underplayed in favour of showcasing the relevance of the handbook text to the 'new Calcutta' with its airport, refurbished port and other modern social amenities.

The role of advertisements

Implicit in my argument thus far is that maps in handbooks are visual representations of *mobility systems* made possible through various measures of clearing space and introducing linear grid-pattern roads punctuated with tank squares. Such systematic restructuring of city space in accordance with the western principles of order brought previously segregated communities in contact with each other and forged new social mobilities peculiar to urban life.⁶⁵⁵ Modern systems of mobility such as roads, bridges, shipping and railways consolidated the imperial system of commerce, creating opportunities for an increased circulation of objects and services from the metropole to the colonial city.⁶⁵⁶ This in turn generated a consumer culture for readily available products designed to counter the adverse climate and unfamiliar circumstances in the colonies (such as the medicinal brands discussed in the last chapter). These objects and services were strategically packaged as experiences characteristic of English social and domestic life. Symbolizing the far reach of empire, they simultaneously compressed geographical distance and mitigated the nostalgia for 'home'.

Consequently, an abundance of advertisements becomes noticeable in handbooks published in the late 1920s, such as Newman's later edition of *A*

⁶⁵⁴ See Chapter One for the use of sketches and photographs in handbooks [Thacker (1906); *The Visitor's Guide* (1921); Tyson (1932); Barry (1940)].

⁶⁵⁵ See Bhabanicharan Bandyopadhyaya, *Kalikata Kamalalaya*, (1823).

⁶⁵⁶ See the section titled 'Urban Planning and the Creation of Order' below for a detailed discussion of John Urry's book *Mobilities*.

Visitor's Guide to Calcutta (1927), which features iconic products of imperial trade like Pears soap and Remington typewriters.⁶⁵⁷ The inclusion of advertisements in the later handbooks coincided with a shift in the narrative focus of handbooks published after the 1920s. Handbooks written by Hicken and Tyson, for instance, would cut down on the section aligning the advent of British rule in India with the history of Calcutta and focus instead on the cultural contemporaneity of Calcutta with other world capitals, chiefly through ads.

Thomas Richards has shown the close relation between capitalism as a dominant form of exchange in imperial commerce and the 'spectacle' of advertisement as the dominant form of representation to go along with it.⁶⁵⁸ In analysing the role of advertisement and spectacle, Richards links adverts to Victorian society's obsession with making 'prosperity look like an established fact', the apparent 'extraordinary surplus of things'.⁶⁵⁹ Likewise, Hicken's book projects Calcutta as the city of 'Pleasures and Palaces', and the text uses full-page spreads of adverts as illustrations for the advice and suggestions it provides on life in Calcutta. The ads include theatres and talkies like the Globe and the New Empire 'India's premier theatre and the home of British Talkies [...] assuring *always* cool, clean, pure air'.⁶⁶⁰ In addition, there are adverts dedicated to personal photographers and painters as well as luxury items for everyday necessities like 'Cleaners and Dyers' from London and 'authentic butter' from Australia. This display of opportunities and comforts is underlined with a prominent racial and class-consciousness. Thus, the section listing fashionable and budget residences in Calcutta with half-page ads describing the institutions begins with a prosaic list of 'Where to Stay and

⁶⁵⁷ See Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.123, for a discussion of the Pears advertisement campaign that pivoted its sales pitch on the expansion of the empire in the remote corners of the earth. Also see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Imperial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995) on the role of Pears soap and soap in general.

⁶⁵⁸ Richards, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁹ Richards explains later in this chapter that 'the myth of surplus production continued to be of central importance in consolidating domestic support for imperial expansion' (p. 121).

⁶⁶⁰ Hicken, p.53-54. Author's italics.

What it Costs', then divides the suggestions into sections titled 'Under Indian management' (five suggestions) and 'Under European management' (eighteen suggestions), all located in the central or southern part of Calcutta.⁶⁶¹

The Great Exhibition of 1851, Richards suggests, marked the genesis of the concept of 'spectacle'. From it, 'advertisers learned the best way to sell people commodities was to sell them the ideology of England', from national identity embodied in the monarchy to imperial expansion taking place in Africa; from the many diseases threatening national health to the many boundaries separating classes and genders.⁶⁶² Advertisers became specialists at peddling what Louis Althusser calls 'practical ideology', that is, an 'imaginary way of relating to a real world'.⁶⁶³ Richards associates these advertisements with the 'formula of British conquest' used by British imperialists to 'represent commodities as a magic medium through which English power and influence could be enforced and enlarged in the colonial world'.⁶⁶⁴ The use of spectacle to exalt 'the ordinary by means of the extraordinary, the small by means of the large, the real by means of the unreal', fits neatly into the way advertisement functioned in the context of Hicken's *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* and *Visitor's Guide's* (1927) narratives.⁶⁶⁵

As Richards posits, 'the exhibition turned everyone who entered it into a leisured flâneur, while at the same time it transformed the meticulous flâneur of the Parisian arcade into a manageable consumer of manufactured objects'.⁶⁶⁶ Handbooks like Hicken's and *The Visitor's Guide* transform the walk through the city—mapped as a series of tours comprising its *historical*

⁶⁶¹ Hicken, p. 7. The northern part was the Indian town.

⁶⁶² Richards, p. 40.

⁶⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 4. See Chapters One and Two for references to the use of adverts in Hicken's *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (1931). The use of advertisement as sponsorship is absent from in early handbooks such as Newman's (1882, 1892). In Thacker (1906) and Cotton (1907), advertisements are added as supplements at the end, promoting the authors' respective publishing houses, but also providing insight into the interest areas of each publishing house and its readership estimates. Newell, Hicken and Tyson include a prolific amount of ads that suggest a burgeoning commodity culture under certain trusted brand names and iconography: these were presumably sources of sponsorship for the handbooks as well.

⁶⁶⁶ Richards, p. 5.

attractions—into a tour through the *consumerist* possibilities of a global city, which is connected in turn to the economic and urban network of flows of people, goods and ideas that sustained the empire.⁶⁶⁷

The Great Exhibition, which Richard sees as signalling the advent of today's global commodity culture, had a 'peculiarly middle-class vision of restricted equality'.⁶⁶⁸ Describing the middle-class orientation of the consumer economy, Richards discusses how the exhibition rarely acknowledged the reality of class difference, since in the consumer economy, 'commodities provided a common ground for everyone'.⁶⁶⁹ However, in Hicken there is a marked consciousness of the wide range of the social and racial situations that prospective readers might connect with, given that the book was available at the nominal fee of Re.1.⁶⁷⁰ The ads that cater to refined tastes and eclectic habits in Hicken's handbook, hunting for instance, contrast with passages that list 'social amenities' and advice 'for those with little or no money'. This shows an interesting break between the 'visual logic of commercial colonialism', which, as Vandertop suggests, is a means of abstracting colonial exploitation and seeing colonies as 'empty dreamscapes for the projection of European hopes and desires', and the socio-economic realities of a colonial city space shaped by imperial socio-economic and political intervention.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ John Rennie Short, *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), p. 3.

⁶⁶⁸ Richards, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶⁷⁰ Newman's handbook (1892) was priced at three rupees; Newell published in 1921 was priced at two rupees.

⁶⁷¹ See Hicken, Contents List. See also Caitlin Vandertop, 'Colonies in Concrete: Walter Benjamin, Urban Form and the Dreamworlds of Empire', *Interventions*, 18.5 (2016), 709-729 <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369801X.2015.1131183>> [accessed 10 June 2018] (p. 714). Vandertop partially quotes from Susan Buck-Morss, 'The City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe', *October*, 73 (1995), 3-26 (p.11).



Fig. 3.11, from *Visitor's guide* (1927), familiarizes the female traveller with the necessities of personal hygiene. The European woman is pictured against a train in the background, a metaphor of peripatetic life in colonial India.

A Ready Reference	
WHERE TO STAY AND WHAT IT COSTS	
The following are the minimum rates charged per day by various Hotels and Boarding Establishments in Calcutta. In many cases higher rates are assessed in proportion to accommodation, special diet, etc., provided. These additional charges can be ascertained from the Hotels and Boarding Establishments themselves. For further particulars please refer to the page number quoted against each place.	
UNDER INDIAN MANAGEMENT	
The Great Indian Hotel Rs. 2/8	see page 9.
The Calcutta Hotel Rs. 3/-	see page 11.
Hotel Royal Rs. 3/-	see page 11.
Tower Hotel Rs. 2/-	see page 13.
V. M. C. A., Bhowanipore Branch Rs. 2/-	see page 13.
UNDER EUROPEAN MANAGEMENT	
The Grand Hotel Rs. 15/-	see page 17.
The Great Eastern Hotel Rs. 14/-	
Spence's Hotel Rs. 12/-	see page 17.
The Continental Hotel Rs. 8/-	
The Central Hotel Rs. 6/-	see page 25.
Bellevue Hotel Rs. 6/-	see page 25.
Lord's Residential Family Hotel Rs. 12/-	see page 19.
V. M. C. A., Chowringhee Branch Rs. 7/-	
V.M.C.A., Wellington Branch Rs. 3/-	see page 15.
The Salvation Army Hostel for women Rs. 2/-	see page 15.
The Salvation Army Hostel for men Rs. 2/4	see page 15.
The V. W. C. A. Hostel Rs. 3/-	
"Outram House" Rs. 9/-	see page 21.
"Holmcroft" Rs. 10/-	see page 19.
"Loch Lomond Lodge" Rs. 8/-	see page 23.
"Buchanan's" Rs. 7/-	see page 21.
"Kingsleigh" Rs. 8/8	see page 23.
"Fairlawn" Rs. 5/-	see page 27.

Fig. 3.12 shows a detailed list of places of residence in Calcutta (taken from Hicken).

TOWER HOTEL
(Facing Sealdah North Station)
 27, Upper Circular Road
CALCUTTA

An ideal Boarding House for Indian Ladies and
 Gentlemen
 (Family suites available with attached bath)
 Sanitation and Home Comforts

CHARGES
 Special rates for permanent boarders
Rs. 8, 6, 4, 2-8 and 2 per diem
 Tele: "Terhote." Phone: 915 B. B.

CALCUTTA HOTEL Ltd.
 Premier & Largest Indian Hotel
 MIRZAPORE PARK NORTH, CALCUTTA



Palatial Building
 Facing Park on
 South. Excellent
 Arrangements.
 Home Comforts.

Family Suites with
 Attached Bath.
 Charges:—Rs. 10,
 6, 4-8 & 3 per diem.
 Reduced Rates for
 Monthly Boarders.

TELE:—"CALHOTEL"
 (ESTD. 1913) PHONE:—603 BURRABAZAR.

HOTEL ROYAL
 47, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA
(under expert supervision)

TELEGRAMS:—"COOLBREEZE" PHONE: B.B. 3753



Five storied
 palatial build-
 ing fitted with
 up-to-date
 equipments

An Aristocratic Cosmo-
 politan Hotel
 patronised by
 people who
 appreciate
 comfort

Cleanliness,
 Home Com-
 forts and best
 food.

Charges:—Rs. 10/- 6/8 4/8 and 3/- per diem
Special concession for prolonged stay.

Fig. 3.13 includes adverts (3) for local hotels. All three examples mention special provisions for long-term/permanent lodgers. This arrangement appears common for British travellers resident in the city (taken from Hicken).

Telephone
 CALCUTTA 3752 **BUCHANAN'S** Telephone
 CALCUTTA 3752

RESIDENTIAL BOARDING HOUSE
14 to 14 1/2 Sudder Street, Calcutta
 Single Rooms and Suites by Day, Week or
 Month
 English Fare and Every Modern Convenience
 Strictly under European Management
 Our Representative meets All Trains and
 Steamers
TERMS VERY MODERATE



Fig. 3.14 The advert for 'Jabakusum' in Tyson's *Calcutta a City of Palaces* (1932) marks a significant inclusion of indigenous products and hints at the market existing for locally produced products tailored to an Indian lifestyle.

Richards remarks that presenting goods and commodities in an unspecified present, without their place of origins or dates of production, 'annihilated the space which separates nations and time that separates one stage of a nation's progress from another'.⁶⁷² The adverts in *The Visitor's Handbook* and Hicken function differently, however; they are effective because they are insistent on an 'authentic British experience'. It is on history that they pivot their sales pitch, and while they appeal to a global connectivity, they essentially hearken back to the 'Home' of England, now more accessible than ever, not only through greater ease of back-and-forth travel with government incentives facilitating such journeys, but also through a steady flow of trusted brand

⁶⁷² Richards, p. 61.

names that made the British way of life more accessible and strengthened belief in the empire.⁶⁷³

The advent and rapid proliferation of advertisements in handbooks published after 1900 highlighted several converging technologies of mobility of people and goods, and these would have a transformative effect on economic and social life that was in some sense on the ‘move’ or away from ‘home’.⁶⁷⁴ Extensive and intricate connections between physical travel and social and racial hierarchy necessitated a steady circulation of people and goods to stabilize the fluid boundaries of race and class. The concept of mobility had a significant influence on determining intra-racial hierarchies, as discussed in the last chapter, and therefore can be said to have ‘mobilized’ categorical changes in social and political ways of life in the city. To put this in another way, the adverts included in the handbooks made visible the mutual interactions of objects and people in colonial Calcutta. In early handbooks like *Thacker’s Guide Book* (Firminger, 1906) and Newman’s *Hand-book to Calcutta* (1892), the list of current publications from the publisher was attached to the back cover of the handbook. This included books that introduced readers to the flora and fauna of India; books informing readers on Hinduism and Islam; books on the use of military tactics and firearms; and a large section of books on the perils of the tropical climate and medical hints for domestic application. In addition, there were books on polishing up one’s knowledge of Indian languages and ready-to-hand guides such as ‘Representative Indians’ that presumably helped officials and businessmen in their dealings with local elites.⁶⁷⁵ However, this all changed dramatically from the mid-1920s onwards,

⁶⁷³ As discussed in Chapter Two, frequent travels abroad were a way of maintaining a steady association with Great Britain, especially in families serving in British administrative offices off-shore through several generations; they were also a way of maintaining racial and social prestige. See Elizabeth Buettner’s *Empire Families* (Oxford: OUP, 2004) for a detailed account of this continuous circulation of European families from India to Great Britain and the toll that it exacted on families engaged in this profession.

⁶⁷⁴ John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), p.5.

⁶⁷⁵ Some of the titles include: *The Tribes on My Frontier*: - ‘remarkably clever work’ that ‘most graphically and humourously described the surroundings of a Mofussil bungalow’; *The Hindoos as They Are*: - ‘A description of the manners, customs, and inner life of Hindoo Society, Bengal’; and *Representative Indians*: - ‘Short biographies of the local representatives of the new type of men who have been brought into existence in India since the growth of British

and by the time of Newman's later edition of the *Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* (1927) and Hicken's *Mid Pleasures and Palaces* (1931), adverts had become an integral part of the text of the handbook, working as referents to the handbook's content. Objects and service-oriented ads abound in these later handbooks. For example, Newman's *The Visitor's Guide book to Calcutta* (1927) included full-page spreads advertising Calcutta hotels under English management with kitchens equipped with French chefs, railway trips to Darjeeling (in the hills), gunmakers, typewriters and cameras, with names and brands that reflected the global reach of empire. The various objects and experiences the ads represented emerged as social facts that suggested intimate lifestyle patterns, gender and class hierarchies, and racial perceptions through their projected uses and purposes. As John Urry suggests, 'studies of travel, migration and belonging show how cultural objects are [...] on the move'. Such objects, says Urry, 'variably mobilize place and they are involved in the reconstitution of belonging and memory'.⁶⁷⁶

In handbooks such as these, early anxieties about the colonial experience peculiar to Calcutta and greater Bengal seemed to be dissipating in a growing consciousness of the increased mobility of people and goods between the metropole and the colonies. Handbooks like *The Visitor's Guide* (1927) and those by Hicken (1931) and Tyson (1932) all highlighted the global contemporaneity of Calcutta through its format and presentation. These handbooks were peddlers of global fare through their use of adverts as content, but the ads were also a source of sponsorship for the handbooks, thus absorbing them as products into the network of global consumerism. The presence of indigenous products and services representing an alternate cultural and social pattern of consumption is not present in the handbooks of the early 1920s; but in Tyson (1932), we find an advert for 'Jabakusum hair oil'

power in that land'. The publishing house was also engaged in producing official manuals of instruction for 'promotional exams' in the imperial service (*Fortifications as Applied to Schemes; Notes, Questions and Answers on Military Law*). Books on health-related advice and a general concern with tropical climate included *Medical Hints for Hot Climates* and *Practical Hints on the Preservation of Health in India*.

⁶⁷⁶ Urry, p. 34.

that was manufactured locally and part of early attempts to establish and popularize 'swadeshi' industry in the city (see Fig 3.14; see also further examples in Barry's text).⁶⁷⁷

The early 1900s would witness several events that culminated in the shift of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi (1911). The decision to partition Bengal initiated an intense ideological conflict that ranged over the civil, military and political life of the city. Curzon's decision to create a parallel state with Dhaka as its capital city was opposed by the Swadeshi movement, a strategic move to impair British business interests while promoting indigenous industry and production. The decision to partition Bengal was officially proposed as a means of ensuring administrative efficiency, and was part of Curzon's drive to regularize spatial control and order. Nevertheless, weakening the growing nationalist surge among the middle class intelligentsia in the city was another major, if indirect, concern for partition.⁶⁷⁸ A period of aggressive opposition to the government's imposition of spatial boundaries that aimed at cutting across cultural and social solidarity coincided with other measures to organize space and people into manageable units. Caitlin Vandertop offers the parallel example of Paris, which suffered a levelling process at work, uprooting cultural specificities in order to instil a uniform cosmopolitanism created by empire-making processes at work. Vandertop connects this 'loss of character' to 'Haussmann's large-scale reconstruction of the city and its formal integration into the national and global economy'. Intensive planning measures in Paris had uprooted citizens 'from the specificities of their geographical and socio-cultural settings', expanding the circulation of people,

⁶⁷⁷ See Srirupa Prasad, *Affective Remedies: Advertisements and Cultural Politics of Hygiene in Cultural Politics of Hygiene in India, 1890–1940*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Sumit Sarkar, in his book cited immediately below, refers to C. K. Sen and H. Bose (famous for their *Jabakusum* and *Kuntalin* hair oils, also importing phonograph records and cycles) as having been established before 1905 and usually combining sale of imported articles with manufacture of one or two varieties of consumer goods. These companies participated in the swadeshi enterprise along with new 'shops that sprang up overnight'. (p.117).

⁶⁷⁸ See Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973).

goods and culture.⁶⁷⁹ A similar interrelation can be discerned between shifts in the topography of Calcutta under the intensive planning measures adopted by the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) and the visibility of the global circulation of objects and ideas in handbook advertisements. But as we will see in the following section, the increased mobility of people, goods and ideas enabled by systematic spatial ordering would also contribute to elements of disorder, dissent and active resistance against colonial rule.

Urban planning and the creation of order

As discussed in Chapter One, Lord Curzon contributed significantly towards creating a historical narrative of British Calcutta through landmarks dedicated to significant events that marked the consolidation of British rule in the city and, by extension, the eastern part of the country. His efforts to commemorate the British presence in India were implicitly linked to his interest in urban planning measures and other strategies for territorial redistribution through the partition of Bengal. Cotton's comment on Curzon's term as Viceroy gives a glimpse into the complex response that such measures incited:

The history of the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon must be left to be written by other hands. In matters of minor importance it may be said at once that the obligation of Calcutta to the late Viceroy stands in need of no reservation. The restoration of the Holwell Monument, the transformation into a pleasant garden of the 'No Man's Land' to the east of Government House, the establishment of the Imperial Library, the purchase of Hastings' historic house at Alipore as a State guest-house, and the conception of the 'snow-white fabric' of the Victoria Memorial Hall, which will before long supplant the unsightly Jail building on the southern extremity of the Maidan—these are marks of interest and appreciation which the citizens of the Imperial capital of

⁶⁷⁹ Vandertop, p. 718.

British India have not been slow to acknowledge. But, where larger questions are at issue, the public demands time for reflection. It is always a trifle forced and often a trifle defiant to attempt to anticipate the verdict of posterity regarding the men and measures of yesterday. The gigantic Calcutta Improvement Scheme which looms in the immediate future, has not passed beyond the pale of controversy, and it has yet to justify the welcome which is officially demanded on its behalf.⁶⁸⁰

Cotton's account of Curzon's viceroyalty reflects on a precarious balance between acknowledgements received for his efforts to materialize the memory of early British exploits in Bengal and the discontent brewing in the wake of various governmental attempts to redistribute and reshape territory. The idea of reshaping city space easily mapped onto the growing concern with hygiene and sanitation in Calcutta, while plans and surveys of different kinds also supported the colonial government's increasingly interventionist attitude to curb nationalist protests.

The sanitary reforms implemented in order to secure the city against the plague epidemic were mostly spatial in nature. The riots in opposition to these plague eradication measures led to demonstrations occupying public space in the city. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the English bi-weekly that came out from Calcutta, published an account of how the state was using the plague scare to weaken the authority of Indian representatives in the Calcutta Corporation and gain a further foothold on territorial control:

(During) the Municipal meeting on Saturday, both the Hindu and Mahomedan Commissioners to a man opposed the draft regulations framed by the Health Officer for the purpose of arming himself with arbitrary and extraordinary powers to deal with the apprehended outbreak of bubonic plague in Calcutta. It is no wonder that these regulations evoked such an opposition considering that these

⁶⁸⁰ Cotton, pp.237-238.

measures would practically mean the placing of Hindu and Mahomedan residents of the town, as one of the Commissioners observed in the meeting, at the absolute and utter mercy of the Health Officer.⁶⁸¹

The Calcutta handbooks published in 1906 and 1907 also mention the government's sanitary reforms, but refrain from reporting or commenting on the furore caused by its coercive application amongst the mill hands and labouring classes that led to the plague riots of May 1898. Apprehending government crackdown on their lives and bodies, people left the city in droves, by rail, river and road. Men and women left their houses, renouncing the traditional requirements of zenana, and 'Howrah Bridge was blocked and the Station besieged by a continuous crowd'.⁶⁸² Sensing that the mass movement outside the city was a means of 'protesting against the imposition of plague measures', the government softened its regulations for the 'respectable classes', expecting this pacification to percolate down to the lower orders. However, this only aggravated a feeling of discrimination and vulnerability in the city's poor. In May 1898, 'workers from Calcutta port, the jute presses and mills assembled at various centres of the city' to impede the work of inoculation. This protest took the form of violent agitation, and carriages were destroyed to prevent people from being taken to hospitals. The crowds also caused damage to civic property, 'ripped away tram lines and placed Municipal carts across the road to block traffic and attacked government vaccinators, 'attacks were also made on Europeans travelling in the town'.⁶⁸³

Some eight years later, the anti-partition movement launched as a response to the partition of Bengal implemented on October 16, 1905. The movement comprised the elite and upper-middle class sectors of Indian

⁶⁸¹ Amrita Bazar Patrika [Bi weekly] 31. 31 (10 April 1898), British Library, EAP262/1/1094, <<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP262-1-1-1094>> p.4, [accessed 20 May 2018].

⁶⁸² Shubho Basu, 'Strikes and "Communal" Riots in Calcutta in the 1890s: Industrial Workers, Bhadrak Nationalist Leadership and the Colonial State', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32.4 (1998), 949-983 (p.978).

⁶⁸³ Basu, p. 978.

society. Sumit Sarkar, in his extensive research on the Swadeshi Movement, reproduces the government correspondence that identified the Partition of Bengal as a means to 'weaken a solid body of opponents to our (British) rule'.⁶⁸⁴ As H. H. Risley, the then Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department wrote, 'the advantage of severing these eastern districts of Bengal, which are a hotbed of the purely Bengali Movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks'.⁶⁸⁵ But as Sarkar observes, the partition of Bengal was seen as the last straw in a long series of humiliations:

Reduction of the elected element in the Calcutta Corporation, a Universities Act which most people felt was essentially an attempt to tighten official control over education, an Official Secrets Act curbing press freedom, and a convocation speech claiming "that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western concept".⁶⁸⁶

Sarkar also documents the 'strikes and Unions in Bengal' that rallied labour forces along the lines of nationalist protest. The Calcutta Police reported an 'almost universal closing of shops in the native quarters, students squatting on tram lines in North Calcutta, a strike by coolies at the Ralli brothers jute works in Chitpore (north of the city)'.⁶⁸⁷ A.K. Biswas adds that 'from 1903 to October 1905 over 2000 public meetings attended by 500 to 50,000 people were held in two parts of Bengal at which Hindus and Mohameddians with equal zeal and earnestness joined the protests'.⁶⁸⁸ When the government resolution was passed in July 1905, a general meeting was held in the Town

⁶⁸⁴ Sumit Sarkar, p. 25.

⁶⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 27, quoting from Risley's note of 7th February, 1904.

⁶⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 203. Sarkar notes that Cornwallis Street in Northern Calcutta had 'become the hub of meetings' for Press Unions and railway labourers on strike. He records the public meetings of the emerging Press Union in Calcutta in prominent places such as the *Maidan* (23 September 1905) and the establishment of the Printers and Compositors League against the police crackdown on their strike on 21st October, 1905 (p. 209).

⁶⁸⁸ A.K. Biswas, 'Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905)', *Social Scientist*, 23, 4/6 (1995), 38-57 (p.41)
<<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3520214.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9d91757b0855bb6bda5d143ebocco12c>> [accessed 24 May 2018].

Hall of Calcutta to devise a future program of protest. As Baig remarks, ‘So large was the rush that beside the main meeting on the first floor of the Town Hall two other overflow meetings had to be held in the compound’. October 16, 1905 was declared as a ‘day of national mourning’, and people moved in processions towards the Ganges to ‘take a dip in the sacred river and tie *rakhi* (sacred thread of fraternity) around the wrists of passers by’. They also laid the foundation stone of Federation Hall to symbolize ‘indivisible [sic] union between the old province and its severed parts’.⁶⁸⁹ This was followed by meetings and processions throughout the day. The anti-partition movement or *Bango Bhongo Andolan* rapidly escalated into extremist violence, which also included elements of communal violence.⁶⁹⁰

Even though the Swadeshi movement visibly challenged the experience of Calcutta as British India’s capital city, with Indians claiming streets and public buildings to protest against the Viceroy’s decision, the Calcutta handbooks conspicuously omit all mention of anti-partition demonstrations and swadeshi agitations from their narratives.⁶⁹¹ The strengthening opposition resulted in the shift of the capital to Delhi, which is mentioned in all of the handbooks published post 1911 (e.g. Newell’s book in 1920 and the Newman edition of 1927), but the *cause* of this shift is not discussed. Such strategic omission of significant accounts of opposition and dissension to governmental procedures of ‘urbanization’ or ‘modernization’ are silenced to amplify the telling of the progressivist narrative of urban reform and progress. I have traced various examples of omission throughout this thesis, varying from omissions of alternative historical facts in the first chapter that helped establish the Black Hole incident as an emotional and physical cost of empire. Such omissions helped the strict marshalling of racial boundaries by

⁶⁸⁹ M. R. A. Baig, ‘The Partition of Bengal and its Aftermath’, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 30.2 (1969), 103-129 (pp.116-17).

⁶⁹⁰ See Sumit Sarkar, pp.75-92; pp.199-241; pp.361-335; pp.405-492. For government records see Sidney A.T. Rowlatt, *The Sedition Committee Report* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1918).

⁶⁹¹ Cotton dedicates two sections of his book to the recent history of the city, ‘On the threshold of To-Day’ and ‘The Last Forty Years’; however, these notably fail to mention any political action, agitation or response of Indians to British policies.

obliterating much of Indian cultural and social life and providing exclusive visibility to the evangelical work of British social and educational institutions in the city. These instances of historical, cultural and political omissions are interconnected, making it possible for the Calcutta handbooks to reproduce the progressivist narrative of development; however, what the handbook ignores or conceals in its content it represents through its style. The later handbooks register the consequences of the shift of the capital and the resultant change in Calcutta's eminence, not so much by providing a nuanced narrative of the city's transformation, but rather through their truncated style and use of compact narrative devices. In these books, the history section peculiar to the early Newman texts, as well as Cotton's and Firminger's, with their sprawling and often opinionated historical account of early English life in the city, is abbreviated. A stricter marshalling of information is discernible here, and a narrative strategy of close control helps create the effect of smooth-running imperial urban machinery that has assimilated the older historical structures of empire into the modern aesthetics of urban planning. One example is to compare Cotton's sections titled 'On the Threshold of To-Day' and 'The last Forty Years', where he contextualizes the improvements and social change that came about in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, with Tyson's and Hicken's narrative technique. The later handbooks plot the history of Calcutta onto tour plans, and the reader is given sections of Calcutta's past attached with each isolated building or site as it comes up in the tour plan, creating a fractured narrative that builds on the nostalgia of lost eminence.

By the late nineteenth century, urban planning had emerged as a major concern for the state; as Cotton euphemistically states, 'The gigantic Calcutta Improvement Scheme which looms in the immediate future, has not passed beyond the pale of controversy'. The impetus to introduce planning as a means of countering spatial and political chaos was a follow-up on the western model of using spatial restructuring as a means of imposing order. This western planning model was also linked to the western experience of urbanization, which as Partho Datta argues was the only available model of

modernization.⁶⁹² Modernization, according to Datta, was a concept allied to the liberal 'developmental' strain of empire and a cultural effect of imperial dominance. Anthony King argues, similarly, that modern urban planning came to be synonymous with a rationale for improvement, and was premised on Britain's particular and privileged industrial and urban place in the world-economy.⁶⁹³ King argues that the notion of 'the modern' was integrally associated with the formal institutionalization of urban planning.⁶⁹⁴ The identification of western urban planning with modernization is reflective of the same ideology that assumes that a linear narrative of colonial history is 'progress', as I have previously discussed in Chapter One. It is also similar to the ideological apparatus of missionary institutions and state welfare measures (discussed in Chapter Two) that provide succour at the cost of setting up strict racial and class based boundaries in accordance with the western scientific understanding of race and miscegenation. However, as I have discussed above, the logic of planning in colonial Calcutta, which was inspired by western concepts of evolutionary science, was punctuated and subverted by protests and resistance that made 'disorder', 'chaos', 'disease' and 'riots' integral to the planning measures and sanitary policies adopted to modernize the city. In Chapter two I emphasized the improvisatory and uneven nature of colonial governmentality that was practised in Calcutta, and this unevenness segues into my understanding of the concept of 'metropolitan modernity' as applied to Calcutta through planning measures adapted from western cities. Several of the later handbooks that are the subjects of this study give detailed descriptions of the urban improvement measures adopted by the government, but they do not comment upon the rationale of planning that organized space to facilitate easier circulation of goods and people and permitted surveillance. Planning measures disrupted the social and personal spaces of the Indian communities attempting to appropriate the remnants of suburban, rural cultural practices and expressions into the linear grid-iron

⁶⁹² Datta, p. 47.

⁶⁹³ Anthony King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.8-9.

⁶⁹⁴ King, p. 9.

spaces of standardized, uniform urban life. It is this narrative of standardization that the Calcutta handbooks would come to consolidate through a narrative strategy of selective omissions, concealing all resistance to uniformity and order.

In India, and particularly in Calcutta, the early improvisatory character of urban policy was vested first with the Lottery Committee (1817–1837), then later with the Fever Hospital Committee (1840). These functions were later assimilated under the Calcutta Municipal Consolidation Act (1888), which gave administrative purchase to the medical and hygiene-related concerns of health officers appointed after plague outbreaks in several regions of India.⁶⁹⁵ This Act advocated the strict regulation of *bustees* (urban slums) and the removal and quarantine of all men affected by plague. However, a more concrete engagement with town planning ideas would take place with the setting up of the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) in 1911.⁶⁹⁶

As Datta suggests, ‘The practice of “improvement” was essentially “procrustean” in nature’.⁶⁹⁷ The objective of sanitizing public places in the city developed into an attempt to change the sanitary standards of private and domestic spaces as well. Western conceptions of sanitation and hygiene did not sit well, however, with traditional Indian notions of purity and pollution. This emerged as a contentious issue, with many of the local populace refusing to alter sanitary practices, and the struggle revealed the alien status of the

⁶⁹⁵ The immediate outcome of the Fever Hospital Committee Report (1848) was the appointment of Health Officers and the production of health reports and maps for Calcutta. Writing in 1872, C.F. Tonnerre pointed out the incidence of epidemic and plague in the northern portion of the city and the dangers of leaving it unimproved. (Beattie, p.132) However, as Swati Chattopadhyay points out, Tonnerre’s language portrayed ‘an inherently defective landscape and a barbarous people untutored in the science of sanitation’. (S. Chattopadhyay, *Depicting Calcutta*, p.80). A survey commissioned by the improvement trust in 1911 and conducted by Dr. Crake identified the Burra Bazaar area in the north of the city as prone to epidemics and recommended that more than 30 percent of the houses be demolished. (Partho Datta, ‘Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s’, *Calcutta: Stormy Decades*, ed. by Tanika Sarkar and Shekhar Bandyopadhyay (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 24.

⁶⁹⁶ Henceforth, in this chapter I will be using the abbreviation CIT for the Calcutta Improvement Trust.

⁶⁹⁷ Datta, p.48.

colonial state, its inherent racism and class-consciousness.⁶⁹⁸ Mitchell in his *Thacker's Guide book to Calcutta* (1890) documents his trip to the Calcutta wetlands (Salt Lake area) by expressing concern over the wetlands' proximity to the city: 'It is at our very gates, and with the wind in the east the evil smells and miasmatic germs are driven right over the city, causing at times a sickly odour which every inhabitant knows well'. He dispenses with several 'rumours' of sewage contamination, offering a largely positive evaluation of the administration's efforts to improve sanitation.⁶⁹⁹ But like his contemporaries he is critical of the cramped and claustrophobic living conditions of the Indian quarters, describing them as 'deadly sick'.⁷⁰⁰

With the people reluctant to comply, spatial planning and the restructuring the city often involved violent coercion. As Datta says, 'Colonial town planners, irrespective of needs, mechanically implemented the Haussmannian model of restructuring, which meant cutting broad swathes of roads, usually rectilinears and diagonals, on the face of the city for efficient traffic circulation'.⁷⁰¹ These infrastructural innovations comprised what John Urry refers to as 'mobility systems', which 'enable the movement of people, ideas and information from place to place, person-to-person, event to event'.⁷⁰² Urry establishes the link between such mobility systems and the processes by which the so-called 'natural world' has been 'made secure, regulated and relatively risk free' and therefore amenable to capitalist

⁶⁹⁸ See Martin Beattie, 'Sir Patrick Geddes and Barra Bazaar: Competing Visions, Ambivalence and Contradiction', *The Journal of Architecture*, 9.2 (2004), 131-150. Beattie cites the work of Sudipta Kaviraj (1997) and Swati Chattopadhyay (2005) to the effect that the traditional Indian home functioned on a very different concept of cleanliness and hygiene, dependent on an equally different relationship between 'inside' and 'outside', or private and public space. The 'outside' was controlled by nature and was therefore not amenable to the control of the individual or collective like the state. The new colonial city represented a new spatial ideology that necessitated 'improvised responses to untried situations' in which public space/the 'outside' was governed by the colonial state. It was the context of such 'mixed' colonial and indigenous narratives that framed 'competing debates about health and hygiene in India' that 'not only point[ed] to a changing world view on both sides but also simultaneously undermine[d] the authority of the dominant colonial view' (Beattie, p.133).

⁶⁹⁹ Mitchell, p. 201.

⁷⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 142.

⁷⁰¹ Partho Datta, 'Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis', in *Cities in South Asia*, ed. by Crispin Bates and Minoru Mio (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 44-63, (p. 48).

⁷⁰² Urry, p.12. Author's italics.

intervention.⁷⁰³ Urry's reading makes the economic logic of urban planning apparent: 'There is in the modern world an accumulation of movement that is analogous to the accumulation of capital-repetitive movement of circulation made possible by diverse, interdependent mobility-systems'.⁷⁰⁴ According to this logic, the reshaping of Calcutta would ensure the efficient circulation of traffic (both people and goods) while adding to capital accumulation. It would also enable the circulation of sewage and air. The miasma theory of disease and epidemic advocated opening up the cramped and overcrowded neighbourhoods in the northern parts of the city into broad roads and tank squares, thereby promoting air circulation and a well-connected sanitation system for effective sewage disposal.⁷⁰⁵ Datta reinforces the economic objectives of planning in describing the CIT's initiative between 1911 and 1939:

These road alignments showcased the logic of improvement adopted by the trust. [...] The goal was to reduce congestion and improve sanitation by intersecting such areas with wider roads and open spaces. The larger goals of this sort of planning had an economic rationale favouring mercantile activity and business—a web of

⁷⁰³ *ibid.*, p.13.

⁷⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.13.

⁷⁰⁵ See Mark Harrison, *Climates & Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (Oxford: OUP, 1999); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body* (Oxford: OUP, 1993); Swati Chattopadhyay (2005). See also the second chapter of this thesis for the 'big Calcutta stink' and the theory of air-borne germs. As Datta states, the Building Commission was appointed in 1897 and was tasked with opening spaces and new streets in congested areas of the city.

Partho Data, 'How Modern Planning came to Calcutta', *Planning Perspectives*, 28.1 (2013) 139-147, (p.142) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2012.737247>> [accessed 10 May 2018]. For the transition from miasma to germ theory in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Srabani Sen, 'Communicable Diseases and Germ Theory in Colonial India- An Assessment', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 48.3 (2013), 513-530 <<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/514d/e7673635410cb30bbb26b0bf7d6b85d112b9.pdf>> [accessed 20 May 2018]; Stephen Halliday, 'Death and miasma in Victorian London: an obstinate belief' *The BMJ*, 323. 7327 (2001), 1469-1471. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1121911/>> [accessed 20 May 2018]. Halliday defines miasma as 'This belief held that most, if not all, disease was caused by inhaling air that was infected through exposure to corrupting matter. Such matter might be rotting corpses, the exhalations of other people already infected, sewage, or even rotting vegetation. The "miasmatic" explanation of the cause of disease figured prominently in the long debates among the people who were responsible for combating the cholera epidemics that afflicted Britain, and particularly London, between 1831 and 1866'.

boulevards and streets would connect the streets and make possible the efficient circulation of goods and services.⁷⁰⁶

However, these measures simultaneously ‘unleashed class violence on the poor living in the slums’.⁷⁰⁷ The urban squatters had no legal title to land and were at the mercy of corrupt landlords.⁷⁰⁸ (Incidentally, it is this population of labourers and mill hands who occupied the streets during the Talla riots of June 1897.)⁷⁰⁹ These infrastructural development projects were to be financed by the local and central government jointly so as to prevent overburdening citizens with taxation and incur further disaffection. It is also necessary to keep in mind that infrastructural funding was limited and that the plans proposed on paper were not always actualized.⁷¹⁰ The CIT was set up independently of the Municipality so was not subject to the requisite Indian representation in administrative bodies, which was further restricted by the Municipal Act of 1899.⁷¹¹ Furthermore, the early planning measures adopted by the CIT observed a strict spatial hierarchy focusing on areas inhabited by Europeans: ‘With the increasing grip of Europeans over the municipality, *busti* clearance in the European wards received fresh impetus’.⁷¹²

The two major city planning reports commissioned by the CIT were the E.P. Richards report, published in 1914, and the report prepared by Sir Patrick Geddes and submitted in 1919. My main objective in looking at these reports is to understand the spatial mechanics of order as an expression of state power and to see its diverse application in these two projects, which produced distinct methods of understanding the non-western city and suggested

⁷⁰⁶ Partho Datta, ‘Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s’, in *Calcutta: The Stormy Decades*, ed. by Tanika Sarkar and Sekhar Badhyopadhyay (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 18-42 (p.26).

⁷⁰⁷ Datta, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p.52.

⁷⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.48.

⁷⁰⁹ See Shubho Basu, ‘Strikes and “Communal” Riots in Calcutta in the 1890s’ cited above and Suranjan Das ‘The Calcutta Riots of 1907: An Investigation into Crowd Behaviour’ *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 40 (1979), 587-603.

⁷¹⁰ See Partho Datta, *Planning the City*, for a detailed record of the municipality’s measures to raise money to fund infrastructure.

⁷¹¹ The Act reduced the number of elected municipal commissioners by half and increased the powers of the executive body. D.E. Cranenburgh, *The Calcutta Municipal Act being BEN. ACT III. Of 1800 with a Digest of Rulings under Repealed Act and a Copious Index* (Calcutta: Law Publishing Press, 1900) <<https://archive.org>> [accessed 20 May 2018].

⁷¹² Datta, ‘How Modern Planning came to Calcutta’, p.142.

‘improvement’ measures drawing on western scientific epistemologies that understood the city in evolutionary terms.⁷¹³ To bring this chapter to a close, I will then transpose this understanding of spatial ordering onto my reading of the narrative structure and organization of content in the Calcutta handbooks, referring particularly to Newman (1892), Firminger (1906), Cotton (1907), and Newell (1920). By aligning the principles of urban planning with the historical empire-building narratives that defined British heritage in Calcutta and sanitary anxieties about the spread of cholera and plague, I plan to give a clear picture of the ideological and political forces structuring the handbook narrative.⁷¹⁴ I will also reveal the discrepancies and silences that the handbooks depended upon to produce an even and controlled narrative of Calcutta, and will comment further on why such omissions were a strategic necessity within the colonial regime.

As Burra bazaar was the focus of the health reports drawn up in the late nineteenth century, it was logical that it would emerge as the principal area of concern in the planning reports by Richards and Geddes.⁷¹⁵ It seems useful to compare notes on how the differing planning strategies of Richards and Geddes sought to bring order to this ‘chaotic’ neighbourhood.⁷¹⁶ Richards describes it as a ‘slum-like city mass’.⁷¹⁷ As the two contemporary editors of Richards’s report, Harris and Lewis, put it, ‘to administrators and planning experts such as Richards, it [Burra Bazaar] hampered circulation, crippling the city’s economy and creating social distress’.⁷¹⁸ It was a diverse area which included shops, godowns, residential buildings and *bustees* (slums). Commercialization had lent a ‘mysterious’ character to its overbuilt streets, which were ‘impenetrable to government agencies’. Insanitary conditions also

⁷¹³ Geddes combines August Comte and LePlan’s theory with Darwinian concepts of evolution. Richards, too, is influenced by Darwin and evolutionary science. See Park Dixon Goist, ‘Patrick Geddes and the City’, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 40.1 (2007) 31-37 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367408977444>> [accessed 11 May 2018], p.32.

⁷¹⁴ The first chapter of this thesis deals with ‘heritage’ as a political construction.

⁷¹⁵ The report drawn up Drs Clemow and Hossack from the City’s Health Department in 1899.

⁷¹⁶ ‘Chaotic’ is a western construct, used here to signify a way of living and social and economical exchange that was different and at counterpurposes to British understanding of ‘order’, which ascertained security and control.

⁷¹⁷ Richards, p.10.

⁷¹⁸ Harris and Lewis, Introduction, p. xi.

worried the administration given the area's proximity to the centre of governance (The Bengal Secretariat).⁷¹⁹ This was compounded by the high land value of the area, 'which rivalled that of commercial London'.⁷²⁰ The bazaar area was often described as intractable in handbooks published prior to the planning committee reports. For example, as Edmund Mitchell in his *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* (1890) remarks:

Europeans in numbers drive or walk along them (main thoroughfares that bound the Bow Bazaar area) everyday, without ever dreaming of penetrating the intersecting lanes and gullies. If on occasion they may chance to do so, they quicken their pace, most likely to hold their noses, and emerge into the wider streets with a feeling of relief. [...] squalor and vice are everywhere present in the district, tainting at once the physical and the moral atmosphere.⁷²¹

European bureaucrats, doctors and engineers all proposed the demolition of this historic core of the Indian town and the building of the Central Station (Railway) in its place, although this ultimately had to be stalled due to the huge social and financial costs it would incur. By 'restoring *order* in this ward, the government planners wanted to create a kind of buffer between Indian neighbourhoods to the north and British ones in the South'.⁷²² As Datta states, 'Haussmann's plan was the official inspiration for restructuring Calcutta, and E. P. Richards—who put together the blueprint for the CIT—acknowledged his debt to this planning model.'⁷²³ He then continues:

Haussmann achieved his emphasis on imposing a new functional order on the city with an eye to the efficient circulation of goods and

⁷¹⁹ See my analysis of Rudyard Kipling's description of this area in *The City of Dreadful Night* in Chapter One. For more on the intractability of northern Calcutta see, R.J. Minney, *Night Life of Calcutta*, (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1922); Swati Chattopadhyay (2015); Sudipta Kaviraj 'Filth in the Public Sphere: Concepts and Practices about Space in Calcutta', *Public Culture* 10.1 (1997), 83-113.

⁷²⁰ Partho Datta, 'Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis', p.53.

⁷²¹ Edmund Mitchell, *Thacker's guide book to Calcutta: its high-ways and by-paths, with a chapter on the Government of India* (Calcutta: Thacker, pink & Co., 1890).p.135. See also the section in Chapter One describing Kipling's documentation of this quarter of the city.

⁷²² Partho Datta, 'Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis', p.53.

⁷²³ Data quotes from Richards report. Datta, p.54.

services through the connection of economic nodes such as docks and railway stations, and the creation of voids for ‘respiration’ (boulevards, parks). [...] Richards’ plan for CIT shows a similar logic: a Calcutta criss-crossed with rectilinears and diagonals that reduced the city into manageable blocks for commerce and the trades. [...] Schemes such as the one pursued by Richards thus implicitly acknowledged the importance of private investors in the property market in Calcutta.⁷²⁴

In opposition to this tyranny of straight lines, Geddes’s approach critiqued the ‘normative’ standards of the CIT and tried to preserve the ‘distinct architectural and urban form’ and ‘the traditional grouping of business(es)’ of the Burra bazaar area, minimizing demolition and dislocation.⁷²⁵ Geddes observed that the movement of goods and people in Calcutta was occurring principally from west to east and vice versa, but the CIT was inclined on north-south cuts ‘in total disregard of the needs of local trades’. As Datta says, ‘the logic here was dictated by the British mercantile establishments, which were placed along the river (still a major channel of transport) and which disregarded Indian business inland’.⁷²⁶ This discrepancy comes across in Mitchell’s eulogy of industry and trade at the riverfront, which he describes as an ‘impressive spectacle’: ‘Long rows of steamers, with the forest of masts lower down where the sailing vessels lie’. Mitchell describes the journey from Armenian ghat (the port of Calcutta) to Ulubaria [*sic*] downriver, listing the ‘government dockyards’ plying ships between ‘Calcutta and Europe, far Cathay and Australia’; further downstream he lists the ‘Empress of India Cotton Spinning Company’s mill’ and the jute mills near the Budge Budge area.⁷²⁷ By contrast, Mitchell’s description of Indian business areas in Bara bazaar and Chandney Choke (Mitchell’s spellings) seek recourse to familiar metaphors of inscrutability, filth and chaos, interspersed with wonder. Mitchell describes

⁷²⁴ Datta, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p. 54.

⁷²⁵ *ibid.*, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p. 55.

⁷²⁶ *ibid.*, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p. 55.

⁷²⁷ Mitchell, p. 214–215.

‘Chandney Choke’ [sic] as follows: ‘The shops if placed in one continuous line would, I fancy, extend some miles. [...] Behind the shops and situated in the most abominably filthy gullies, are the houses of the chief shopkeepers, many of them wealthy men’. The fact that most of the shop owners in this area are Muslims incites another round of communal stereotyping: ‘Being Mahomedans, and all practically of the same clan, their country being in the neighbourhood of Dacca, they are ready to fight any body on the slightest provocation’.⁷²⁸

A major consequence of the large-scale displacement occasioned by ‘impositions’ of western set designs and urban planning norms was the heavy taxation levied on citizens. This also perpetuated the spatial hierarchies of colour and class. Datta again: ‘These imposed plans never questioned power relations in the colonial city. Racist distinctions like black/white were taken for granted and maintained’.⁷²⁹ Geddes challenged the basic assumptions of Euclidean geometry (rectilinears, diagonals, etc.) by emphasizing regional and cultural specificity, thereby exposing the inherent hierarchies built into the practice of western planning. However, as Datta suggests, ‘the biggest casualty in this method (western town-planning) was the labouring poor: being low down in the social hierarchy meant that they were unlikely to find representation in the plans and would therefore become victims of cartographic silence’.⁷³⁰ Geddes found Richards’s suggestion for ‘decanting’ the poor from the centrally located slums to the suburbs financially impractical, as it was ‘a luxury that only the upper classes could afford’.⁷³¹ However, the official response to Geddes’s report was met with mistrust: ‘According to official planners, epidemics and overcrowding needed solutions on a war footing, whereas Geddes seemed not only insufficiently interventionist, but also far too sympathetic to the community’.⁷³² Such

⁷²⁸ Mitchell, p.142.

⁷²⁹ Anthony King, ‘Exporting Planning: The Colonial and Neocolonial Experience’ in *Shaping an Urban World* ed. by G. Cherry (London: Mansell, 1980).p.210.

⁷³⁰ Datta, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p.52.

⁷³¹ *ibid.*, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p.57.

⁷³² *ibid.*, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis’, p.58.

suspicion was aggravated by the ways in which supposedly 'neutral' issues like garbage were actually revealed to hide a deep-seated antipathy for common people.⁷³³ In the context of Burra Bazaar, urban planners and map makers were uncomfortable with 'pre-' or 'early' modern forms of capital organisation in the city, which were not commensurate with western industrial or financial capital circuits. Burra Bazaar, moreover, was home to the Marwari merchants who had their own model of financial transaction distinct from the organised capital of British trade and finance in Calcutta.⁷³⁴ The architecture of Burra Bazaar, typically criticized for being congested and therefore susceptible to fire and disease, was instrumental in allowing such local forms of finance and speculation to thrive. The government's justification of 'progress' or 'development' was unable to accommodate the existence of such features of combined and uneven modernization.⁷³⁵

A close reading of the different approaches taken by Richards and Geddes consolidates two dominant understandings at the time of the imposition of spatial order on colonial Calcutta. The most obvious emphasis in terms of planning was on connectivity, generating the circulation of goods and people. Building on his European training, Richards identified the absence of decent roads as the key barrier to making an effective circulatory system in Calcutta. As Datta argues in a different context,

[Richards's] plan for Calcutta, which included numerous rectilinears and diagonals imposed on the dense fabric of the city, would also work as a sanitary panacea. These new streets would penetrate old neighbourhoods and destroy slums as well as facilitate the circulation

⁷³³ Datta, p.58. 'To the British administrators the Indians were filthy and prone to desecrating public places; to Geddes the problem was the very opposite. Rubbish accumulated, he wrote, when neither the municipality nor the local landlord made adequate arrangements for carrying it away'.

⁷³⁴ Maria Misra, *Business, Race, and Politics in British India, c.1850-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

⁷³⁵ See my Introduction for an explanation of 'colonial urban development'. I derive my understanding of this term from Anthony D. King's, *Colonial Urban Development, Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p.24.

of hoods and services, which were so important for a dynamic and mercantile city such as Calcutta.⁷³⁶

This plan represented a consensus among the urban elite, a manufactured understanding between European civil servants and the Indian elite.⁷³⁷ The response of the Indian upper classes was not completely antagonistic to the planning measures, particularly after the concessions made by the government to the politically and economically strong sections of the Indian population.⁷³⁸ This laid bare the class structure of Calcutta society, showing how racially inflected politics moulded class differences in favour of economic extraction and administrative control.⁷³⁹ Given the obviously economic nature of the colonial planning enterprise, a lot of the improvement-oriented projects that were put into effect were ones that developed connectivity and the circulation of goods and people. Enabling circulation, however, was also a key means of imposing order, through which space was organized according to certain set patterns of ‘predictable and relatively risk-free repetition’.⁷⁴⁰ Circulation therefore emerged as the underlying logic of an improvement-oriented planning that fused economic pliability with the political and hygiene-oriented discourses of humanitarian colonialism.

The most significant intervention that materialized out of the initial projects that the CIT executed in the early 1920s was the projection of Central Avenue through north Calcutta—‘monumental in scope and reach’.⁷⁴¹ The avenue, when complete in 1931, became the principal north-south route through the city. As Shroobree, the chief Valuer of the CIT, claimed, ‘The great

⁷³⁶ Partho Datta, ‘How Modern Planning Came to Calcutta’, p.141.

⁷³⁷ Partho Datta, ‘Calcutta in the 1940s’.

⁷³⁸ Datta, ‘Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s’, p. 30. ‘There was a 15 per cent solatium, i.e., compensation over and above the market price on all acquired property which include houses and slums, a right to appeal to the High Court if arbitration failed and increased representation of Indians on the board of the Trust’. Quoted from CIT Annual Report, 1912-991, (Datta, pp. 27-28).

⁷³⁹ Datta notes in ‘Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s’ that the ‘ideology of improvement was attractive to the propertied but it muddled the neat divide of colonialism and nationalism. A nationalist like Bipin Chandra Pal could oppose the colonial government politically and yet feel at home in a modern westernised Calcutta’. p.40.

⁷⁴⁰ Urry, p.13.

⁷⁴¹ Datta, ‘Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s’, p.24.

Central Avenue has broken through the clotted mass of buildings which was North and Indian Calcutta, and joined up with the broad avenues of the South City'.⁷⁴² Cotton's *Handbook to the City* (1907) mentions The Strand Road, running parallel to the river, and the Chitpore Road 'which traverses the entire length of the town under various names, and is the immemorial pilgrims-path from Chitpore (extreme north) to Kalighat (extreme south)'. He also mentions the early efforts under the Lottery Committee at creating grid-pattern road networks in the northern division, for example, 'the equally long road, known as Cornwallis Street, College Street, Wellington Street, which connects Shyam Bazar and Bagh Bazar in the extreme north with park Street in the South'.⁷⁴³ These streets formed 'the outside edges' of 'a series of superblocks' and developed a 'mixed use with a preponderance of commercial activities, while the areas in the middle of the blocks became primarily residential'.⁷⁴⁴ Cotton's description underlines the objective of those evangelical innovators at the time who believed that 'towns should be extended according to plans and that the main thoroughfares should be predetermined at all costs', the 'central planning conception' being to 'rationalize the street network'.⁷⁴⁵

Handbooks published after the establishment of the CIT would record the latest achievements in town planning. As *The Visitor's Guide* (1927) states, 'The main streets [...] running north and south are the fine new Central Avenue, which at present begins at Beadon Street and runs into Chowringhee Road'.⁷⁴⁶ The ordering of space in geometric patterns through planning imparts a sense of containment and uniformity to the later handbooks' description of the northern quarters of Calcutta. Earlier metaphors of obscurity, filth and disease are now replaced by a description of regularity that

⁷⁴² Albert de Bois Shrobbree, 'Constructional and Architectural Aspects of Calcutta', in *Port Cities of the World*, ed. Walter Feldwick (London: Globe Encyclopaedia Company, 1927), p.266. Quoted in Datta, *Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s*, p.24.

⁷⁴³ Cotton, p. 236.

⁷⁴⁴ Chattopadhyay, p.85.

⁷⁴⁵ Richards, p. xii. These phrases are quoted by Harris and Lewis from sources such as the Association of Municipal Engineers, of which Richards was a member (1906), and documents from the Edinburgh's Improvement Trust.

⁷⁴⁶ *The Visitor's Guide*, p.25.

also implies security, control and stability. Cotton's handbook (1906) concentrates on the network of thoroughfares that give neighbourhoods a distinct character, either of commercial preponderance or primarily residential. This is evidently opposed to Mitchell's (1890) earlier description of an indistinguishable cluster of tenements that posed a threat to western practices of navigating space. A table accounting the changing narrative devices employed in the Calcutta handbooks shows this gradual shift in the nature of urban lifestyle and the methods devised to cope with the 'exotic' otherness of the colonial city. The spatial ordering of the city through planning is reflected in the stricter mechanisms of narrative. Just as planning aimed to submit the 'unreal' parts of the city to predictable stability, the later handbooks concentrated on making the city comprehensible and easily navigable through a guided tour format that adhered to the conventions of the standard tourist map.

Timeline showing major events	Texts written during this period	Narrative Features
1857 War of Independence (or the Indian Mutiny)	• Edward E. Eastwick, <i>Handbook of the Bengal Presidency, with an Account of Calcutta City; or Strangers Self-interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India, with a Map of India and Five Illustrations</i> (Calcutta: W. Thacker & Co., St Andrew's Library; London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill, 1882); • T. Black & Co.'s <i>Handbook of Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: T. Black & Co., 1864); • W. Newman & Co.'s <i>Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: with a plan of the city</i>, 2nd edn. (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1875); 1882; 1892. • Edmund Mitchell's <i>Thacker's Guide to Calcutta: its High-ways and By-paths with a Chapter on the Government of India</i> (Calcutta:	• Sections include: 'Season for visiting Bengal'; 'Outfits'; 'Hints to dress, diet, health and comfort'; 'Chronological tables'; 'Tables of Money'; 'Castes and Tribes in the Bengal Presidency'; 'languages of the Bengal Presidency; Vocabulary and dialogues', with a detailed section on Calcutta life. • T. Black & Co., Newman and

	Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890).	Mitchell include extensive sections on Old Calcutta and the early life of British settlers in the region. • Mitchell includes a chapter on the Government of India and its policies. • Separate sections under 'Hints' provide 'unofficial' knowledge akin to 'informal' advice on Calcutta life.⁷⁴⁷
Partition of Bengal in 1905 (Swadeshi movement)	• W.K. Firminger, <i>Thacker's Guide to Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1906) • H.E.A. Cotton, <i>Calcutta Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City</i> (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907);	• Both of these books include extensive referencing of academic and literary sources to describe the significance of buildings, sites and people. They include demographic composition and tables of exchange rates, but they do not include translation tables

⁷⁴⁷ The inclusion of 'informal' advice on the ways of life in the colonial capital is characteristic of the early Calcutta handbooks. These narrative instances break away from the objective tone of the general handbook narrative to introduce a confiding aside which hints at the inadequacy of the objective, scientific, tabular information that handbooks like Murray's rely on. It hints at a 'reality' that needs subjective negotiation and is beyond the expectations created by the ordered information the handbook provides. (I have commented on this further in Chapter Two).

		or dialogues. Neither do they include 'Hints to dress, diet, health and comfort'. Generally, they convey a stricter objective tone that distances itself from admissions of incongruities.
Shift of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911	• H. A. Newell, <i>Calcutta, the First Capital of British India</i> (Calcutta: Caledonian Printing Company, 1920); • W. Newman & Co., <i>The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927); • Glen Hicken, <i>Mid Pleasures and Palaces: An Indispensable Pocket Guide to Calcutta</i> (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931); • G. W. Tyson, <i>Calcutta: The City of Palaces</i> (Calcutta: Times of India Press, 1932). • John Barry, <i>Calcutta 1940</i> (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940)	• These handbooks concentrate on the map and tour format following a brief introduction to the city. The maps are increasingly standardized in line with the focused tour narrative. • Advertisements for places and things establish brand loyalties and standardized services, effectively obliterating all remnants of a subjective, improvisatory approach to private and health- related needs. • However, these handbooks retain the section on local

		races and types, providing a demographic analysis that champions racial and regional stereotypes and preserves racial and class-based hierarchies that consolidate the logical premises of empire.

Fig. 3.15. Table classifying handbooks based on publication dates and narrative features

Apart from the road system there were also various improvements in infrastructure, like the new Railway Station that was built across the river in Howrah in 1906 to add to the existing building established in 1862.⁷⁴⁸ Along with Howrah Bridge and the broad avenues that divided the northern quarters into the sorts of neat grids that were amenable to municipal control, a ‘new kind of social control’ emerged, accompanied by ‘new kinds of sight-seeing travel’ that had the effect of ‘generating a linear perception of the city’.⁷⁴⁹ As Urry observes in more general terms, ‘early guidebooks had not indicated how to move from sight to sight; but as the nineteenth century progressed, so guidebooks began to trace continuous lines and narratives of the city’.⁷⁵⁰ Early handbooks such as Newman’s 1882 and 1892 editions and Cotton’s and Thacker’s respective texts had all concentrated on the historical timeline as an index of narrative direction, but Newell (1922) arranges the history of the city spatially, divided into four day-trips. Newell’s handbook and Hicken’s slightly

⁷⁴⁸ Firminger, p.172.

⁷⁴⁹ Urry, p.70.

⁷⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.70.

later *Mid Pleasure and Palaces* (1931) were both clearly designed to instigate the circulation of people from one site to another in pre-determined patterns of movement that perpetuated class and racial hierarchies.⁷⁵¹

The changes brought about the Lottery Committee, the Municipal Commissioners, and subsequently the CIT 'resurrected large swathes of the city and gave it a new look', demolishing half a square mile of property, displacing 50,000 people, and establishing circuits of mobility that brought previously 'enclosed' areas into contact.⁷⁵² Cotton in his 1906 narrative summarizes the work of the Municipal Commissioners from 1876 to 1888 (before the establishment of the CIT) as follows:

They had completed the whole of the original drainage scheme, doubled the supply of water, filled up 240 foul tanks and opened out five new squares and taken large conservancy works in hand. The tramway service, which has substituted electric for horse traction, was inaugurated in 1880 with a line between Sealdah and Hare Street (west to the east of the city) running through Bow Bazar, Lall Bazar and Dalhousie Square. In Colootollah, a large bustee was cleared away to give place to the Eden hospital: and in Colingah, Duncan's bustee in Wood Street made way for the Surveyor General's Office. [...]

Chitpore Road was widened: and nearly twenty-eight lakhs of rupees was expended upon the opening out of the great central thoroughfare from Sealdah Railway Station (extreme west) to the Howrah Station (extreme east across the river from Calcutta).⁷⁵³

Planning officials maintained that such large-scale spatial restructuring would encourage stable and more-or-less predictable channels of mobility within an

⁷⁵¹ See my earlier reference to Hicken's narrative consciousness of the racial and class-based hierarchies that defined colonial Anglo-Indian society in India; also their relation to the Indian and migrant communities resident in Calcutta.

⁷⁵² I have previously argued how the division between the 'black' and 'white' town was porous and contingent. However, the official mapping of European Calcutta, well documented by Swati Chattopadhyay (2005, p.78), did have a clear bearing on the way official policies of administration, sanitation and municipal boundaries were conceived.

⁷⁵³ Cotton, p.234.

ordered structure of controlled movement. However, these new circuits of movement also made the 'contingent ordering' of social life possible. As Urry suggests, mobility encourages 'contingent ordering, rather than [...] stasis, structure and social order'.⁷⁵⁴ This has been noted by urban historiographers as well: 'the change in the built environment of the city and the emergence of new spaces had provoked a degree of soul-searching and a sense of cultural loss among this (Indian) elite'.⁷⁵⁵ The newly planned streets 'brought enormous number of people to encounter each other in novel ways'.⁷⁵⁶ They also caused new class and regional hierarchies to emerge, a good example being the enthusiastic response of the Marwari Association to the CIT's town planning measures, as the large scale clearing of slums was seen as 'facilitating communication'.⁷⁵⁷ The Marwaris were traders in cloth and jewels, as Newell (1920) tells us, but they also figured prominently in Cotton's narrative alongside Parsees, Armenians, Chinese, Arabs and Greeks who had been drawn to Calcutta by the 'allurements of Commerce'. As Cotton observes, 'Burra Bazar is their stronghold: and they will be found congregated in Harrison Road and Cotton Street, in the neighbouring lanes and gullies in squalid and crowded tenements, which are in bewildering contrast to the enormous wealth of which they are the masters'.⁷⁵⁸ It is this wealth that the Marwaris brought to bear in support of the clearance of the *bustees*, which rendered large numbers of casual labourers and the poor of the city homeless. The new mobility systems did not just facilitate systematic surveillance and oppressive civic hygiene; they also channelled popular protests that appropriated public spaces and official buildings in order to register grievances against the mercantile oppression of mill labourers, who increasingly identified with nationalist consciousness. As we have seen, the spatial organization of Calcutta by the CIT had a prominent class bias, and it is important to note that these instances of public protest were mostly staged

⁷⁵⁴ Urry, p.9.

⁷⁵⁵ Datta, 'Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s', p.35.

⁷⁵⁶ Urry, p.68.

⁷⁵⁷ Datta, 'Calcutta on the Threshold', p.27.

⁷⁵⁸ Cotton, p.255.

by the labour poor, who had been written out of the general scheme of improvement and the handbook narrative of the city alike.

Walking the city

In considering the ‘organised character of walking in a contemporary city’, John Urry discusses the work of the French social theorists Guy Debord and Michel de Certeau. The Situationists believed that walking could involve a ‘revolutionary contestation of the patterning of the city, establishing an imaginary city rather than that specified by the routine practices of ordinary life’. Debord’s practice echoes the contrast between the *strategies* and *tactics* of walking, as proposed by de Certeau: ‘Strategies involve disciplining and regimentation, based upon what are proper activities and ways of walking within and through particular spaces. Tactics by contrast consist of the inventive seizing of opportunities within the city that happen to occur. They serve to constitute lived space and are improvisational and unpredictable, able to bring out feelings and relationships that are repressed and hidden away.’⁷⁵⁹ In the context of this chapter, we have seen how popular resistance to the plague eradication measures and the partition of Bengal both exhibited a ‘revolutionary contestation of the patterning of the city’, creating space for the ‘improvisational and unpredictable’ and bringing out ‘feelings and relationships that were repressed and hidden away’ by official narratives of the city. The Calcutta handbook sub-genre offers one such set of examples. The handbooks tended almost by definition to pre-empt walking as a contingent means of navigating space, which in practice establishes a complex experience with the spatial environment. This experience is constituted at the intersection of the expectations projected by the handbook narrative—what de Certeau terms *strategies*—and the actual, subjective experience of place, which inspires *tactics*. In this chapter, as in the thesis as a whole, I have read the Calcutta handbook sub-genre as an instrument that allowed mostly British

⁷⁵⁹ Urry, p.71.

travellers and residents in colonial Calcutta to approach imperial heritage and colonial racial determination without confronting the contradictions of empire. However, it is evident that the handbook narrative is consistently anxious about forms of spatial organization and behaviour that might have the potential to subvert prescribed strategies of navigating the city. This anxiety manifests itself in the 'eloquent silences' of the text, and through a tendency to overdetermine the spatial logic of the city. Over the best part of a century, the Calcutta handbooks employed various categorizing formal and narrative devices that sublimated this anxiety in a deluge of details that created an illusion of certainty, but also involuntarily subverted it—a mark of the colonial encounter itself.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have sought to show how the sub-genre of the Calcutta handbook can be used to understand the development of a major city (the so-called ‘second city of empire’) in the colonial context. I have focused on Calcutta because it provides an interesting political graph characterized by significant shifts in the ideology of colonial rule in the early twentieth century. I have argued that the Calcutta handbooks developed in response to this shifting ideology. In examining the specifics of the handbook sub-genre, I have made connections between its formal logic and the changing modalities of colonial modernity in Calcutta. My contention throughout has been that the handbook represents a transitional form that mediates between early imperial vade-mecums and the late-colonial standardized guidebook. The Calcutta handbooks, when read against the grain of dominant discourses of colonial surveillance, reveal the governmental strategies at work to make people, spaces and social institutions as well as literary and historical narratives comply with accepted hierarchies of power.

While my analysis draws on existing critiques of these strategies (Mukhopadhyay [2014], Nayar [2016], etc.), it also ties them into a larger understanding of the shifting modalities of colonial modernity. In my analysis instead I have concentrated on the evolving structures of mobility during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a means of modernization of the colonial city and influencing its indices of modernity. This is evidenced through building a contrast between the earlier modes of colonial representational politics invested in buildings and memorials and the late-colonial emphasis on representing Calcutta as a nodal point in global systems of imperial trade. This contrast suggests in turn that the increasingly standardized format of later handbooks helped construct Calcutta as a global city that looked to move on from, but also to capitalize on, its previous significance in British colonial heritage and its status as the past capital of British India.

In Chapter One, I analysed the evolving narrative of Calcutta's historiography in handbooks published during the latter part of the nineteenth and at the turn of the twentieth century, highlighting some of the ways in which these handbooks used narratives focusing on colonial *heritage* as a tacit means of counteracting growing anti-colonial resistance to the empire. In Chapter Two, I explored the conditions of colonial *modernity* as these emerged in the social, educational and religious institutions of the city. Here, I sought to reveal the racial and class-based politics that underpinned 'modern' practices in the everyday lived reality of the colonial capital. The chapter accordingly evokes paradigmatically colonial concerns with whiteness, miscegenation, and moral corruption, tying these in with contemporaneous (pseudo-)scientific research on the debilitating effects of tropical climate and diseases, and filtering these through the narratives of development and progress that are highlighted in the handbooks. The chapter looks at the various governmental measures that were introduced at the time to reduce the incidence of epidemics, reading these against the larger backdrop of a perceived threat of chaos that is simultaneously revealed and concealed by an obsessive preoccupation with order and control over colonized bodies and spaces.

In Chapter Three, I brought together governmental preoccupations with hygiene and the topographical layout of the city. This chapter reads maps and other visual representations alongside the verbal text of the handbooks, seeking to understand the production of a colonial city through the use of maps and other visual devices as representational tools. It shows how the perceived objectivity of cartographic representation was used during the colonial era to frame a particular spatial narrative of the city also reinforced in town planning schemes like Patrick Geddes's plan for Barabazar and E.P. Richards's report. The chapter also looks at the increasing standardization of the handbook form, which served like the standard topographical map to flatten out city space at a time of increasing confusion and mobility.

As is made clear throughout the thesis, the Calcutta handbooks as they evolved persistently encountered ideas of duality, confusion and the complex multitude of possibilities that the city offered up to all attempts at representation. In a similar spirit, John Hutnyk introduces Calcutta in his book as a 'cipher'. He quotes from Frommers guide to India, 'everything you have ever heard about Calcutta is true'—a statement designed to proclaim Calcutta as 'an icon that comes to stand for many different, contradictory, and even impossible things'. Hutnyk later adds: 'Now it is something of a commonplace among expatriates and long-term visitors to India that an old British Raj slogan, and sign of confusion, is often repeated: "for everything that is true here (Calcutta), its opposite will also be true"'.⁷⁶⁰ Decades earlier, Cotton in his analysis of 'modern' Calcutta's (early 1900s) predicament stated a similar representational conundrum:

Other cities hide their rags and tatters: why does Calcutta flaunt hers unabashed? Let us be just, and recognise that she is still standing at the parting of the ways. She is the creation of the West. The ideals and the civilization of the West are luring her on: and the spirit of advancement is abroad. There are those among her Indian citizens who in point of intellectual culture can hold their own with any Englishman. Not least among the marvellous changes wrought in India during the sixty years of Queen Victoria's reign has been the spread of English education. But the East is the East, and the West is the West. The prejudices and the customs of a religion which is half as old as time are not to be discarded in the twinkling of an eye. The marvel in Calcutta is not what remains to be done, but what has been done. The Oriental is leisurely and may not be hurried: and the Anglo-Indian is so accustomed to look upon Calcutta as an European city that he is apt to forget that she is set among the tropics and that the Europeans is the merest drop in the ocean of her inhabitants.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶⁰ Hutnyk, p.1.

⁷⁶¹ Cotton, p.243.

Calcutta in Cotton's narrative is the 'Janus-faced city', a city looking back fondly upon its colonial past while simultaneously coming to terms with the contradictory realities of urban modernity. This duality would characterize subsequent accounts of the city as it progressed into its postcolonial phase.⁷⁶²

In literature about Calcutta, this sense of nostalgia for the past is often evoked in colonial architecture, for example, the ramshackle buildings and cramped alleyways in the old part of town that Kipling describes so vividly in *The City of Dreadful Night*. As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, this habit of reviving the past was increasingly challenged by the expansion of Calcutta as a sprawling modern metropolis. Colonial structures and spatial practices were still very much present in this metropolis, some of them merely reinforced by new planning measures designed to exert some measure of control over a growing city. Consequently, urban conservationist strategies in the early twentieth century tended to refer back to the colonial conception of Calcutta; and even more recent urban development policy measures announced by the state government have used London as a model of what the ideal version of what Calcutta, now Kolkata, should be. The miniature Big Ben foisted on a typically busy traffic intersection that connects the northern part of the city with the burgeoning business sector in its north-eastern quarter is a reminder of this—an ironic repetition of the early planning measures of the Calcutta Improvement Trust. In such attempts to relocate the past in the present, there is a persistence of the handbook imaginary in twenty-first century Kolkata. . The graveyards that Cotton describes as a repository of people that Britain had lost to the empire still exist within the city, as do St. John's Church and the funerary structures that

⁷⁶² Anita Desai describes the psychological impact of a stasis created by the constant pull of the past on the present of the city. Haunted by the modernist ethos of loss, the novel's characters try to match their existentialist readings of Camus with the mundane and sometimes debilitating lives they lead in Calcutta—a city that still battles the ghosts of its colonial past. The novel evokes the conflict between the city and its far-flung suburbs. Taking recourse to the deity that presides over the genesis of Calcutta, Kali, the novel eventually seems to advocate a destruction of older norms of society and memory in order to allow for a resolution to emerge. *Voices in the City* (Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 1965). See also the city-oriented novels of Jibanananda Das and Sandipan Chattopadhyay for an exploration of these dualities in Bengali literature.

commemorate Calcutta's imperial beginnings. As I have argued in this thesis, the handbooks were essentially anachronistic in that they were vehicles for the haunting of the present by the social and cultural relations that had defined the past. Simultaneously, they were also indices of Calcutta's modernity and the city's position in the global imperial network of trade. They thus provided a more or less sequential narrative of Calcutta's changing economic relevance in this network, which also corresponded to the rise of other Indian and global cities across the world. The tensions inherent in relocating the past within the transformed city space of the present are central to the handbook imaginary. What is more, twenty-first century Kolkata is still arguably grappling with the relevance of its colonial past to its postcolonial present. The material topography of the present, which bears conspicuous traces of the imperial past, is still identified by many as what is most distinctive about Calcutta, with such edifices as the Writer's Building, the Victoria memorial and the Howrah Bridge frequently figuring in popular representations as synecdochic of Calcutta even though the city may now go by a different name. To some extent at least, the human geography of present-day Calcutta continues to cohere around the material structures of colonial rule and, as a consequence, the city still lives in the shadow of the networks of power and influence that these buildings once generated.

In this sense, postcolonial Kolkata risks perpetuating the divisive politics that once accompanied the urban planning of its colonial counterpart. The Calcutta handbooks attest to this politics, but as we have seen they are also punctuated by silences that implicitly challenge the standardized popular narrative of Calcutta's past. In so far as the handbook as a sub-genre demonstrates the mechanisms of control that perpetuated a certain way of imagining Calcutta, but also reveals their hidden limitations, this thesis has used the Calcutta handbooks to contribute to a civic consciousness that critically evaluates the implicit biases inherent in modern-day experiences of the city. Heritage emerges as a highly important component of this consciousness. Nearly all assumptions that inform the category of heritage in contemporary Kolkata refer back to the topography and architectural

constructs of colonial Calcutta to define what is to be preserved and how. In making some of these assumptions apparent, my analysis of the Calcutta handbooks offers more than just a window onto the colonial urban past, but also argues that it still influences many people's lived experiences of the city. In emphasising the handbook's struggle to incorporate the past into the present, and in revealing ideological biases interwoven into its verbal and visual representations, my thesis has paved the way for a new engagement with the city's history, both culturally through heritage narratives and materially through architectural and planning policies. Indeed, it is only through a careful re-examination of our engagement with the past through everyday spatial practices and experiences that we can develop the kinds of civic awareness that might allow for a resolution to the confusing, sometimes destructive dualities that characterise Kolkata and other postcolonial cities today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Barry, John, *Calcutta 1940* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1940)

---, *Calcutta Illustrated* (Calcutta: The Central Press, 1953)

Cotton, H.E.A., *Calcutta Old and New: A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907)

Eastwick, E.B., *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency, with an Account of Calcutta City, with Maps and Plans* (London: John Murray, 1882)

Firminger, W.K., *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906)

Hicken, Glen, *Mid Pleasures and Palaces: An Indispensable Pocket Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1931)

Knight, James Blackburn, ed. *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City*, 1st edn. (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1875)

---, *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City*, 2nd edn (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1882)

---, *W. Newman & Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, Historical and Descriptive: With a Plan of the City*, 3rd edn (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1892)

Mitchell, Edmund, *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta: its High-ways and By-paths, with a Chapter on the Government of India* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1890)

Newell, H. A., *Calcutta, the First Capital of British India: An Illustrated Guide to Places of Interest with Map* (Calcutta: Caledonian Printing Company, 1922)

Stocqueler, J.H., *The Hand-book of India: a Guide to the Stranger and the Traveller and a Companion to the Resident* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1844)

T. Black & Co.'s Handbook of Calcutta (Calcutta: T. Black & Co., 1864)

The Anglo-Hindustani Hand Book: or, Stranger's Self-Interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the Natives of India (Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co.; London: Smith Elder & Co., 1850)

The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta, Including Brief History, Up to Date Map, Illustrated (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1927)

Tyson, G. W., *Calcutta: The City of Palaces* (Calcutta: Times of India Press, 1932)

Secondary Sources:

Ahmad, Yahaya, 'The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12.3 (2006), 292-300

Aikat, Debashis, *Risking Official Displeasure: The Trials and Tribulations of India's First Newsweekly in 1780* (Paper presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, August, 1997)

Allen, Charles, *Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1977)

Alù, Georgia, and Sarah Patricia Hill, 'The Travelling Eye: Reading the Visual in Travel Narratives', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22.1 (2018), 1-15
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2018.1470073>> [accessed 4 August 2018]

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31.31 (10 April 1898), British Library, EAP262/1/1094, <<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP262-1-1-1094>> p.4, [accessed 20 May 2018]

- Archer, John, 'Paras, Places, Pathogens: Framework for the Growth of Calcutta 1800-1850', *City and Society*, 12.1 (2001), 19-54
<<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/city.2000.12.1.19/full>>
[accessed 1 January 2018]
- Arnesen, Eric, 'Assessing Whiteness Scholarship: A Response to James Barrett, David Brody, Barbara Fields, Eric Foner, Victoria Hattam, and Adolph Reed', *International Labour and Working Class History*, 60 (2001), 81-92
- Arnold, David, 'Cholera and Colonialism in British India', *Past and Present*, 113.1 (1986), 118-15
- , *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)
- , *Colonizing the Body, State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)
- , ed., *Warm Climates and Western Medicine* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996)
- , 'Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 26.4 (2004), 339-353
- Asad, Talal, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973)
- Baig, M. R. A., 'The Partition of Bengal and its Aftermath', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 30.2 (1969), 103-129
- Ballantyne, Tony and Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: Bodies, Empires, and World Histories', in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1-18
- Ballhatchet, Kenneth, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980)

- Bandyopadhyaya, Bhabanicharan, *Kalikata Kamalalaya: An Account of Calcutta and its Society* (Ranjana Publishing House, 1823)
- Banerjee, S.N., *Calcutta: Myths and History* (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1977)
- Banerjee, Sumanta, *Dangerous Outcast: The Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Bengal* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1998)
- Barrow, Ian J., 'India for the Working Classes: The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge', *Modern Asian Studies*, 38.3 (2004), 677-702
- Basu, Shubho, 'Strikes and "Communal" Riots in Calcutta in the 1890s: Industrial Workers, Bhadrak Nationalist Leadership and the Colonial State', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32.4 (1998), 949-983
- Bates, Crispin, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: The Early Origins of Indian Anthropometry', *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, 3 (1995), 219-59
- Beattie, Martin, 'Sir Patrick Geddes and Barra Bazaar: Competing Visions, Ambivalence and Contradiction', *The Journal of Architecture*, 9.2 (2004), 131-150
- Behdad, Ali, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).
- Bhabha, Homi K., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990)
- , 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 152-160
- Bhattacharya, Debraj, 'Three Narratives on Modernity in a Colonial Metropolis: Calcutta during the Early Twentieth Century' in *Of Matters Modern: The Experience of Modernity in Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia*, ed. by Debraj Bhattacharya (London: Seagull, 2008), pp. 242-270

- Bhattacharya, Nandini, *Reading the Splendid Body: Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century British Writing on India* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998)
- Bhattacharya, Sudip, *Unseen Enemy: The English, Disease, and Medicine in Colonial Bengal, 1617-1847* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014)
- Biswas, A.K., 'Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905)' *Social Scientist*, 23 4/6 (1995), 38-57
 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3520214.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9d91757b0855bb6bda5d143ebocco12c>> [accessed 24 May 2018]
- Blunt, Alison, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24 (1999), 421-40
- Boym, Svetlana, 'Nostalgia and its Discontents', *The Hedgehog Review*, 9.2 (2007), 7-18
- Brown, Mark, "'That Heavy Machine": Reprising the Colonial Apparatus in 21st century Social Control', *Social Justice*, 32.1 (2005), 41-52
- Buck-Morss, Susan, 'The City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe', *October*, 73 (1995), 3-26
- Buettner, Elizabeth, 'Problematic Spaces, Problematic Races: Defining "Europeans" in Late Colonial India', *Women's History Review*, 9 (2000), 277-98
- , *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- , 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India', *History and Memory*, 18.1 (2006), 5-42
- Burns, Peter et al., ed., *Tourism and Visual Culture, vol.1: Theories and Concepts* (Oxford: CAB International, 2010)

- Burton, Antoinette, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994)
- , *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Busteed, H.E., *Echoes from Old Calcutta Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the days of Warren Hastings and Impey* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; London: W. Thacker and Co., 1888)
- Butchart, Alexander, *The Anatomy of Power: European Constructions of the African Body* (London: Zed Books, 1998)
- Candlin, Fiona, 'The Politics of Work Restoration and Imperialism at the Victoria Memorial Hall', *Third Text*, 17.1 (2003), 29-41
- Carr, E. H., *What is History?* (London: Penguin, 1990)
- Carrard, Phillippe, 'History as a Kind of Writing: Michel de Certeau and the Poetics of Historiography', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 100.2 (2001), 465-482
- Chakrabarti, Pratik, *Medicine and Empire, 1600-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014)
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Adda: A History of Sociality', in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 180-213
- , 'The Difference-Deferral of a Colonial Modernity', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 373-405
- Chartier, Roger, 'History, Time, and Space', *Republics of Letters A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, 2.2 (2011), 1-13
- <<http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/100>> [accessed 10 May 2017]

- Chatterjee, Partha, 'Our Modernity', (Rotterdam: South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development (SEPHIS) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), 1997) < <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/partha1.pdf> > [accessed 10 May 2017]
- , 'An Equal Right to the City Contests over Cultural Space in Calcutta', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, 18.2 (2006), 166-184
- , *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Chattopadhyay, Swati, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London: Routledge, 2005)
- Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, the British in India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Collingham, E.M., *Imperial Bodies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001)
- Cranenburgh, D.E., *The Calcutta Municipal Act being BEN. ACT III. Of 1800 with a Digest of Rulings under Repealed Act and a Copious Index* (Calcutta: Law Publishing Press, 1900) <<https://archive.org> > [accessed 20 May 2018]
- Curzon, Marquis George Nathaniel, *Lord Curzon in India: being a selection from his speeches as viceroy & governor-general of India 1898-1905* (1906) / *With a portrait, explanatory notes and an index, and with an introduction, by Sir Thomas Raleigh.* (London; New York: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906)
- Das, Suranjan, 'The Calcutta Riots of 1907: An Investigation into Crowd Behaviour', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 40 (1979), 587-603
- Datta, Krishna, *Cities of Imagination: Calcutta* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2003)

- Datta, Partho, *Planning the City, Urbanization and Reform in Calcutta c.1800-c.1940* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2012)
- , 'How Modern Planning came to Calcutta', *Planning Perspectives*, 28.1 (2013), 139-147 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2012.737247>> [accessed 10 May 2018]
- , 'Patrick Geddes and the Metropolis', in *Cities in South Asia*, ed. by Crispin Bates and Minoru Mio (London: Routledge, 2015)
- , 'Calcutta on the Threshold of the 1940s', in *Calcutta: The Stormy Decades*, ed. by Tanika Sarkar and Sekhar Bandhyopadhyay (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 18-42
- Davies, Dominic, *Imperial Infrastructure and Spatial Resistance in Colonial Literature 1880-1930* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017)
- de Bois Shroobree, Albert, 'Constructional and Architectural Aspects of Calcutta', in *Port Cities of the World*, ed. by Walter Feldwick (London: Globe Encyclopaedia Company, 1927)
- de Certeau, Michel, 'Spatial Stories' in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)
- de Grandpre, Louis Marie Joseph O'Hier Comte, 'L. de Grandpre', in *Calcutta in the 18th Century: Impressions of Travellers*, ed. by P. Thankappan Nair (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited, 1984)
- Dickie, John, review of *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c. 1848-c. 1918* by Daniel Pick, *History Workshop*, 30 (1990), 194-196
- Dirks, N.B., ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992)
- Driver, Felix, 'Imagining the Tropics: Views and Visions of the Tropical World', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25.1, 2004, 1-17
- Duncanson, Ian, 'Nostalgia and Empire', *Griffith Law Review*, 21.1 (2012), 23-35

- Eden, Emily, *Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867)
- Edney, M.H., *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997)
- Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963)
- Fenton, Elisabeth, *A Narrative of her Life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius), and Tasmania During the Years 1826-1830* (London: Edward Arnold, 1901)
- Fischer-Tiné, Harald, *Low and Licentious Europeans: Race, Class and White Subalternity in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009)
- Foucault, Michel, 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104
- Frow, John, *Genre* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)
- Geaves, R.A., 'India 1857: A Mutiny or a War of Independence? The Muslim Perspective', *Islamic Studies*, 35.1 (1996), 25-44
- Geddes, Patrick, *Barra Bazar Improvement: a Report to the Corporation of Calcutta* by (Calcutta, Corporation Press, 1919)
- Geppert, Dominik, and Frank Muller, 'Beyond National Memory. Nora's *Lieux de Mémoire* across an Imperial World', in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed., by Dominik Geppert and Frank Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 1-18
- Gibbes, Phebe, *Hartley House, Calcutta: A Novel of the Days of Warren Hastings*, ed. by Michael J. Franklyn (London: Penguin Books, 1987)
- Gilmour, David, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: John Murray, 2005)

- Goebelt, Richard, 'The Memory of Lord Clive in Britain and Beyond: Imperial Hero and Villain' in *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 136-152
- Goist, Park Dixon, 'Patrick Geddes and the City', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 40.1 (2007), 31-37
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367408977444>> [accessed 11 May 2018]
- Goldman, Annie, "I Yam What I Yam": Cooking, Culture and Colonialism" in *De/Colonizing the Subject*, ed. by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992)
- Gordon, Constance E., *Anglo-Indian Cuisine (Khána Kitâb) and Domestic Economy* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1913)
- Gretton, John R., 'Introduction' in *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisers and Principal Contributors* (Dereham: Dereham Books, 1993), pp. vii-xiviii
- Guegan, Xavier, 'Transmissible Sites: Monuments, Memorials and their Visibility on the Metropole and Periphery', in *Sites of Imperial Memory, Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Müller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 21-38
- Guha Thakurta, Tapati, 'Lineages of the Modern in Indian Art: The Making of a National History' in *Culture and the Making of Identity in Contemporary India*, ed. by Kamala Ganesh and Usha Thakkar (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005)
- Guha, Ranajit, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23.3 (1997), 482-493
- , *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

- Gupta, Bunny, and Jaya Chaliha, 'Exiles in Calcutta: The Descendants of Tipu Sultan', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 18.1 (1991), 181-188
- Halliday, Stephen, 'Death and Miasma in Victorian London: An Obstinate Belief', *The BMJ*, 323:1469 (2001), 1469-1471
<<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1121911/>> [accessed 20 May 2018]
- Harley, J.B., 'Deconstructing the Map', in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxton (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001)
- Harrison, Mark, *Climates & Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Harrison, Rodney, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013)
- Heath, Deane, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Hill, Mike, "'Souls Undressed": The Rise and Fall of the New Whiteness Studies', *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies*, 20:3 (1998), 229-239
- , *Whiteness: A Critical Reader* (New York: NYU Press, 1997)
- Holwell, John Zephaniah, *A Genuine Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen, and Others, Who Were Suffocated in the Black-Hole in Fort William, in Calcutta, in the Kingdom of Bengal; in the Night Succeeding the 20th Day of June, 1756* (London : Printed for A. Millar, 1758)
- Hovarth, R., 'A Definition of Colonialism', *Current Anthropology*, 13:1 (1972), 45-57
- Huggan, Graham, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001)

---, *Interdisciplinary Measures* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008)

---, 'First Principles for a Literary Cartography' in *The Map Reader*, ed. by Martin Dodge, Chris Perkins and Rob Kitchin (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2011)

Hunter, W.W., *The Annals of Rural Bengal* (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1868)

---, *The Thackerays in India and some Calcutta Graves* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897)

Hutchins, Francis G., *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967)

Hutynk, John, *The Rumour of Calcutta* (London: Zed books, 1996)

Huxley, Margo, 'Space and Government: Governmentality and Geography', *Geography Compass* 2.5 (2008), 1635-1658

J. Barrow, Ian, 'India for the Working Classes: The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge', *Modern Asian Studies*, 38.3 (2004), 677-702

James, Helen, 'The Assassination of Lord Mayo: The 'First' Jihad?' *IJAPS* 5, 2 (2009), 1-19

Jayawardena, Kumari, *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia During British Colonial Rule* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995)

Johnson, Alan, 'The Savage City: Locating Colonial Modernity', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 25.4 (2003), 315-332

Julian, Spilsbury, *The Indian Mutiny* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007)

Kam, Tan See, 'Making Space for Heterologies: de Certeau's Links with Post-Colonial Criticisms', *Social Semiotics*, 6.1 (1996), 27-44

Kaviraj, Sudipta, 'Filth in the Public Sphere: Concepts and Practices about Space in Calcutta', *Public Culture*, 10.1 (1997), 83-113

- Kaye, Sir John Williams & G. B. Malleson, *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8* (London: Allen, 1889)
- Keltie, J. Scott, *The World-Wide Atlas of Modern Geography*, 5th edn. (London: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1900)
- Kincaid, Dennis, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1938)
- King, Anthony D., 'Exporting Planning: The Colonial and Neocolonial Experience' in *Shaping an Urban World*, ed. by Gordon. E. Cherry (London: Mansell, 1980) pp. 237-245
- , *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990)
- , *Colonial Urban Development, Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)
- Kipling, Rudyard, 'A Tale of Two Cities' in *Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Inclusive Edition, 1885-1918* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922)
<<https://www.bartleby.com/364/45.html>> [accessed 22 Aug 2015]
- , *The City of Dreadful Night* (New York: Alex, Grosset & Co., 1899).
<www.archive.org/stream/cityofdreadfulnigo2kiplgoog> [accessed 1 April 2017]
- Kotar, S. L. and J.E. Gessler, *Cholera, A World Wide History* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2014)
- Kothari, Rita, *Translating India, The Cultural Politics of English* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006)
- Lahiri, Nayanjot, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, 35. 1 (2010), 35-60
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824032000078072>> [accessed 20 August 2018]

Laqueur, Thomas W., *The Work of the Dead, A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015)

Lefebvre, Henri, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, trans. by John Moore (London: Verso, 1991)

----, *The Production of Space*, trans. by David Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974)

Legg, Stephen, 'Stimulation, Segregation and Scandal: Geographies of Prostitution Regulation in British India, between Registration (1888) and Suppression (1923)' *Modern Asian Studies*, 46. 6 (2012), 1459-1505

Lemke, Tomas, 'Foucault, Governmentality and Critique', *Rethinking Marxism*, 14 (2002), 49-64

Macaulay, T.B., 'Minute by the Honourable Macaulay'. 1835. Sourced from Bureau of Education, Selection from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839), ed. by H. Sharp. Calcutta. Superintendent. Government Printing, 1920 (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965), pp. 107-117
<<http://www.mssu.edu/projectssouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Macaulay001.htm>>

Macherey, Pierre, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge, 1986)

Major, Andrea, and Crispin Bates, ed., *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, Vol.2 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013)

Marshall, P.J., 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?', *The International History Review*, 12.1 (1990), 26-44
<<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40106131>> [accessed 12 June 2018]

Marshman, J.C., *History of Bengal Compiled for the use of Youths in Bengal* (London: J. C. Murray, 1857)

Martin, James Ranald, *Notes on the Medical Topography of Calcutta* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1837)

- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels's *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1911)
- McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Imperial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995)
- McClintock, Anne, Ella Shohat and Aamir Mufti, *Dangerous Liaisons, Gender, Nation, & Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)
- Metcalf, Thomas, *The Aftermath of Revolt India 1857-1870* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1964)
- , 'Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910' *Representations*, 6 (1984), 136-152
- Michael Sappol and Stephen P. Rice, ed. *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Age of Empire* (Oxford: Berg, 2010)
- Mill, James, *The History of British India*, ed. by Horace Hayman Wilson (London: James Madden, 1858)
- Minney, R.J., *Night Life of Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1922)
- Misra, Maria, *Business, Race, and Politics in British India, c.1850-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999)
- Mizutani, Satoshi, *The Meaning of White: Race, Class and the 'Domiciled Community' in British India 1858-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Mukherjee, Upamanyu Pablo, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire Famines, Fevers and Literary Cultures of South Asia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)
- Mukhopadhyay, Aparajita, 'Colonised Gaze? Guidebooks and Journeying in Colonial India', *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 37.4 (2014), 656-669
- Murray IV, John, *John Murray III, 1808-1892: A Brief Memoir* (London: J. Murray, 1919)

- Murray, John, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 2nd edn (London, Murray, 1838)
- Nair, P. T., *Calcutta in the Eighteenth Century: Impressions of Travellers* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1984)
- , *Calcutta Origin of the Name* (Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1985)
- , *Calcutta in the Seventeenth Century* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1986)
- , *A History of Calcutta Streets* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1987)
- , *Calcutta in the Twentieth Century: Company Day's* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1989)
- , *Hickey and his Gazette* (Kolkata: S & T Book Stall, 2001)
- Nayar, Pramod K., *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2008)
- , ed., *Days of the Raj: Life and Leisure in British India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2009)
- , 'Civil Modernity: The Management of Manners and Polite Imperial Relations in India, 1880-1930', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 39.4 (2016), 740-757 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2016.1204513>> [accessed 15 October 2018]
- Owen, David S. 'Towards a Critical Theory of Whiteness', *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 33.2 (2007), 203-222
- Parsons, Nicholas T., *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (England: Sutton Publishing, 2007)
- Peel, Victoria, and Anders Sorensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol: Tonawanda, 2016)
- Pels, Peter, 'Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History and the Emergence of Western Governmentality', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26 (1997) 163-83

- Pick, Daniel, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Prasad, Srirupa, *Cultural Politics of Hygiene in India, 1890-1940* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
- Pratt, Mary Louise, 'Introduction: Criticism in the Contact Zone', in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1-12
- Procida, Mary, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)
- Ray, A.K., 'A Short History of Calcutta Town and Suburbs', in *Census of India, 1901, Vol.7, Part 2* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902), pp. 1-137
- Ray, Durgacharan, *Debganer Martye Agaman* (1880; reprint. Calcutta: Dey's Publication, 1984)
- Rennie, John Short, *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004)
- Revel, Jean-François, *Culture and Cuisine* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1982)
- Rich, Paul B., *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)
- Richards, E. P., *The Condition, Improvement and Town Planning of the City of Calcutta and Contiguous Areas* (London: Routledge, 2015)
- , Thomas, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990)
- Rosaldo, Renato, 'Imperialist Nostalgia', *Representations*, 26 (1989), 107-122
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978)
- Sarkar, Sumit, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973)

- Scott, David, 'Colonial Governmentality', *Social Text*, 43 (1995), 191-220
- Scrafton, Luke, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan, with a Short Sketch of the History of Bengal from 1738 to 1756 and an Account of the English Affairs to 1758* (London: W. Strahan, 1770)
- Self, Will, *Psychogeography: Disentangling the Modern Conundrum of Psyche and Place* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007)
- Sen, Krishna, and Debapriya Paul, 'Archival Press Project: "The Calcutta Review"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 37.2 (2004), 51-73
- Sen, Srabani, 'Communicable Diseases and Germ Theory in Colonial India- An Assessment', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 48.3 (2013), 513-530 <<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/514d/e7673635410cb30bbb26b0bf7d6b85d112b9.pdf>> [accessed 20 May 2018]
- Short, John Rennie, *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004)
- Sinha, Mrinalini, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies, At Home in the Empire*, 40.4 (2001) 489-521
- Sinha, Pradip, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978)
- Steel, F. A., and G. Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper & Cook: Giving the Duties of Mistress and Servants, the General Management of the House, and Practical Recipes for Cooking in All its Branches* (London: William Heinemann, 1909)
- Steel, Flora Annie, *From the Five Rivers* (London: William Heinemann, 1893)
- , *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, 7th edn (London: Heinemann, 1909)
- Stewart, Charles, *The History of Bengal from the first Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of that Country by the English A.D. 1757* (London: Black, Parry and Co. 1813)

- Stoler, Ann Laura, 'Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial Asia', in *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History and Political Economy*, ed. by Roger N Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 13–36
- , *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010)
- , 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 87–109
- Strobel, Margaret, and Nupur Chaudhuri, ed., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992)
- Suleri, Sara, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013)
- Swensen, Grete, and Karoline Daugstad, 'Travels in Imaginary Landscapes: An Analysis of Four Cultural Historic Guidebooks', *Géographie des guides et récits de voyage*, 3 (2012), 2–22
- Tagore, Rabindranath, *Home and the World*, trans. by Surendranath Tagore (London: Macmillan, 1919)
- Tally, Robert R., 'On Literary Cartography: Narrative as a Spatially Symbolic Act', *NANO: New American Notes Online*, 1 (2011),
<<https://www.nanocrit.com/issues/issue1/literary-cartography-narrative-spatially-symbolic-act>> [accessed 29 December 2017]
- Urry, John, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007)
- Valentia, George Viscount, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. 3 vols. (London: Miller, 1809)
- Valentine, Gill, *Social Geographies, Space & Society* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001)

- Vandertop, Caitlin, 'Colonies in Concrete: Walter Benjamin, Urban Form and the Dreamworlds of Empire', *Interventions*, 18.5 (2016), 709-729
<<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369801X.2015.1131183>>
[accessed 10 June 2018]
- Vimala, S., 'The "Politically Correct Memsahib": Performing Englishness in Select Anglo-Indian Advice Manuals', *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 5.2 (2013), 282-302
- Walsh, Judith E., *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learnt When Men Gave Them Advice* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004)
- Wheeler, J. Talboys, *Early Records of British India: A History of the English Settlements in India as told in the Government Records the Works of Old Travellers, and Other Contemporary Documents from the Earliest Period down to the Rise of British Power in India* (London: Trubner and Company, 1878)
- Wilson, C.R., *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal being The Bengal Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (London: W. Thacker & Co, 1895)
- , *Old Fort William in Bengal a Selection of Official Documents Dealing with its History* Vol. I & II (London: John Murray, 1906)
- Wilson, Jon E., *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
- Yeats-Brown, Francis, *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (New York: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 1930)