

**Colonial encounters: white, middle-class, British
citizens in Late-Colonial India**

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This research into the Special Collections Archive at Exeter University and India Office Records at the British Library, explores everyday life for white, middle-class British citizens in India between 1914 and 1941. Building on existing scholarship and methodologies outlined by Ann Laura Stoler (1995; 2009), Antoinette Burton (2003) and Homi Bhabha (1984), this project considers the ways late-colonial gender and class identities inform constructions of otherness; exemplified by case studies, vignettes and recollections of homelife and leisure, local communities and professional obligations in India. Drawing on records from the late-colonial period this thesis explores the specific experiences and articulations of three individuals who grew up in Britain, spent decades in India, and later returned to Devon, South West England. The collections are records of the complications of establishing a family, socialising with peers, controlling domestic spaces and employment in India. Through immersion into the archive (Stoler 2009) and close reading of a diverse range of source material, including correspondence, memoir, articles, lecture notes and legal papers, I aim to nuance our understanding of colonial relationships by considering individual narratives. Exploring the memoir of Violet Fulford Williams, and her husband, Henry's private 'India Notes', we see that while their experiences were chronologically similar, the couple had substantially different responsibilities, and engaged in very different negotiations and recollections. In this case, gender, class, memory and narrative style all play a part in articulating their encounters with India. Likewise, through court papers and correspondence we see how one High Court Judge, Sir Leonard Costello, became responsible for ruling on the identity of an Indian Subject, and promoted his own self-interest through retirement and law-making in both the UK and India. At the micro-scale Costello, Violet and Henry display classic colonialist attitudes as well as a sensitivity towards the colony, where they built their homes and careers. I demonstrate how their commentaries and categorisations exemplify the complexity of living in India as members of colonial leadership, mediated through their professional/familial obligations, race, gender and class.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Colonial encounters: white, middle-class, British citizens in Late-Colonial

India:

Engaging with archival resources from Late-Colonial India, the focus of this study are the ways in which white, colonial elite individuals constructed and categorised their experiences, analysed along the themes of gender and class. Exploring the Special Collections Archive at Exeter University and India Office Records at the British Library, this thesis investigates the personal notes, articles, memoir, court papers and correspondence of three white, middle-class, British citizens based in the colony between 1914 and 1941. Accessing the companion collections of Henry and Violet Fulford Williams, offered a unique opportunity to compare the accounts of a husband and wife¹. Vignettes of their leisure and homelife, community engagements and professional experiences, as members of the clergy moving across India between 1914 and the mid-1930's (University of Exeter 2018b), expose their different considerations, narrative devices, perceptions and expectations of/in the colony. An interesting counterpoint to these personalised notes and memoir, the legal files and correspondence of a High Court Judge, Sir Leonard Wilfred James Costello, demonstrate similar considerations and attitudes at an institutional level, as well as the very different experiences and lifestyle of a Civil Servant employed by the Government of India between 1926 and 1941.

It is worth noting the accessibility of the source material I have researched. Henry Fulford William's 'India Notes' were initially held by Exeter Cathedral's Library, his employer from 1945 until 1956 (University of Exeter 2018b) and have since been donated to the University of Exeter. Likewise Costello's court papers were initially acquired by the University's law department, before being preserved in the Special Collections Archive. There is an interesting spatiality to these records and individuals who, on return from deployment in India, lived, worked and retired to Devon. These masculine accounts contrast with Violet Fulford William's memoir, which has been published as an Amazon Kindle e-book, accessible

¹Drawing on both Henry Frank Fulford William's notes and Violet Fulford William's autobiography, it is more efficient to identify the couple by their first names. Through this research, I have got to know the individuals behind these collections, and when referring to their thoughts, feelings and responses, I think this is the most clear and appropriate approach to take.

online. Not bound by the same conditions as the other archival resources, my engagement with her account of home and family life in the UK, India and Portugal happened on trains, in coffee shops, libraries, offices and not always in silent, temperature controlled archival facilities. Violet and Henry Fulford Williams left behind personally consolidated commentaries on their decades of experience on the Indian Subcontinent, Costello's collection on the other hand, is the product of official administrative procedures. Immersion (Stoler 2009) and close reading into these case studies, evidences the multifaceted experiences and perspectives of colonial elites living in India, mediated through their professional and familial obligations, gender and class.

To offer some of my own context; I undertook a combined honours degree at the University of Exeter in Anthropology with International Relations. This mode of study required me to consider the 'particular', local scale alongside global structures, an aspect of postcolonial studies, more especially the work of Ann Laura Stoler (1995, 2009) I enjoy. Throughout my childhood I listened to stories about my paternal Grandfather, who between 1942 and 1946 served in Burma, hiked across parts of India with the Royal West Kent's, and travelled solo by train from Bombay to Calcutta. As I began research on this project, I encountered Violet's memoir and I was struck by the similarity between her middle-class upbringing in Devon² and my own experience raised in a village in Cornwall, attending a single-sex school in Plymouth and going on to higher education. The artefacts from India in the University of Exeter's Special Collections, and this master's study have impressed on me the intrinsic presence of empire in the South West. Undoubtedly the stories of my Grandfather's travels, my bachelor's degree in Anthropology with International Relations and the way Violet's memoir resonated with my history, influenced my decision to develop this thesis.

My approach has been informed by Stoler's anthropological engagement with archival texts in *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995) and *Along the Archival Grain* (2009); ethnographies based in and on the archive (Gouda 2009: 552). Focused on the 'anthropology of colonialism' (Stoler 1995: 98) and embedded within the 'archival turn' (Stoler 2009: 44), Stoler states that archival ethnography

² Discussed later in Chapter 1, in subsection 'The archival collections'.

examines the 'disjuncture between prescription and practice [...] between normative rules and the ways people actually lived their lives' (*ibid.*: 32). Her reading of Foucault's 'History of Sexuality' while considering bourgeois colonial practices and administrators' responses to race in the Dutch East Indies, signpost an ethnographic methodology to critically read theoretical structures alongside the rich, fine detail of primary texts in the archive (Stoler 1995:5). I wanted to emulate this quality, to bring postcolonial, historical, theoretical frameworks, to the empirical detail of the individual. To explore the 'everyday' aspects of empire through the collections of Violet, Henry and Costello.

Building on existing scholarship in the field of postcolonial studies, this project aims to complicate and decentre the historiographic metropolitan³ 'account of history' (Young 2004: 51) while remaining sensitive to the ramifications of colonial legacies in the present. Bhabha has demonstrated the necessity of postcolonial study in the new millennium, contending the idea that these frameworks can be relegated to 'just history' (Bhabha 2004: 342). The 'globalised' reality, considered a new world order, is one constructed by our ideas (ideals) of openness, civil society and liberal equality (*ibid.*: 345). Through Bhabha's lens the term 'colonial' is not a temporal moment, but the process of establishing a double standard which could exist between coloniser and subject or, what is considered ordered and disordered in new contexts, including a 'globalised world' (Bhabha 2004:345)⁴. The course of 'history' has changed the opportunity for exchange (*ibid.*) rather than the existence of what Said described as a 'discursively constructed' (2003: 148) otherness. If as Bhabha suggests, all 'societies coexist with each other in relations that are, at best, problematic and proximate' (2004: 345), postcolonial theories are a tool to perceive linguistic and value-based constructions (Loomba 2005: 12). Emphasising the pertinence of this study, the materials investigated are records of linguistic and material exchange, which exemplify the colonial practice of naming, categorising (Said 2003: 36) and characterising the 'other' (Young 2004: 44).

³ A western, white narrative.

⁴ Postcolonial theory offers insight into studies of race and class-based 'difference' which bear similarity in terms of ownership, territory, and exploitation, to colonialism.

Stoler and Loomba acknowledge, that male administrators/colonialists have informed the metropolitan narrative of history (Stoler 2009; Loomba 2005: 8), presenting a challenge to the focus of this project on the collections of privileged, white, middle-class citizens. To avoid simply reiterating European historical narratives (Young 2004: 50) I have considered how the individual, functioned within the hegemonic, masculine framework of power in the early 20th century. By exploring the lived experiences of these British expatriates, the tone in which they write, what they find important to record and omit, I demonstrate the complex relationship between the context in which the individuals find themselves and the context they are willing to perpetuate. Furthermore, while these collections were created post-1914, their considerations of power, authority, and control, and by extension this research, must be understood within the larger context of colonial movements from the early 18th Century.

The rest of Chapter 1 introduces the key historical context, literature, and methodologies which have informed this study. It also provides further detail on the authors and composition of the archival material. Chapter 2 begins the empirical investigation into the Fulford Williams' commentaries on leisure and homelife in India. It explores how the couple raised and educated their children, established homes and managed household staff. The couple had substantially different responsibilities and recorded different aspects of their time living and working at army and civilian chaplaincies. Whilst employing common tropes such as personification, metaphors and animal stories, the medium of their respective collections, gender and class identities significantly alter their articulations of the colony. Building on the idea of control and categorisation first exposed in their reflections of homelife and leisure, Chapter 3 opens up discussions on the boundaries Henry and Violet established based on class, race, disease and criminality in their local community and Indian society more broadly. Chapter 4 is largely made up of my research on Costello's Court Papers and correspondence. In order to manage the complex nature of the material, I have decided to address this collection in one chapter instead of referring to it throughout the thesis to provide a cohesive point of comparison to Violet and Henry's collections. It offers insight into the application of colonial governance on multiple scales, exploring how a highly educated, experienced Judge ruled on the identity of an Indian Subject, as well as how he disrupted administrative hierarchies to promote his

own self-interest through retirement and law-making in both the UK and India. Chapter 4 demonstrates the strikingly different tone of Costello's material compared to the family-oriented production of Violet, and evidences his relative wealth in comparison to Henry's financially challenging service in the colony. Whilst still reflecting similar categorisations and concerns over identity, community and the individual, the resources themselves are very different, both Violet and Henry's writings were consolidated if not written, after they had left India. By contrast, Costello's papers are from his employment under the Government of India, reflecting the influence and expectations of institutions that white, middle-class colonialists were also managed by.

Contextual background:

According to Nandy, colonialism in India began as a 'political economy' (2009: 2). Established between the East India Company traders, Indian merchants and product owners, 'it includes codes which both the rulers and the ruled can share' (*ibid.*). The implication here is that colonialism is not necessarily a violent act to begin with but appears as a mutually profitable relationship, so much so that:

A large number of them [British Officers in India] married Indian women, offered pūjā to Indian gods and goddesses, and lived in fear and awe of the magical power of the Brāhmans.

(Nandy 2009: 5).

Nandy demonstrates that in the early period of the East India Company ideas were less fixed and there was a time of religious pluralism. Whilst there may have been a perceived inferiority of the Indian people as merely a supplier of profitable, in-demand goods, there was an element of reciprocity and coexistence, where intermarriage, integration and interaction between the British Traders and Indian population were encouraged. The British Empire established 'false'⁵ hierarchies, exploited resources, and provoked ongoing protests and conflicts, it was a political environment in which India as a collection of princely states was familiar, having undergone a series of invasions and changes in rulership. The Mughal Empire which the East India Company did business with and the British Empire usurped and dissolved, was a central Muslim Monarchy controlling several smaller kingships of various religions (James 1998: 5) across the region. It

⁵ A hierarchy constructed for political means, which existed only through reinforcing a perceived and unproved distinction between two faith groups.

equally experienced hierarchies, conflicts and exploitation; in many ways the system of British rule in India was nothing new.

By the 1850s there was 'a changing moral tone' (James 1998: 223) which radically altered the interaction between the British colonialists and Indian people. This was caused by several major political changes; firstly the tensions provoked by the 1857 uprising, secondly the resultant dissolution of the East India Company and finally the establishment of direct rule in the colony. The influx of soldiers, middle-class Europeans and more importantly their wives (white women and children) into India, made civility and a recognisable, 'respectable', social structure far more important. Efforts to convert⁶, whilst separating the white invaders from 'native' society resulted in dividing coloniser and colonised based on race, 'propriety' and, British customs (James 1998:223)⁷. Prior to this change in rule, Macaulay, a proponent of establishing English language and education systems delivered his Minutes on Indian Education in 1835 (Macaulay 1871: 87). Clearly articulating the enlightenment agenda introduced by white, British political leaders, he asserted that: 'We have to educate people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue' (*ibid.*: 92). Enlightenment⁸ became synonymous with reformation during this time, 'a dialectical structure of domination' (Young 2004: 39) which motivated British administrators and justified colonial action under the pretence of disseminating reason. Macaulay advocated for introducing English language to India on the grounds that it would enable 'native' populations to communicate and participate in the rapidly growing empire (Macaulay 1871: 93). In a similar way, the men I have studied, Costello and Henry, as members of judicial apparatus and the clergy, participated in the dissemination of legislative and religious colonial institutions and structures.

The British Raj led by the 'Crown' was established after the 'Indian/Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857; a rebellion by Indian soldiers, symbolic of the vulnerabilities of the

⁶ Perhaps couched in other names: 'Civilising Mission', 'Mission civilisatrice', 'Christian Duty', even 'White Man's Burden' (Kipling n.d.).

⁷ This altered the relationships British officers were allowed or prevented from having, as 'husbands were constrained by their wives and families' (James 1998: 223). The presence of British (female) society effectively prevented open relationships between soldiers and Indian women.

⁸ Defined as a 'European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition' (Oxford Dictionary 2019c).

Company Raj (Burton 2006: 215), with its widely diffused soldier population, taking weeks to 'subdue the rebellion... [and] recapture... areas village by village' (Tenhunen and Säävälä 2012: 12). Though she never visited India in person, from the early 1840's Queen Victoria had established 'personal authority independent of the East India Company' (Taylor 2004: 268). The dissolution of the East India Company and the establishment of direct rule in 1858, facilitated by Prince Albert, parliament and the army, meant that even before receiving her title in 1877, Victoria believed herself Empress of India (*ibid.*: 264). She began learning Hindustani and was advised by Abdul Karim (James 1998: 319). In Chapter 3 of Visram's monograph *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History*, she explores the significant changes during Victoria's leadership which arguably gave the colony greater visibility in the metropole, artistically, socially, and politically (2002:44). This included the erection of the Durbar Room at Osborne House; royal photographs of Asian servants such as Ayah's attending Victoria's granddaughter Princess Louise (*ibid.*:45); and the series of properties and honours including the CIE bestowed on Karim, which elevated his status (*ibid.*: 48). Though the Queen experienced a significant amount of criticism at Court, and her advisor, racial prejudice, exclusion and investigation (Visram 2002: 48) Visram points to the 'making' of community which questions the simplicity of a metropole/periphery divide.

Hume suggests the rise of the Indian National Congress in the 1880s was 'largely the result of the marvellous recent contact of India with the West' (1911: 367). The rising political class represented a significant threat to British governance, therefore, it became necessary from the perspective of colonial administrators, to delegitimise their message and control their voice. Hume's comments indicate that whilst the Indian National Congress could empower the colonised (elites) (Kumar 1985: 382), the metropole viewed it as a by-product of the civilising mission. Linking to Bhabha's mimicry framework where educated, male elite Indians became a mimic of the white, British, male coloniser (1984: 130), the Indian National Congress, could be considered a mimic of Western governing institutions, translating between high-politics and the proletariat, mobilising Indian citizens through rhetoric (Hume 1911: 368), but never receiving political legitimacy or authority, within the Empire. For British Administrators such as Hume, the Indian National Congress could merely prove itself to be 'a true and

wise national institution' (*ibid.*: 371), a kind of committee for sharing ideas about India in a 'modern' way, not an opportunity to take control from the British administration which it eventually became (Kumar 1985). In the case studies I have researched, Indian Nationalism backgrounded the Bhawal sannyasi case and court room interactions in Costello's Collection (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III). It also informed a large part of Henry's lecture series and criticism of Indian institutions and leadership (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture III).

According to Nandy, during colonial movements the (male) coloniser and colonised were obliged to be in opposition to each-other (2009: 71). As a consequence of the prescribed system of authority and inferiority, there was a psychological shift in identity, crossing boundaries of gender, morality and overt/covert power. Through the distinction made within and between these categories, metropolitan and colonised citizens became 'Intimate Enemies' (*ibid.*). A pressure was placed on the imperial administrators, to be masculine, to reinforce the values of empire, for fear that their status could be called into question. On the other hand, Nandy suggests Indian people changed descriptions of the categories they were bound by, so that 'in the face of defeat, indignity, exploitation and violence' (2009: 97), they could realise a version of 'autonomy' within the colonial system. Building on Nandy's analysis on the internalised consequences of colonialism, I track the experiences, motivations and opinions of three individuals working within Late-Colonial frameworks.

Using Rudyard Kipling as a case study of colonial interactions, Nandy suggests the Victorian author and poet, extremely popular at the turn of the 20th Century, was caught between Britain and India. The Empire became an idea 'he could admire –the admiration was also a product of his socialization– but not love' (Nandy 2009: 67). His poems display an affection and affinity with India and its peoples, and a familial attachment as the 'Son of Bombay' (Gibson 2011: 326). He considers India a mother figure, 'his nurturer and protector' (*ibid.*). Arguably Kipling's upbringing was much closer to the Indian elite than it was to the British elite spending his formative years in India, and later sent to England to complete his education (*ibid.*). Gibson observes that Kipling's literary works and political views 'veer into classist, racist and misogynistic stereotypes' (2011: 328), which become problematised through postcolonial literary analysis. Likewise, the

productions of Henry and Costello, but perhaps more so, the published memoir of Violet Fulford Williams's evidence how race, class and gender inform personal interactions with the colony, that there was an appreciation and celebration of India, alongside stereotypical tropes. Loomba, drawing on the work of Derrida may term this a 'slippage', where critical textual analysis can uncover 'instability' and 'contradictions' in historiography (2005: 36). Hence, through Nandy's psycho-analytic methodologies and Gibson's literary research, we can see the challenging and painful, liminal position of the white, sympathetic coloniser at a time when clearly defined boundaries were the status quo.

Post-independence, critics have convincingly argued that colonialism continues; for example Wilson suggests the term 'Raj' was not common between 1858 and 1947. Rather, it is a 'postcolonial'⁹ invention, popularised as a result of the wave of British Raj nostalgia that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s' (Wilson 2015: 229). Considered a rhetorical device, 'Raj' is used to construct the ideas of just rulership, the coloniser's sophisticated cultural existence, and imply India consented to being part of the Empire (*ibid.*: 230). A perfect example of the semantic issues raised by postcolonial scholars; the authority of definition lay with the metropole (Young 2004: 51) but more importantly continues to do so, with 'Raj' entering common vernacular post-Indian Independence.

This brief contextual background offers some insight into the structural changes in India which established the institutions, communities and homes that my case studies existed and participated in. Archival institutions such as Special Collections at the University of Exeter and the British Library, make materials from and narratives of the colony accessible in the present, offering an opportunity to reassess colonial productions through postcolonial analysis, which informed my engagement with the Fulford Williams' and Costello collections. I would now like to foreground literary research and the postcolonial lens I have used to read these materials.

Existing scholarship

⁹ Wilson uses 'postcolonial' here as a temporal term to indicate 'after empire' (Wilson 2015: 229).

Postcolonialism is preoccupied not just with the 'discourse' used in the past but the precise use of vocabulary in the present. To produce resonant ideas throughout the colonial period, a specific terminology became necessary to justify essentially violent and expansionist policies. For example, stories justifying stereotypes and the need for a Christian civilising mission were more appealing than those of exploitation (Loomba 2005: 71). As previously mentioned, colonial discourse was and is a strategic, though perhaps unnoticed act of creating and iterating, 'Western knowledge's categories and assumptions' (Young 2004: 43). This prevents the potential end of colonialism, as there is an assumed inferiority of the other matching the 'progress' or benchmarks set by the evolving West (Nandy 2009: 32; Young 2016: 32). Discussing Said's seminal *Orientalism*, Loomba states that colonial discourse posited that 'if colonised people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former are barbaric, sensual, and lazy, Europe is civilisation itself' (2005: 45). Loomba succinctly presents the traditional binaries between East/West, coloniser/colonised, through dichotomised language. More importantly, to avoid such reproductions and effectively counter them, it becomes the responsibility of the postcolonial critic to avoid any arbitrary approach to language which would be out of place in the field (Loomba 2005: 2). Said, Spivak and Bhabha set out this process through a series of analytical methodologies, which identify the outcomes and assumptions of the process of colonialism. 'Orientalism', 'Subalternity', 'Mimicry' and 'Ambivalence' are deliberately divisive and problematise the definition of the 'other' as a diverse group that is 'not-colonial'. I have carefully considered my use of these terms and methodologies throughout this research, avoiding using them indiscriminately to identify the marginal in a process of domination, which risked further disempowerment.

Considered a pioneer of postcolonial theory, Bhabha's 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', written in the mid-1980s, describes 'mimicry' as an outcome of the colonial process. Using 19th century India as his case study, Bhabha focuses on how education reforms changed the colonial agenda. Referencing Grant, an 18th Century colonialist who advocated 'partial reform' (Bhabha 1984: 127), Bhabha suggests the British Empire created a colonial subject who was 'almost the same but not quite' (*ibid.*: 130). These educated 'others' formed an elite administrative group located within the colonised territory

and 'culture', enabling the empire to be self-sustaining and theoretically governed remotely. Yet Bhabha states that this established 'A flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicized, is emphatically not to be English' (1984: 128). Here a subject is socialised into a political state, caught in-between or hybridised; a dangerous position, which enabled control because mimicry effectively prevented integration into either the white coloniser's¹⁰ or the colonised society. This could be considered a purposeful attempt to dilute the 'subjugated' culture and weaken the individual's ability to consolidate their identity. 'Mimic Men' were a middle-class, communication conduit between these opposing groups. Plotted along racial lines Bhabha coins his own phrase 'not quite/not white' (1984.: 132). The elite Indian men who had 'benefited' from European education, were often termed 'Babus', a title which at once marked respect, and implied condescension by white administrators (James 1998: 343) reducing them to 'mimics' of the coloniser. James states Britain considered 'Indians, lettered or otherwise [...] psychologically and temperamentally unfit to rule themselves' (*ibid.*: 343). The British Empire took credit for 'enlightening' populations, and providing them with tools to 'advance', yet actively participated in their denigration.

According to Bhabha, ambivalence 'destroyed colonial authority' but 'fixed its discourse and authorised its representations' (1984: 131). Vital to renegotiating identities which were 'unstable, agonised, and in constant flux' (Loomba 2005: 149), where mimicry risked establishing the colonised as equal, the coloniser reasserted superiority through newly refined boundaries. This suited material objectives, to stay and civilise whilst profiting from the resources of the acquired territory (Tenhunen and Säävälä 2012: 11); and provided the colonised with a 'site for resistance' (Loomba 2005: 149). Young critiques Bhabha's research focus on post-structuralist 'critique of reason as a system of domination' (Young 2004: 39), overlooking economic and Marxist perspectives on the trade partnership which provided a foundation and motivation to the colonial movement. For Loomba, too, Bhabha has a 'universalising tendency' (Loomba 2005: 150), ignoring many of the intersectional inequalities, considered by theorists such as Spivak¹¹. However, Bhabha's strength lies in his sensitivity to a larger narrative

¹⁰ Separation was fundamental to driving colonial processes and justifying imperial presence (Said 2003: 148).

¹¹ For example, gender.

and reading beyond the face value of words' meanings. For this study, his methodology was a useful guide to assessing narratives of masculinity, education and civility within the collections I researched, enabling me to consider how patterns of behaviours fitted within and challenged the state of negotiation between colony and metropole.

Postcolonial approaches, in a similar way to poststructuralists, actively challenge Humanism, defined as 'a system of thought [...] centred on the notion of the rational, autonomous self and ignoring the conditioned nature of the individual' (Oxford Dictionary Online 2019d). This informs liberal, capitalist, and colonialist understandings of political/social life; as Loomba asserts, 'the humane, knowing subject, now stands revealed as a white, male colonialist' (Loomba 2005: 60). Humanism is flawed, as acknowledging a rational autonomy obscures, among other things, gendered, class-based and racial interactions, as irrelevant to the ideas an individual is willing (and able) to re/produce. Spivak critiques humanism by advocating 'bringing hegemonic historiography to a crisis' (2013: 206). Countering the strategic act of writing history, she engages with a Foucauldian framework where, historiography is a method of 'surveillance and control' (Foucault 1995: 198) which consolidates power within the political structure through which it was written. Spivak extends the capacity of Foucault's work to non-western groups, acknowledging the 'geographical discontinuity' (Spivak 1994: 86) resonating in the present as a result of colonial encounters. In relation to my own study, both Henry and Costello can be characterised as 'white, male colonialists'; Henry's lecture series, which outlines the history of India in six sessions, was an act of hegemonic historiography. By investigating his racial, class and gendered background as well as the nuances in his texts I seek to challenge his metanarratives and identify points where Henry himself deviates from the idea of rational autonomy and critiques of colonial practices (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV).

Pointing to reading practices and the process of 'recovering' archival voices, Spivak cites the work of Subaltern historians to demonstrate the benefits and dangers of countering the writing of history. Strengthening the mode of colonial discourse analysis, Spivak assesses the possibility of a 'subaltern consciousness' and of the subaltern woman's ability (within the constraints of patriarchy and

colonialism) to be a part of that solidarity or to articulate her own account (Spivak 2013: 227-229; Loomba 2005: 194-195). Consequently, it would be impossible to achieve a unified consciousness, political voice or identity for a diversified and internally hierarchical group. In 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Spivak polemically contends that 'the subaltern cannot speak' (1994: 104). Whilst postcolonial scholars attempt to redress the method of writing history, she advocates a 'philosophical scepticism about recovering any subaltern agency' (Loomba 2005: 195). A scholar claiming to return lost power to a subjugated people is at best romanticising (*ibid.*) and at worst condescending. On the other hand, her own work has been criticised by Benita Parry among others, for 'deafness' towards 'anti-colonial nationalism' (Loomba 2005: 196), which are a record of the so-called silent voices. In relation to my own study, Violet Fulford Williams, whilst a member of the colonial elite lived within a patriarchal society (*ibid.*: 60), comparing her and her husband's collections looks beyond historiographic accounts, to investigate the gendered preoccupations and storytelling of those living in the colony.

Here I have outlined some of the key postcolonial frameworks and approaches Spivak and Bhabha developed to deconstruct colonial relationships using India as their case study. Whilst these guided my research, I utilised a flexible and reflective approach in the archive, throughout my analysis of the material. Further detail of my methodology and the work of Burton and Stoler in reading archives follows in the next section. The diverse nature of the materials required a mixed methodological approach and called for a sensitivity towards the medium and voices of those recorded in the papers, photographs, articles and notes. I will demonstrate how specific, nuanced insights have been drawn by Burton and Stoler through discourse analysis, close reading, engagement with material culture, as well as ethnographic archival practices.

Methodological approaches:

In *Dwelling in the Archives*, Burton uses women's autobiographies, private papers and archival collections, to decentre traditional historical accounts, including the memories of Late-Colonial Indian homes (Burton 2003: 22-25). Breaking-down imbalanced academic/colonial practices which deem certain types of sources inferior (*ibid.*: 23) her study considers the process through which

the home becomes an artefact of historical and political significance, documenting changing values, ideas and behaviours. Drawing on classically 'subjective'¹² resources such as autobiographies, Burton's approach is untraditional. Her archive is that of memories, recorded by women, often decades after they have experienced colonisation and decolonisation. Referring to Janaki Majumdar's *Family History* in the chapter 'House, Daughter, Nation', Burton tracks the changing political environment in India, through changing 'domestic' interactions. Although the Indian National Congress was not central to Burton's or Majumdar's narrative, it played a key role in ordering the home (Burton 2003: 37). Throughout the text, Majumdar's mother prepares for meetings, supports her husband's legal and political advocacy, converts from Hinduism, and learns English in an attempt to 'modernise' and meet the expectations of her husband and of the new political state of India. In this way, the home expresses a sense of Indian Nationalism by the actions of the individual and the social orders/values changing to meet a western framework¹³ (Nandy 2009: 26). The archive plots a history of the INC which often remains unseen, it is not focused on the key proponents, activists or policy outcomes of its presence but on Indian Nationalist expressions in the home, a support represented by a hostess, organising the servants and household for monthly meetings, at the micro-scale (Burton 2003: 37).

Following a similar approach when engaging with Violet Fulford William's memoir, I considered the connection between an individual woman, her domestic environment and the broader colonial context. Violet devoted long passages to descriptions of her home and family, from moving furniture, to raising children, removing pests and managing staff (Fulford Williams 2010). In a similar vein to Burton's consideration of high-profile women in Late-Colonial India, I have had the opportunity to study bourgeois colonial citizens. This thesis and my methodology were structure around comparisons, bringing attention to minutiae of detail, positioning and self-identity within broader historical narratives. I have investigated a white, middle-class woman's reflections of domesticity, community

¹² An unsatisfactory assessment considering the gendered, racial, regional, and class-based agency, impact on how individuals and group assess/define reality (Kaplan 2002).

¹³ Per Parry and Loomba this could be considered a moment of 'subaltern speech'. However based on the class and education of the members of the INC, Spivak would continue to argue that the 'subaltern' woman/lower class is not represented by this institution (Loomba 2005: 196).

building and otherness alongside her husband's male account as expressed in articles and lectures. As well as the collections of two white, middle-class men in very different professions in Late-Colonial India.

Stoler centred her study, *Along the Archival Grain*, on colonial papers, reports, and letters from administrators and politicians in the Dutch East Indies. She suggests these resources are 'records of uncertainty and doubt' (Stoler 2009: 4) a documentation of 'archiving-as-a-process' (*ibid.*: 20). Stoler removes emphasis from the products themselves and draws attention to the people preserved through establishing an archive, including the changing processes, procedures, ideas and values, colonial administrators documented. For example, children of mixed ethnicity, with one European/colonial parent, represented a crisis point for the administrators Stoler encounters. Referencing documents which underwent multiple revisions to categorise and rename the children (Stoler 2009: 56) who, were a quantitatively insignificant problem (*ibid.*: 7), the researcher explores the blurring distinctions made between coloniser and colonised. For the administrators involved, records of these children were an opportunity to reassess race, family, and boundaries, and in this assessment, ensure that the imperial power remained both superior and separate (*ibid.*: 6). The archive demonstrates attempts to manage 'states of sentiment' (Stoler 2009: 58) controlling the possibilities of parental interactions with their children, of inheritance, education and acknowledgement of legitimacy. One way to recognise a child of mixed parentage as 'European', with the same rights as Dutch citizens, was for the child to display a closer affinity with 'European Cultural styles' (Stoler 2009: 64), hence be educated in the European way (*ibid.*)¹⁴. The archive in Stoler's account requires the researcher to engage directly in the actions of the text, not to passively read them as a series of chronological events. The documents are moments of confusion where colonial policy and actions contradict, become refined and redirected in the face of political changes, especially in the status of colonised individuals.

Reviewing Stoler's approach, Nordholt suggests the author intends to 'set a new standard for ethnography in the archive' (2009: 561-562). To some extent I

¹⁴ A process very similar to Bhabha's 'Mimicry' noted previously, and a link to enlightenment and the predominance of reason.

disagree. Her work is not a methodological revolution but a retethering to traditional anthropological approaches which advocate immersion into the field, enabling those studied to guide the narrative (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011: 10). Immersion 'enables the ethnographer to inscribe the detailed, context-sensitive, and locally informed' (*ibid.*) ideas they have studied, so too does Stoler's approach in the archive. Reading 'against' the archive from the start could mute or subvert its meanings under the western scholar's assumptions (Gouda 2009: 552). Stoler's method of embedding herself within the context of the people and period she is working, understanding the voices of her subjects, through the repository of their photos, letters, notes and papers, allows her to assess 'Watermarks [...] embossed on the surface and in the grain' (2009: 8). Much like an ethnographic interview, the historical informants share in a conversation, exposing their ideas, problematic or not, before the ethnographer draws a conclusion. Here the archive has an active voice instead of being a collection of stable, complete and finalised documents. In many ways then, Stoler does not advocate a new process, but ethnographic best practice when interacting with non-living subjects and their artefacts.

Costello's collection of court papers and official correspondence are similar to those materials Stoler investigated; hence I leveraged her methodology, allowing the resources, stories and informant's journeys to speak, before reflecting on their commentary with my postcolonial framework. Compared to Violet's published memoir and Henry's bound typescript book, the materials in Costello's collection were far less cohesive and more complex. Likewise tracking his biography and experiences in India and the UK required me to move between sources including: online alumni records supplied by the ACAD (n.d.), promotional materials for reprints of his publications (Gale n.d.; Costello 2012), captions from photographs held by the National Portrait Gallery (n.d.) and finally India Office Records (1939-1941) of his service.

Using colonial discourse analysis to explore artefacts of the colonial experience, this project considers language's 'transient meaning' (Alvesson and Karreman 2000: 1130) based on the specific British/Indian colonial relationship, as well as assessing its 'durable meaning' (*ibid.*) in relation to broader colonial processes. Spivak, Bhabha, and Said, point to the use of language in defining the identity of

a colonial subject and framing that subject within a society requiring a 'civilising intervention' by colonial powers (Said 2003: 172). Offering conclusions applied across colonial/postcolonial contexts, their work guides researchers on problematic linguistic markers, troubling truths and hidden intentions captured by colonial discourse. Concentrating on language, terminology and nuance was essential to exploring the private notes, memoir, newspaper reports, letters, and official documents I researched. However, it could not be applied to the photographs and court papers in Costello's collection, putting this investigation at risk of being limited by the same factors as Bhabha's: 'both coloniser and colonised can be understood only by tracing the vicissitudes of colonial discourse' (Loomba 2005: 151). To alleviate this, I settled on a mixed-method approach, marrying literary and anthropological techniques to interact with the diverse mediums/records. Based in the archive, temporally located within artefacts produced during the late-colonial period, within India and the UK, by British and Indian subjects, this project sits between 'Micro' and 'Meso' analytical approaches (Alvesson and Kärreman 2000: 1133). To make this thesis 'meaningfully coherent' (Tracy 2010: 840), its scope has been limited to offer depth and specificity while reading a multi-scalar world. At once the informants featured in this research have unique perspectives, which differ from each-other, yet purport to be a part of the same political initiative, have similar levels of education and come from a 'British' cultural background.

Mindful of ethical implications of archival studies as a search for the marginalised voices, I avoided simply recounting or replicating archival content, offering an insight without delivering a positivistic answer¹⁵. Importantly, those materials available for research in the Special Collections at the University of Exeter, are only those which have been catalogued and preserved, more may exist outside of the archive, some may not have survived. Nevertheless, they are documents, stories and interactions deemed significant by Sir Leonard Costello, Violet and Henry Fulford Williams. Vital to this study are questions of how far a contemporary memoir, lecture, article, photograph or court transcript, can evidence what was colonial in the every-day, what was symptomatic of a larger organisation and the extent to which an individual can shape the institution. With

¹⁵ Spivak highlighted in *Deconstructing Historiography*, 'positivism' objectifies another in the pursuit of 'one truth' (Spivak 2013: 226).

this in mind the final part of this introductory chapter is devoted to the materiality and biographies of the collections and their creators Violet, Henry and Costello.

The archival collections:

Reverend Henry Frank Fulford Williams and his wife Violet, spent their childhoods' growing up in Devon at the turn of the 20th Century. Both children during zenith of the British Empire, they were sent from their early homes in India and South Africa respectively, to be raised by their families in Devon, England. Once engaged, they relocated to 'British India' in 1914 and stayed there until the mid-1930's. Henry's father spent a successful thirty-year career working as a civil servant across India, including the states of Assam and Bengal, facilitating so-called 'order' and 'peace' as a high-ranking member of British administration (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I).

Henry's collection comprises of a blue, hard-back, typescript book; and appears to be a work of passion rather than practicality. It served as a consolidation of his notes on India, a private record and celebration of his connection with the colony where he and his family spent most of his working life. His lecture notes, articles, and unpublished chapters, offer a glimpse into the world and mindset of a Reverend embedded within the greater structure of colonial power. Currently held in Exeter University's Special Collections, the chapters were assembled in April 1945, after finding original published and unpublished works, while preparing to deliver a Lecture Series in Lisbon. Divided into eight chapters, this collection spans his tenure as an Army chaplain between 1914 and 1934, research into Indian history, East India Company and British Colonial Administration, as well as reviews of works by other historians such as James MD Wise, who wrote what was widely considered to be the most comprehensive studies of the *Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal* in 1883 (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V).

Despite his personal connection with the colony, Henry frequently uses a depersonalised tone, his archival material is framed around facts as he attempts to educate the reader with meticulous details on population numbers, battle statistics and the names of founding members of British outposts in India. His

collection had far reaching audiences. Firstly, his lecture series on the history of Empire in India was delivered at the Anglo-Portuguese Institute in Lisbon in December 1939. It would have been attended by European academics and students. Whilst, little evidence is available on the Anglo-Portuguese Institute, considering the mutual interest the UK and Portugal had in India during the early-colonial period, and the ongoing Anglo-Portuguese Alliance established in 1373 (Stone 1975: 744), it is likely that Henry's conference would have resonated with a contemporary bourgeois society, which at the time was watching growing instability in Europe and the rest of the world. Secondly, his articles were frequently published in the Diocesan records informing the knowledge of other Chaplains in India. Finally, other chapters in his collection were researched but remained unpublished. Henry stated that he found his manuscripts in boxes decades after they were originally written; now they are available to read, review and research by students, staff and the public in the Special Collections at the University of Exeter.

Henry and Violet returned to their home county of Devon permanently after two world wars and almost 35-years moving between curacies in India, the UK and Portugal. The Fulford-Williams family had left India by 1937, at which point Henry had 'done his full term of duty under the Government of India Ecclesiastical Establishment' (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch), secured his pension, and returned with his wife to England where his grown-up sons were attending schools and universities, and his daughter established a family. Henry continued to serve the church until 1956 and died a decade later. It is not clear whether this collection of 'India Articles' was donated by the author himself, or after his death; however, before it arrived at the Special Collections of the University, it was housed in Exeter Cathedral Library (University of Exeter 2018b).

As a Chaplain employed by the army and based at British command hubs in India and Iraq, Henry's work is rife with controversies and contradictions, discusses changing powers, and, in many ways, his lecture notes read as a historiography of India, 'written by the victors'¹⁶:

¹⁶ A phrase coined by European politicians/imperialists such as Bonaparte and Churchill to indicate that History has many unheard stories but the narrative people remember, the one that counts, is always produced by the 'winners', in this case, the colonial powers.

Wellesley was the first governor-general who grasped the real position of the British in India [...] His policy was that peace and order in India were best secured by British administration.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture III).

The existence of a difference in power between the coloniser and the colonised, implies there is no need to consider intent, regardless of the individual's values they will always be perpetuating systemic difference. This is perhaps true when reading Henry's Lecture Notes where, as detailed above he frequently asserts the benefits of colonial leadership. However, it is important not to completely disregard 'intent' from analysis. There is a sense of genuine interest, attention and care in Henry's personal notes and unpublished works confirming that, in the complex colonial environment, colonialists are multifaceted, providing evidence of exploitative power relations, as well as ways in which this dynamic was negotiated by individuals, beyond a state profit-making agenda on behalf of the British Government. His attention to detail and relish in interacting with the local peoples suggests he does not always consider himself superior and separate from the colonial other.

In contrast to her husband's collection, Violet's memoir has been edited for publication in digital form. *Under My Patchwork Quilt: The Life and Times of an Edwardian English Lady*, was published in 2010 as an Amazon Kindle eBook by GNB Publications (Fulford Williams 2010). Perhaps inspired by her early career as a textile designer, each chapter in her memoir is named after a different 'patch' making up a quilt or blanket, narrating Violet's childhood, married life and retirement. This edition was revised by Violet's great-niece Candida Slater, but was privately published in 1968 by Violet herself, shortly before her death aged 80. Importantly this is not an extract from her diary, Violet wrote her story with the intention that it should be read. She employs narrative devices to hook the reader, emphasises stories she believed to be most interesting and excluded others. Original copies of the memoir exist, owned by her heirs, however the published version has been edited throughout. Slater has added explanations and glossaries to her aunt's writing. This, coupled with Violet's own editing eye: 'The next few patches of my life would have but little interest to the readers of these reminiscences' (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch) make it difficult to assess how much of her story is missing. In comparison to her husband's 'India Articles',

Violet's personal narrative offers detailed descriptions of their everyday life raising a family, supporting their community, and moving between army bases in India. It is worth noting that Henry also contributed two chapters to the memoir, describing their time in Lisbon helping refugees and the war effort from 1939.

Both Henry's collection and Violet's memoir are acts of nostalgia, which, as Walder argues 'in a curious way connects people across historical as well as national and personal boundaries' (2011: 1). Having lost her youngest son at the end of World War Two, retired to Devon, and writing in 1968, post-Indian independence, Violet started to record her personal experience of the colonies. She reflected on the life she had and in so doing, reconnected with the people, homes, objects and animals she encountered, as well as her young growing family. Walder outlines the complexity of nostalgia, being an opportunity to reflect as well as reconstruct and find new truths (2011: 3), where a 'tenderness towards ourselves may easily blind us to the pasts of others' (*ibid.*: 7). Violet did not write her memoir merely to celebrate empire and justify her attitudes as a colonialist – India was a home for her, her husband and children from her early twenties. This writing was a new way to experience old things in a time of rapid change.

The third of nine children, Violet, unlike her siblings brought up in South Africa, was sent with her brother Ralph to England, to be raised by her grandparents. She recalls a charmed life, a beloved South Africa, replaced with an even more beloved Devon where she met her sweetheart and later, husband, Henry aged five, at a birthday party (Fulford Williams 2010: Third Patch). Her memoir is full of pastoral reminiscence, painting the days in which life was simpler, fun was had by playing tricks on the servants and great entertainment was found in the faux pas of two ladies wearing the same 'blue foulard dress' to a garden party (*ibid.*: Fourth Patch). It is difficult not to be drawn into a picturesque scene of country opulence. In a photograph included in the Autobiography, simply termed 'The Staff at Passaford in 1897' it appears that the house had at least 7 permanent employees, serving only Violet, her grandparents and brother. No family members are present in the photograph, perhaps they took it separately from the staff, perhaps it was a matter of space.

According to Slater, her family was full of 'extraordinary women- artists, blue-stockings, intrepid travellers in Africa, China and India- and raconteurs of naughty jokes in piercing cut-glass accents, in the middle of respectable tea-shops' (Slater in Fulford Williams 2010: Introduction). Based on this assessment I understand Slater's motivation in publishing the memoir. At this time of greater equality and growing interest in the gendered narratives of history¹⁷, the image of female pioneers in the Edwardian period is appealing. A family of bold women growing up and later settling in the colonies, before retiring to Devonshire villages to share in raucous afternoon parties, recounting stories and jokes, meets current public demand and to some extent political interest.

She then spent most of her married life as the wife of a clergyman abroad, which she refers to very firmly [...] as 'our job'.

(Slater in Fulford Williams 2010: Introduction).

Violet's family represent a special moment in the British Empire, before it began to break down, during the uncertainty of the world wars and at a time when women were often relied upon to continue family lines, make house and bring up children¹⁸. Bush notes that during the Edwardian period, propaganda was produced to encourage white women to emigrate within the Empire, 'to care not only for husbands and children, but for all those whose lesser race and lower morals marked them out as in need of imperious maternity' (Bush 1994: 386). This 'benevolence' is apparent in Violet's life, as she left England engaged to a Curate, and arrived in India, to marry him and begin 'their' work. She shared in his vocation and answered the Empire's call for white, British women to be a symbol of the caring hand of the metropole. Similarly in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Chaudhuri and Strobel state that: 'British and American women missionaries, went to the colonies to transplant Western values and culture' (1992: 10). While not deployed as a missionary in India, Violet, working within the curacies her husband was assigned, enacted a 'maternal' role (*ibid.*). She promoted her white, middle-class, British values through the structure of her home, management of household staff and her children (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch), as well as her engagements within the local community,

¹⁷ According to the Routledge Encyclopaedia of Narrative Theory: 'Since the late 1990's feminist narratology has increasingly opted for a more inclusive gender-conscious orientation' (Allrath and Gymnich 2010: 198).

¹⁸ It is important to note here that through suffrage movements and changing political values this attitude was being challenged and reformed.

from charitable work at leprosy asylums (*ibid.*: Sixth Patch), to afternoon tea with middle-class, Indian women (*ibid.*: Eighth Patch).

Violet Fulford Williams (née Veale), came from an upper middle-class background and experienced an affluent upbringing. Initially and rather traumatically separated from her Mother, Father and Elder Siblings (Fulford Williams 2010: First Patch), she was taken at the age of five, with her brother Ralph from South Africa, to Devon, to live in the Passaford country estate her grandfather owned. Whilst Violet and Henry were of a similar socio-economic background, Violet gives the impression that she socialised with the upper echelons of society in Exeter and Crediton, her grandmother and grandfather being particular friends of Redvers Buller and his wife. Buller was and remains to be a notorious Victorian colonialist (Inside Out Southwest 2004), leading many of the South African Zulu battles and a General in the Second Boer War which left c.50,000 South African citizens (including women and children) dead, and many in concentration camps (Pretorius 2011). His legacy continues to be memorialised through a statue in central Exeter.

In an editor's note, Slater explains that the Veale family had built a tradition of grandparents raising the children in England, with Violet's father brought up at Passaford, by his aristocratic grandmother Emily Neville, whilst his parents remained in South Africa buying and developing farmland, a key revenue stream for the estate and lavish lifestyle of these country gentry. Both Violet and her brother attended preparatory and private single-sex schools; a classically British education for the bourgeoisie, a place isolated from the colonies, from the Dutch colonialists and non-white South African others, and a place as Stoler suggests, to learn 'civility, self-control, self-discipline, self-determination' (Stoler 1995: 8). Whilst Violet and Slater offer very full biographies on the Veale family history there is an imbalance in the archival collections in terms of Henry's upbringing and family history. Henry was sent with his younger brother from India, where his father was employed in the Civil Service, to England, to be brought up by his Aunts and schooled in elite institutions such as Cambridge University (Fulford Williams 2010: Third Patch). What does this tradition of exclusion tell us about Violet's family and acquaintances? Reading the subtext of her story, Violet was

taken from the colonies and educated in Europe, giving her greater access to marriage prospects and to participate in the development of the British Empire.

Stoler observes a similar practice in the Dutch East Indies where, upper/middle-class white children were effectively separated from other races, classes, and their 'native' nannies for their education, from a very early age (as young as 2) to avoid becoming what Administrators termed 'inlandische kinderen' (Stoler 1995: 122). Violet and Henry's exclusive education in the UK instead of the colonies, reminds them of their rank in the metropole as members of upper middle-class families. It also appears to be a choice to instil an imperial mindset, maintaining the 'Britishness', traditions and tastes of white children. Importantly for the perpetuation of imperial administration, new generations of civil servants who would eventually manage the colonies required a British Education. Viswanathan finds that the Government of India's Civil Service Exam included large sections on English Literature hence, to be sent home was a form of training not only to acquire British, middle-class behaviours but also the knowledge necessary to secure government jobs (Viswanathan 2015: 2) outside of the metropole.

Further cementing Violet's class, she attended Lausanne Finishing School in Switzerland, an institution created for high ranking white women to become accomplished members of society: speaking several languages, able to host lavish events and with a proper understanding of etiquette. Violet terms her European Education 'Globe Polish' (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch). This is an interesting comment, as she suggests that worldliness and the ability to travel is what completes a person. By implication those who cannot travel, will not be able to attain 'polish'. This is an example of what Edwardian propaganda termed 'the right sort of woman' (Bush 1994: 386), one empowered to emigrate within the colonies by virtue of her education and position in society. A movement founded on and by women who had 'feminist historical origins with a strong strand of Anglican Tory imperialism [...] set within the uncertain context of re-forming class and gender categories' (*ibid.*). They provoked and instigated change yet remained privileged in the classist, racist, and financial structure of power. Taking Violet's lead, a good amount of education, both in the UK and abroad, properly equipped a woman for the world. Her ability to perform her duties as Henry's wife in India, was established through a European education.

Upon her Grandfather's death, Violet's parents returned to England permanently, and her father began to sell off properties, including the family estate. Contradicting the final will, Ralph, Violet's younger brother, was sent back to South Africa, the financial provision for his education taken by his father and his schooling cut short. Although Violet breezes past these issues and focuses instead on her travels in France and Germany with her grandmother, there is an awkwardness in the way she discusses her parents and their choices, which implies her disapproval. Considering Violet lost her childhood home through her father's sales; that her closest sibling was unable to complete higher education; and that both parents had been absent in their lives for around 14 years (Fulford Williams 2010: Educational Patches), only returning to claim their inheritance, it is no surprise that Violet does not wholly condone her father's behaviour. This experience is explored in 'Chapter 4: Educational Patches' of her memoir; in a sense then, the family dynamic was an opportunity for Violet to learn not only about unfair inheritance practices but also the reality of her parents who had been distant, romantic figures in her young memories of South Africa¹⁹.

During this time Henry 'had left Cheltenham, and had taken his degree at Clare College, Cambridge. He had been Ordained Deacon and Priest at Exeter Cathedral' (Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch). Returning to Devon, after some years away at exclusive schools and universities, Henry became a Curate at Dawlish. The couple then moved to London, where after attending a commercial design school in Lambeth, Violet took a job as a textile designer in Regent Street, whilst Henry continued to work as a Priest until he applied to the Indian Ecclesiastical Department to serve as an Officer in the Royal Artillery Church Division (R.A. Ch.D.). After the couple had participated in a rigorous interview process, they were dispatched to India where they married the day after Violet arrived. This ceremony was symbolic of living morally and respectfully, as well as the commitment Violet made to Henry's work, knowing she would be separated from her family and be moving across the Indian Subcontinent according to her husband's assignments.

¹⁹ As will be explored in Chapter 2, Violet and Henry's children stayed in India for much longer than their parents had been in the colonies. Perhaps a response by Violet to keep her children closer than she had been to her parents (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

Mobilising Foucault's framework of power and control to better understand colonial relationships, Stoler suggests that 'European born wives and white endogamy came to define the new style of a modern colony' (Stoler 1995: 44). In her chapter 'Placing Race', bourgeois authority and identity were cemented in the union of white, middle-class administrators and soldiers, marrying into their own group. The exogamy that had existed and been encouraged in the past became illegitimate. The marriage between Henry and Violet, long-planned and agreed between their families in England, took place in India before they lived together. In a similar way to the bourgeoisie in the Dutch Indies, by the late-colonial period, middle-class, British citizens in India created racially restrictive family units, concentrating power, European education and values in rigidly regulated class groups. As Stoler suggests, power exists at the intersection of race, education, class and to some extent, location. Violet and Henry were white, highly educated, upper middle-class citizens from the South of England, married in the colonies but symbolic of the metropole.

The other collections I have accessed and analysed for this research project pertain to Sir Leonard Wilfred James Costello. Costello was born in London and educated at an independent boys' boarding school, Dulwich College, before attending Cambridge University to study law. He obtained a BA, LLB, and MA between 1900 and 1906 (ACAD n.d.). Costello was admitted to Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and would have been four years older than Henry so, it is unlikely that they socialised together. However, the similarity between their upbringing and interests are undeniable. Costello was an academic, regularly participating in and contributing to a range of academic and political societies, employed as a lecturer at LCC and University College Nottingham (ACAD n.d.). As discussed previously, Henry delivered lectures at the Anglo-Portuguese Institute in Lisbon in 1939. Just as Henry valued facts, dates and accuracy, Costello revised the Pocket Law Lexicon in 1921, refining key legal terminology and disseminating this knowledge through a hardback book. Whilst precise use of language was important for his work as a Barrister and later a Judge, his attention to the minutiae is important when considering Costello's relationship with India, his colleagues, and interactions in the colony.

Before the Pocket Law Lexicon, Costello's lecture series, *The Law Relating to Engineering* was published in 1911, a six-part course given between 1910 and 1911 at Caxton Hall, Westminster (Costello 2012). Costello instructed industry leaders, members of the Society of Engineers and Junior Institution of Engineers, on legal compliance, responsibility and ramifications in engineering activities. An expert of British industry and trade, in 1919 he was published again, this time *The Profiteering Act, 1919, Fully Annotated*. The Profiteering Act protected metropolitan financial interests especially in the economically strained interwar period, when Costello served as a puisne and high court judge in India's Supreme Courts. Interestingly both the lecture series and annotated guide have been republished in 2012 and 2010 respectively (Costello 2012; Gale n.d.); clearly Costello's work continues to be relevant to legal practices today, despite changes to the law and access to modern resources. *The Profiteering Act 1919*, is now part of a collection of guides and treatises written by 'the most influential writers and key legal thinkers of the time' (Gale n.d.), each reviewing different legislation to inform professionals on the intricacies and applications of British and American Legal frameworks (*ibid.*).

Costello continued practicing as a Barrister in the UK until 1926, when he was appointed as a Puisne Judge for the Calcutta High Court (India Office Records and Private Papers 1924-1926). Unlike Violet and Henry who arrived in India in 1914 as young newlyweds, Costello was sent to the colony as a middle aged man of 45. He was part of a legacy dating back to 1774, and the efforts of the East India Company and later Government of India to professionalise the legal system in India, modelled on the British Courts (Schmitthener 1969: 343). According to Schmitthener, the 'establishment of the Supreme Court brought recognition, wealth, and prestige to the legal profession and brought a steady flow of well trained barristers and solicitors into Calcutta' (*ibid.*). These courts in turn legitimised Britain's legal management of the colony, through the stipulation that barristers be trained and serve in the metropole for five years before working in the Supreme Courts. This privileged white, middle-class colonialists over their Indian peers. In 1926, the year Costello arrived in India, the 'India Bar Councils Act' was brought into effect (Schmitthener 1969: 360). It allowed a panel of High Court selected judges, legal professionals and advocates to decide on the 'legal education, qualification for enrolment, discipline and control of the profession'

(*ibid.*) in each Indian district. Costello would have been selected as a junior judge, based on the criteria set out by the Calcutta High Court Bar Council.

Exploring rioting in Bengal in 1926, Dutta demonstrates that there were at least 11 recorded incidents in which the Government of India intervened. These were over seemingly minor concerns, motivated by the 'mobilising force' (Dutta 1990: 41) of contested spaces. In Calcutta alone, 110 were killed (*ibid.*: 38) after a Hindu parade drummer continued to play outside the 'Dinu Chamrawalla's mosque when the muezzin was about to commence the azan' (*ibid.*: 42). Controversies surrounding music playing outside mosques, and cow slaughter led to violent conflicts between Hindus, Muslims and British Officials and perhaps expressed something of the tension surrounding rights to rule (*ibid.*: 39). Dutta states that 'Muslim objections argued that mosques were a place for continuous prayer. Thus music could never be permitted' (1990: 42). In many ways Costello arrived in India at a time when the empire began to decline, after the economic and political strain of the First World War, with growing discussions around 'the idea of the Indian 'nation', and communal discourse' (*ibid.*: 38). As will be discussed later, the inconsistent incorporation and hybridisation of existing India legal codes with British legal practices (Newbiggin 2009: 83) meant not everyone benefitted equally from colonial government. While Costello arrived to be an unbiased vehicle for the application of High Court laws, he was in fact a product of the metropolitan core, sent to the periphery to reinforce fundamentally unequal approaches by the Government of India towards the interests of Christian, Hindu and Muslim citizens/subjects in the colony. This is further reinforced by what Dutta describes as an 'intimate relationship' (1990: 47) built between British Authorities and specific political leaders such as Sir Abdur Rahim who peacefully advocated for a communalism in which they would benefit as individuals, at the expense of Indian communities (*ibid.*: 39). In this politically charged landscape, Costello began his position as Puisne Judge.

Costello worked in India for 14 years, serving as a Judge, securing his pension from the Government of India after 12 years. He emphasises in numerous correspondence with various British Officials that he was devoted to his position and rarely took all of the leave he was entitled to:

As I have taken comparatively small amount of leave during the whole course of my service as a judge in India I have a considerable amount of leave to my credit and I have asked the government of India to give me an extension of my present leave so that I may be able to undertake the national service work mentioned above.

(Costello 1939b).

Through his perseverance, he had climbed the ranks of the legal system, becoming Acting Chief Justice of Bengal in 1937. This was a high-profile position of authority, encompassing high court rulings for the former colonial capital of India, Calcutta. As a Judge he would have had significant rights and responsibilities, appointed to a position of trust and honour making decisions which balanced the interests of the metropole, British legal frameworks, advice given by junior judges, and the intricacies of individual cases. Whilst his professional title empowered him to pass judgement and speak his mind, it forced him to do so. As a figurehead for British legal authority, he had to implement and uphold the standards established by policy makers and parliament in the UK, as well as administrators in India. It is important to remember that his authority, and by extension position, was contingent on his ability to make decisions to preserve colonial interests.

The collection held at the University of Exeter pertains to his work as a Judge on his last case in India, the Bhawal Sannyasi Appeal. Encompassing 10 boxes of court transcripts made up of c.80 typescript thread bound books; 8 'oversized' photo albums; and clippings from Calcutta newspaper, *The Statesman*. This collection is not only extensive, it is also diverse and personally collected by Costello. The material was donated in two parts, in 1974 (two years after Costello's death) the court papers were donated to the University's Law Department. According to Archive Records, the photographs were added 34 years later in 2008 (University of Exeter 2018a). It is fascinating that Costello chose to keep all of the court papers, newspaper clippings and photographs from the case until his death. The collection offers some insight into his mentality as a sort of 'colonial collector', where this case, deciding on the identity of an Indian Prince, may well have been a career highlight. The fact that this private information was kept with him and no provision made for it after his death, may indicate Costello's (dis)regard for confidentiality, privileged information and the rights of Indian citizens/subjects. The hundreds of newspaper cuttings referring

to the case allowed him, and myself as a researcher, to understand popular reaction in India to the opinions he expressed in Court, and perhaps he used media insight to inform his position and ruling. Finally the completeness of the collection itself deserves some scrutiny, especially as it contains envelopes which are empty and may have once held important notes and correspondence absent from the archived material (Costello 1939a).

The National Portrait Gallery holds seven photographs of Costello, dated between 1922 and 1951 (National Portrait Gallery n.d.). This was the peak of his legal and political career: his promotion to judge in India and the UK, his successful campaign and election as Liberal MP for Huntingdonshire in 1923, his knighthood in 1935, as well as his tenure as Sherriff. The other archival resource I have studied is a 94-page file from the India Office Records and Private Papers, containing a variety of correspondence to, from and about Costello, housed in the British Library. Unlike the resources in the University of Exeter's special collections, this file was not donated by his family but, was written and consolidated by government administrators and politicians between 1939 and 1941. The very existence of this file and its preservation evidence the status and importance of Costello as an individual in Late-Colonial India and the UK during World War Two (Costello 1939b).

Whilst serving in India, Costello was knighted, recognising his political influence. On returning to the UK, he became High Sherriff of Exeter in 1945 (Pugsley 2008) and seems to have been motivated throughout his life by a strong sense of contributing to his community, on an international and local scale. At the time of his selection, he was a Chief Justice working in Devon Courts and presiding over important county cases. As Sherriff he promoted community engagement at conferences and events with dignitaries, officials and visitors, all the while employed as a Judge, enforcing the law on those he represented. One could question whether throughout Costello's professional career, he was willing to be in positions of conflicting interests. This monopoly of power has now been addressed by changes in High Sherriff's Association policy, as 'full-time members of the judiciary' (High Sherriffs' Association n.d.) are not allowed to be appointed to the role. It has always been a position selected by the Queen's Council (much like knighthoods) under advisement from the Privy Council and Judge Circuit.

Considering Costello's knighthood, service as a Liberal MP, and track record as a Judge, it is very likely that he was well known to the appointment committees. In both the UK and India, Costello functioned in ceremonial and authoritative positions. His appointment in Devon paralleled his role in the colony as a visible member of white, upper-middle class society, advocating community action, law and good morals. As a figurehead he stood in support of King and Country, a mouthpiece for the metropole in India and for law and government in Devon.

Costello left behind tangible evidence of his experience of/in India through his personally collected court papers which, evidence his unique position on the case, and information he had to hand when making his ruling on the identity of the Indian prince, Ramendra Narayan Roy. Functioning on a larger scale, the India Office correspondence provide a vital window into the massive administrative mechanisms in place which enabled Costello to consolidate evidence and send his decision back to India when he was resident in the UK. These papers demonstrate the social institutions established by colonial leaders, the way information was recorded and shared, and through this, the complex interactions between colonial-legal and metropolitan-governmental frameworks.

Having reflected on the composition of the collections, contextual reading and methodological approach of this research, I would now like to introduce the empirical research and case studies investigated. As previously summarised, the next chapter opens with a more detailed exploration of Violet and Henry's collections and narratives of leisure and homelife. Importantly I will consider how their gendered identity changes the scale of their commentary as Violet focuses primarily on the private space and Henry's articles and lecture series comment on broader public institutions such as universities and festivals.

Chapter 2: Leisure and Homelife

Violet's memoir articulates the pressures her family faced in India, beginning in 1914 as a newlywed couple, having three children, and establishing homes in Dacca, Lebong, Howrah, Kalka, Darjeeling, Patna and Bankipur (Fulford Williams 2010). Chronologically narrating their time in India, Violet describes the structure of her home, the parenting decisions the couple made, as well as her interactions with household staff. Conversely throughout Henry's collection there is a notable absence of reference to the domestic space or his immediate family; instead he focuses on broader institutions and structures. This chapter will begin by exploring the couple's consideration of education in India, Violet's account of a missionary school (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch) she admired and visited, as well as Henry's focus on policy decisions which restructured the Indian education system (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV). I will consider the differing roles and responsibilities Henry and Violet had in raising their white, middle-class children Clare, Charles and Robin, from the financial pressure of schooling to controlling their behaviours (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). Finally, through the trope of animal stories, I will explore how the couple attempted to control the natural environment. Here Henry's gaze is firmly on the trade opportunities and administrative structures which account for and are impacted by animals in the colony (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII). This is quite unlike the entertaining though frequently hyperbolic animal stories in Violet's memoir which describe home invasions by rats and snakes (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

Accounts of Indian education systems:

As the couple's children, Clare, Charles and Robin grow up, Violet's memoir grapples with the idea of a 'colonial education', of raising her children well, as well as the different expectations British colonialists placed on educating European and Indian children.

While on a walking holiday, Henry and Violet stay for a few days at:

A most remarkable mission-founded and managed by Dr. Graham. It was, and I understand still is, a home where children in difficult circumstances are gathered, boarded and educated. Carefully chosen house mothers and school-masters look after the happiness of the children of every colour and class, who find their childhood guided under the care of this great man and his wife. These young people are trained

and equipped to take their places in the world in which they must live in when they leave the protection of the Kalimpong Mission.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

The narrative of a kindly doctor and his wife 'gathering', raising and protecting Anglo-Indian children 'of every colour and class' (*ibid.*) is paternalistic. The white doctor is presented as the benevolent, saviour of these potentially homeless, certainly impoverished children who may well be the offspring of European and Indian parents, breaching clear racial boundaries. Importantly what were the so-called 'difficult circumstances', and how were they deemed to be 'difficult'? Was this a moral, financial or racial assessment of their living environment? Stoler highlights that many schools were established in the Dutch East Indies to keep 'children from the immoral clutches of native nursemaids, native play-mates and most importantly native-mothers' (1995: 122). Whilst education in the colonies was not enacted uniformly between places or imperial powers, reading Stoler's analysis alongside Violet's memoir, conditioning of mixed-race children to fit a certain mould appears to be a practice similar in both 'British India' and the 'Dutch East Indies'. The institution filled Violet with tension and admiration because boundaries were being transgressed, rebuilt and strengthened. She was empathetic towards the children and advocated for these boarding schools yet, was uncomfortable with those it educated and supported. In her commentary we see that the doctor did not instil aspiration, to become wealthy, to climb the class ladder or, take a higher station in society, the couple merely skilled these children to live in a specific context, 'equipped' to take a designated 'place', outside of white society and within the confines of their poverty and illegitimacy. It was a position Violet approved of.

Arnold finds that many of the boarding schools established for Anglo-Indian (and poor white) orphans in India, were intended to take soldier's children out of the harmful, 'corrupt' barrack setting:

In the hills, it was argued, children would grow up in an almost European climate with European physical and moral attributes. This represented, symbolically as well as literally, a turning away from the India of the plains and the substitution of a make-believe Britain in the hills.

(Arnold 1979: 111).

The very setting of the orphanages was contrived, essentially gated communities of mixed race children, socialised together in a specific climate to emulate their European counterparts. In fact, by '1905 there were some sixty European schools and orphanages along the southern slopes of the Himalayas with about 5,400 pupils' (*ibid.*: 109). The Kalimpong Mission was no exception, set in a hilltop location in the Himalaya foothills, it was founded with a similar vision in mind: to keep mixed-race children away from an 'Indian' setting. The school's structure was particularly British, to board the children in a separate establishment, governed by 'approved' personnel, created a fictive interaction and control, establishing the children not just as 'other' from their white benefactors but also from their peers in India. Buettner states that schools were 'crucial spaces in which interdependent racial and class identities were brought to the surface and often reconstituted' (2000: 278). At the time Henry and Violet visited the Kalimpong Mission in the 1920's, it is likely that all of the student base was mixed-race. In his India Notes, Henry recognised that missions, religious and political conversion functioned through the 'slow infiltration of a given population by Christians' (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter IV). Clearly the school represented an opportunity for the Government of India to secure greater control over mixed-race subjects through education. The perfect environment to mould the values of a new generation which threatened to breach racial boundaries, hence Dr. Graham's Homes contributed to racialisation in Late-Colonial India.

Between 1947 and 1951, Dr. Graham's Mission was in receipt of a grant of R.s. 10,000 per annum from the Government of India's Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education 1951: 48). The National Archive of India holds records of the various applications the Kalimpong Mission made for support. However, the limited number of non-Anglo-Indians enrolled at the school prevented it securing further financial aid. In spite of providing extensive break-downs of their expenditure and student populations, the Ministry of Education stipulated that the percentage of 'admissions [...to] communities other than Anglo-Indians' should be at least 40% (Ministry of Education 1951: 59) in order to secure substantial funding. In 1947-48 the school's non-Anglo-Indian population was just 4.6%, by 1951-52 it was 12.5% (*ibid.*: 57). Habib reflects on the democratisation initiatives of Maulana Azad, the first Minister for Education in India post-independence. Azad attempted to reform a system 'shaped by non-nationals in non-national interests' (Habib

2015: 239). The growing population of non-Anglo-Indian students attending Dr. Graham's Homes, may have been the school's response to new government policies facilitating greater access to education.

According to the Dr. Graham's Homes website, he and his wife actively encouraged 'Cottage Industries', sustainable, traditional crafts that would enable the children to later participate in small-scale trade (Dr. Graham's Homes 2010a). In practical terms, the crafts the students participated in may have functioned as an additional revenue stream for the school (Arnold 1979: 111). Moreover, this curriculum may also have formed part of the Gandhian approach to a rounded education and by extension, society, through handicrafts, an interactive, 'socially useful activity' (Kabir 1955: 94).

Developing Foucault's concept of bourgeois class-relations in Europe with colonial race relations, Stoler suggests that race and class dialogues mirror each other, 'racism was crucial to disciplining the poor' (Stoler 1995: 131). The children in Dr. Graham's Mission were not only a racialised other but separated by class, their education and environment. They were therefore discouraged and prevented from entering the upper echelons of colonial society. These were not 'institutions for children who could expect to leave India. They were intended to fit them for 'useful', but emphatically subordinate, roles in colonial society commensurate with their race and their class origins' (Arnold 1979: 110). Considering Violet's comment about the mixed-race pupils at Dr. Graham's Homes being 'equipped to take their places in the world' (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch), this form of segregation ensured they were 'subjects' of empire, without the power, education or support to become 'citizens' (Stoler 1995: 133; Jayal 2013). Simultaneously this meant that Clare, Charles and Robin, white children born in India, remained superior.

Dr. Graham's Homes, continues to exist as a legacy of colonial administration in India, now instead of supporting children in 'distress', it is a fee paying school where, by the time the children have reached 6th form, parents contribute £2,221.65 per child, per year (Dr. Graham's Homes 2016). Celebrating the school's founders, the grounds boast a chapel erected in honour of Mrs Graham, as well as an onsite museum. The cottage residencies established to board

students continue to exist, emphasising its history. Now in order to 'provide opportunities for poor Anglo-Indian children, the very children Dr. Graham set out to help when he established in the Homes in 1900' (Dr. Graham's Homes 2010b), the school has introduced a sponsorship scheme. People are encouraged to subsidise school fees in exchange for photographs, visits, letters from the child, progress reports and 'a feeling of joy' (*ibid.*). While Dr. Graham and his wife, much like, Violet and Henry, may have been motivated to do good, the promotion of gratitude within a structure of unequal power, maintains the school's colonial legacy. The benevolent patron figure who seeks to reform and educate the 'less fortunate' continues to exist, a symbol of the empire Violet experienced 100 years ago. Violet and Henry's stay at the Kalimpong Mission was relatively short, compared to the decades the couple spent in India, so her motivation in recording and reminiscing about the orphanage is unclear. It does however, provide her an opportunity to celebrate the 'goodness' and 'generosity' of the British Empire and its white citizens in the colonies, therefore glorifying conceptions of the 'Raj' (Rosaldo 1989).

Unlike his wife's first-hand account of the Indian education system, Henry Fulford Williams employs a scholarly tone and considers education as part of colonial and state policies. Discussing the East India Company's attempts to introduce universal education standards during his Lisbon lecture series he stated these policies:

had good results, it brought India into Western thought, made medical and technical education possible, but it led to a loss of Indian culture, and produced many graduates with low qualifications and few avenues of employment.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV).

The use of the phrase 'Western thought', is very interesting, and implies philosophical conversion, impacting academia, politics, the economy, morality, class and race. Whilst Henry advocates religious conversion in enabling 'educational growth' (*ibid.*), a core tenet of his own profession as a Chaplain, he implies the implementation of Western schooling was less advantageous. Here Henry outlined and to some extent critiqued the 'partial reform' which, according to Bhabha, resulted in 'Mimicry', 'authorized versions of otherness' (1984: 127). However, Henry's critique of this process and apparent cognisance of its negative

consequences, came only after the damage had already been done, and worked as an attempt to negate responsibility. Therefore, his reflection on the 'loss of Indian Culture' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV) could be considered imperialist nostalgia (Rosaldo 1989). Deployed as a member of the Royal Artillery Church Division, Henry embodies cultural and territorial colonial practices as a Christian missionary seeking reform, with the power to use coercive force in the British Empire. If 'imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination' (Rosaldo 1989: 108). Henry's lecture series can be read in two ways, informed by his background as a priest and historian, he clearly admired and appreciated the Indian culture and tradition he perceived to be lost. On the other hand, it is his middle class socio-economic background that makes him complicit in normative Eurocentric discourses, as everything he studies and writes about is compared to his white, British upbringing. Following Rosaldo, through 'innocently yearning' for the loss of 'culture' enforced by Western teaching, Henry denied his own culpability.

According to his lecture notes, schools following Western policies in no way reflected the academic rigour or attainment of those in Europe. Individuals educated in India, were automatically deemed 'less than' through his narrative, reinforcing the suggestion that school comes to define your place in society in Late-Colonial India. Henry implies that a lack of hard matriculation exams or high-quality facilities meant, 'a tendency towards lower standards of it and so throughout the ladder' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture V). His assessment of the quality of Indian institutions is not founded on personal experience, rather it represents his opinion as an outsider looking in at the schooling system. Tenhunen and Säävälä state that colonial practices heightened 'ethnic conflicts between the Hindus and Muslims and the growth of caste-based politics' (2012: 14). This is in part due to the opportunities created by university education²⁰, more easily accessible for 'elite Hindu's' (*ibid.*) who as a result, could secure high profile jobs in politics, administration, law, and medicine. Henry's observations of the quality of education within India and compared to Britain, help to nuance and extend Bhabha's Mimic men framework. 'Mimic men' existed along a spectrum,

²⁰ For example the Indian Civil Service exam effectively excluded candidates who had not studied in Britain through its emphasis on English Literature (Viswanathan 2015: 2).

rather than clearly divided between the educated coloniser and colonised. Those Indian subjects schooled in England would have been considered more knowledgeable, closer to 'Western thought' than poor, 'domiciled', white Europeans educated through the Indian school system. Furthermore, class complicates the 'Mimic' interaction. An upper-class western educated Indian may be a mimic of his white contemporary, however, those lower middle-class Indians, highly educated in the colony but lacking the means to attend a European school or university, could be considered mimics of other western-educated, Indian men. To coin Bhabha's phrase, they would be not quite/ not white/ not wealthy (Bhabha 1984: 132).

In his lecture 'Crown Government 1758-1905' Henry critiques the Indian National Congress (INC), suggesting it 'tends to be the focus of all anti-British thought and to be theoretic rather than constructive in its suggestions and debates' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture V). The INC in Henry's account emphasised a specific type of Indian Nationalism and yet possessed and valued a political process which emanated political hierarchies of the metropole in terms of a few wealthy, powerful figures debating decisions made on behalf of a larger population. Henry credited members of the INC with advanced, (western) education but, discredited their political views and process. He implied that these Indian revolutionaries were distanced from reality, in contrast to himself who although an outsider, was a man of action, a member of the military, undertaking a vocational career. By 1939, Henry held a privileged position delivering lectures in Portugal. He taught wealthy, educated Europeans about India, working outside of the administrative process in the colonies, with little to no direct interaction with the INC as a political body. It is undeniable then, that Henry expressed his opinion of the INC in a declarative manner, without having to be accountable for the critiques he shared.

In sum, Violet glorifying and recording the work of Dr. and Mrs Graham's mission and the positive influence of colonialists justified race-based limitations to education. This in turn reinforced the categorisation of Anglo-Indian children as separate from white, middle-class children such as Clare, Charles and Robin who were also born in the colonies (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). Henry on the other hand, critiques Indian institutions as inadequate, and further complicating this by suggesting the outcomes of colonialist interventions were

often damaging and inappropriate (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV). Having explored Violet and Henry's comments on broader education systems and institutions for non-European subjects, I would like to return to Violet's memoir; her romanticised story of her children's upbringing in India, the practical decisions and responsibilities she shouldered in managing their behaviours.

Educating and managing the Fulford Williams Children:

One of the few servants who is named in the text is Mili Didi, Clare and Charles' devoted ayah (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch) who, helped Violet to give birth when she went into early labour²¹. In a photograph taken at the Lebong chaplaincy, Mili Didi stands in a western button down jacket, white pleated skirt with large beaded necklaces and bracelets, between Clare and Charles who are holding toys. Her position between the children indicates her pivotal role in the family as their carer and guardian (*ibid.*), and the Fulford Williams' status to afford her services. The ayah cared for and to some extent educated Clare and Charles. She was an implicitly trusted member of their household, and a companion to Violet, her role extending from nanny, to lady's maid.

All three of Violet's children were born in India, putting them at risk of 'domiciled' status (Buettner 2000: 280). Buettner suggests that both race and physical space were integral to establishing racial categories, hence a white, European who did not maintain strong connections with the metropole, in effect became deemed Eurasian or Anglo-Indian (*ibid.*). The racial and cultural identity of Clare, Charles and Robin became problematized by their birthplace, the fact that they did not visit England until they were at least five years old, and did not return to be educated in the Britain until they were around ten.

The imagery of Violet's descriptions of the Lebong Chaplaincy are full of the splendour and spectacle of nature and, articulate a kind of domestic bliss where:

I and the children and Mili Didi our beloved ayah, spent a great part of our time in the garden, where there was always interest for us all in the trees, flowers, birds, wonderful butterflies and monkeys swinging from tree to tree.

²¹ This was quite unlike Henry's sister, who was sent back to Britain to have her first child and find a nanny (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

Growing up in relatively isolated regions in India, the children interacted with the local Indian community, including Mili Didi and the family's Chaprassi (bearer) who Violet describes as very devoted to Clare, carrying her around on his shoulders (*ibid.*: Sixth Patch). The children sang traditional workers ('coolies') songs and rode on the back of their carts (*ibid.*: Seventh Patch). Evoking the image of a rural idyll in the colony, it appears that Clare and Charles were brought up with relative freedom and without strong attention given to who they 'could' and 'should' associate with at a young age.

It is on their first trip back to England to visit family, that the children's familiarity with Indian culture became problematic for Violet and Henry. Due to work commitments, Henry was delayed in India, so Violet decided to make the journey to Devon with her children alone. This would have been a challenging prospect considering Violet was used to having fulltime household staff, her husband and Mili Didi to hand when managing the children. On the voyage both Clare and Charles started to transgress the boundaries of respectable, white, Christian behaviour by pretending to be Muslims and then Sikhs during church services. Describing the misadventures in some detail Violet recalls:

On the first Sunday out from Bombay we attended the church service on deck... without my knowledge Clare and Charles had decided to be Muslims for the occasion, and to my horror when they knelt for the prayers, they prayed as do the Mohammedans, with their heads on the floor.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

This Church service was run by one of Henry's colleagues and clearly it was difficult for Violet to suppress her embarrassment at the situation. Recounting the story with relatively good humour fifty years later in her memoir, we can see that the incident provoked anxiety, shock and 'horror' at the time. On Violet's first trip back to England with her children, on her way to visit her white, upper middle-class family from a relatively small community, Clare and Charles had started to display behaviours that were contrary to her, her husband's, and her family's values.

After being scolded for their behaviour, the enterprising siblings, planned to become Sikhs at the next church service, a process which involved a series of secret deals and favours with other adults on board the ship to secure cigarette tins, and pencils to make their own prayer wheels. They hid these under their clothes before the service, and when they took them out, they 'proceeded to twirl, whispering: "Um mani padmi hum! Um mani padmi hum!"' (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). This episode in Violet's autobiography is important in highlighting the risk of 'native Christians to be returned as Eurasians' (Buettner 2000: 280). The 1857 India Mutiny stratified racial hierarchies and placed greater pressure on administrators to define racial groups at a time when boundaries had started to blur. Studying the 1891 census report Buettner finds that racial categorisation was more than an 'innate biological condition' but rather contingent on 'individuals displaying a combination of cultural, behavioural, occupational, and class markers deemed characteristic of a privileged racial identity' (2000: 291). The behaviour of Clare and Charles while on the journey to England, challenged white, British values and evidenced the perceived risk of 'contamination' (Stoler 1995: 108) in the colonies for bourgeois households.

Violet acknowledged that the children

had spent many months on almost the borders of Sikkim and Tibet- their ayah Mili Didi and our Chaprassi Jetta Daju were both from the hill tribes, and Clare and Charles had picked up quite a thick sprinkling of the Bhutia Language and customs.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

While trying to identify the cause of her children's behaviour, she targeted the location and the servants, implying it is not her parenting that should be called into question but their exposure to an Indian environment. Within the context of the colony, the children may have been allowed to sing Indian songs and play dress-up, but it is the stark relief of the British context which emphasises their need to be (re)civilised and (re)educated.

After this trip, Violet and Henry place the children into a Diocesan school in West Bengal while they established a home 500km away in Bihar (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). Unlike their parents, the children spent much longer in the context of the colony being educated by nuns, in a British-style school in

Darjeeling. Later, Violet and Henry made the decision to board the children in England; Clare was sent to boarding school and then to the same finishing school in Switzerland that her mother had attended; Charles went to Cheltenham College like his father; and Robin to St Georges School Windsor Castle. Was this to maintain their upper middle-class status and avoid their children being considered 'contaminated' by the colony? The children only returned to India during school holidays, and at times, Violet stayed with them in England while her husband continued to work.

Sending children back to England for their education was an expensive commitment made by many British parents based in India, and it often required the support of family at home. As children, Violet and Henry were fortunate to be able to stay at their relatives' houses from the age of five. This was not the case for Clare, Charles and Robin, whose schooling placed Henry under enormous financial pressure. Moreover, the couple frequently lived separately in order to support the two boys who according to Violet 'were far from happy under the arrangements we had made' (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch) and required their mother's care during school vacations. By this stage Clare had already completed her formal education. Henry gives little indication on the position of his family during the years they lived in India. Based on Violet's memoir, although it was remembered fondly it would certainly have been an unsettled and financially challenging period of their lives. During Henry's leave he took up temporary positions in local churches, including Torquay during a summer holiday in Devon after World War One (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). He appears to have had to work almost non-stop until his retirement:

Harry's leaves did not mean any let-ups from his ecclesiastical duties, as he had always arranged to take over the offices of some priest in England before we left India. It would have been impossible on his salary to have given our three children, who were at boarding schools in England, the happy holidays that we spent with them.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch).

In an editor's note Candida Slater explained that the Veale family income had declined as the property including farms in South Africa, were not as valuable as they were at the turn of the century (*ibid.*: Fourth Patch). The change in the financial status of an upper middle-class family, such as the Veale's is a good

case study in the declining profits of empire, which required Violet's father to liquify his inherited assets. Furthermore, the resources which had enabled Violet and her brother Ralph, to live and be educated in England were no longer available. Henry and Violet had to financially support their children, independent of their extended family.

Buettner suggests that only 'affluent Europeans [...] could afford to maintain ongoing contact with the metropole by undertaking periodic journeys between Britain and India' (2000: 280). While Violet and Henry were financially comfortable, I do not think they would have been considered affluent, Violet inherited furniture, not money from her grandmother, equally Henry's pay as an army and civilian Chaplain could not have easily covered living expenses in England and India, as well as school fees. While Violet is not explicit in describing the couple's finances through her narrative, it is clear that education was a growing financial burden in the late-colonial period, which placed additional pressures on Henry to meet the cost of living, run two homes, travel to and from the metropole, and pay tuition fees.

The colonial system of power did not constrain only those it colonised (Nandy 2009:11). As these reflections on education indicate, raising family in India was a source of tension and negotiation. In order to thrive within this system, to send the children to locations where they could secure the right kinds of knowledge to succeed, company to socialise with and reputation to build, Henry and Violet had to make significant sacrifices. Conversely, working from within the home, Violet shouldered much of the responsibility for redressing her children's deviant behaviours, refining their manners, and reinforcing Christian morality. Their determination not to become the racial, cultural and social 'other' whilst in the Indian context, guaranteed their commitment to a colonial regime. Alongside controlling the behaviours of Clare, Charles and Robin, the couple, especially Violet, attempted to manage the natural/physical colonial space. Animal stories feature in the couple's writings as a source of disruption and an articulation of their frustration and confusion in the colonial environment. Their descriptions of interactions with animals, exemplify if not amplify the delicate nature of colonial power and the precarious position of outsiders in the colony. Throughout the memoir and notes, animals are a trope for colonial ideas, as they become

enemies to order and something to be discussed as a pest or threat (Nongbri 2016).

Controlling the natural environment:

Violet tried to recreate a bourgeois domestic space for her husband and children in India. Her experiences of animals are on a micro-scale but the potential ramifications of these encounters are destructive. Conversely, Henry explores historical documents and visits cattle fairs, the scale of his interactions with animals are in many ways grander and more public than his wife's. However, the animals he meets such as termites and elephants, are less threatening. Stoler studying the archives of the Dutch East Indies finds that: 'The focus is on the intensity of the environment; on the tropical heat and secreted recesses of the home, on the seductions that environment encouraged or allowed that could damage a child in its adult life' (1995: 156). It seems the environment, nature itself, challenges the control and socialisation of Europeans in the colonies (*ibid.*: 186). Resisting the animals which invade the domestic space, is perhaps a gendered experience, a responsibility placed on Violet as the primary care-giver to her children.

Animal interactions are a narrative device opportunity for Violet to represent and construct the 'authentic' India she experienced. In his article 'India's Place in the Tropical World 1770-1930'²² Arnold plots a linguistic tradition in Western Imperialism to characterise India and other colonies as a 'Tropical' land:

The word 'jungle' came, through a gradual distortion of its original meaning, to signify dense, damp forests throughout the tropical world and to evoke a metaphor rich contrast between the orderliness of temperate woodlands and the tangled, menacing, malarial vegetation that constituted tropical nature.

(Arnold 1998: 8).

For the most part, Violet considers India to be a beautiful and expansive place; tamed, familiar and under British control. Her animal stories explore crises in which colonial power becomes threatened; here she reinforces the idea of the colony being an inherently dangerous, distant and unpredictable force.

²² Arnold (1998) and Nongbri (2016) identify an important theme in conceptions of flora and fauna. They are a vital source of identity and context, creating a sense of 'place', whether it is the 'exotic' and 'tropical' India, a disrupted domestic sphere, or a pastoral homelife in Devon.

In the memoir animals feature as vivid stories, interrupting the routine of her everyday life and interjecting themselves in 'safe' places. These are first and foremost entertaining, the use of stock characters and 'just-so' style ²³ demonstrating that Violet wrote the memoir with her readers in mind, expecting her stories to be shared. In the tales, India became a setting in which the protagonist, Violet, a plucky and determined white woman, was the unsuspecting victim of nature, offering insight into unnoticed colonial assumptions. The first example given here is her almost biblical encounter with a snake in the Sabathu Hills, which escapes up a nearby tree on the garden path outside her home. Whilst on her way to an afternoon tennis match, and heavily pregnant with Charles, Violet's afternoon took an abrupt and dangerous turn when she "met a Cobra!" (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch):

He had been sunning himself on the gravel in front of the bungalow and I must have disturbed him, for he was taking his pathway home.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

The cobra is personified as a male, lazy creature, readily retreating at the sign of someone crossing its path. Accordingly, Violet was at fault as she had interrupted his journey. While she flees from the scene, it is important to note that she does not suggest the snake tried to bite her, threaten her or, even move towards her. The tree it uses for refuge has a mythic quality, described as 'Juno's Poplar Tree' as a servant by that name often sang and played a guitar under its branches. Violet no longer remembered the role Juno played within the household, but recalled the instrument which, 'consisted of half a large coconut shell with one gut stretched taught across it, and some sort of screw to keep it fixed' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Her description of the Indian man sat beneath a fruit tree with his guitar, conjures a similar image to a medieval lute player.

After Violet returned to the servant's quarters (an escape to safety and civilisation), the cobra's identity in the narrative abruptly shifts from a gentleman out on a stroll, to a villainous creature hiding in the trees and threatening a pregnant, white woman. Violet recalled: 'our men came out with sticks, but the

²³ Episodes articulated as personal, humorous bedtime stories which resolve in favour of the hero; a narrative style made famous by Rudyard Kipling (British Library 2009), whose work Violet would likely have read in her youth and to her own children.

snake climbed up into Juno's pepl tree' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). By which she meant that she had allowed her servants to risk their own lives in checking the path was clear and even killing the snake in order for her to attend her friend's tennis match. Knowing the snake was at least clear of the path, Violet composed herself and decided to once again venture out to the garden and beyond, to her friend's party. Her fellow Europeans at the tennis match commented on her appearance and demeanour, "You do look green about the gills!" (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Upon hearing her story, the Royal Army Medical Corps Doctor suggested taking her home. Whilst Violet does not agree to leave, she told the tale with enough alacrity to seal the snake's fate, as later the same day:

Several of the young subalterns, armed with rifles, came up to my pepl tree that evening and the cobra was shot. It was 7 feet long, no exaggeration required.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Clearly the white colonialists from the tennis party had sent their own servants to dispatch the creature that had threatened their compatriot. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the danger the snake could present, especially to a pregnant woman; it is equally important to acknowledge that this risk never manifested. At worst the serpent delayed her journey to a nearby tennis match and perhaps gave her a fright, but it was its 'potential' threat, an unknown and unquantifiable impact to order, which meant it had to be killed. Violet speaks about the living snake as if it had personality, conversely, she adopts a matter of fact tone when it is seen off for her protection.

How would the townspeople and colonialists have responded if it was an Indian woman threatened by the snake? Would 'several young subalterns' have been sent up the tree to risk their lives, use up ammunition, and kill an animal for her sake? It would be interesting to know how significant it was that Violet was a white woman or the wife of a chaplain. Like the garden of Eden, Violet described India as a fantastical place, seemingly filled with unknown flora, fauna, and wealth. The black cobra was a wild and unpredictable creature, perhaps without the corruptive

power of the snake in the original bible story, but instead with a destructive one. Her identity gives the cobra and their chance encounter religious connotations²⁴.

Ghose refers to a similar example, where an English woman was almost attacked by a krait on her way home, her servant saved her life by pulling her out of its way. Despite his bravery, because the Indian man touched her arm, he was soon after fired from his position. Ghose calls this story a 'miniature allegory of empire [...] a hostile environment and inscrutable natives; [...] the Englishwoman in India [...] blind to the loyalty of the native' (2007: 107). For Ghose, these stories reinforce a myth surrounding white women in India, that the so-called 'Mem Sahib's' heightened racial prejudice. The critic argues this is not a universal truth (*ibid.*). However, in both Violet and Ghose's stories, Indian servants were allowed to take greater risks, and were relatively expendable. Although Violet's reaction is not as malicious as Ghose's example, she evidences little gratitude for the servant's attentions and, instead focused on her own fortitude in the face of such a precarious situation.

Later in the memoir, based at the Lebong parsonage, Violet found herself alone at night, with Henry off on work commitments, Mili Didi in the servant's quarters and the children in the adjoining nursery. About to settle down with a few British Magazines newly shipped in, tea and biscuits, the order of her evening was disrupted by a colony of rats who softly banged and tapped as they entered her bedroom:

an enormous rat had climbed up the rose tree, and had dropped through the open top light as if it were his usual practice. I watched him jump down from the window seat onto the floor but at that moment another of his sisters or his cousins, equally enormous and enterprising, had followed the leader, and before I could get over my bewilderment six huge rats had invaded my bedroom, which was far from large.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

²⁴ Snake worship is relatively common across India, and the cobra's unique hooded head is used in religious iconography. Henry and Violet at this time were living in Sabathu, Simla Hills, in the North of India; in the Northern region, Manasā, a snake goddess is celebrated (Allocco 2013: 242).

Extending our literary imaginations, British colonial forces were like the rats²⁵ and the irony of the scene is inescapable. The white coloniser's domestic space was invaded by another coloniser, an organised group that exploited the resources of the rightful owner and laid claim to the territory through force, intimidation, and different methods of organisation. Another interpretation of this interaction is that this was India/the subaltern reclaiming a place that was formally theirs. Disturbingly, the rats and villains of this piece are characterised as an organised crime family, 'invading' the domestic space. The use of hyperbolic language serves to emphasise Violet's panic, as well as, placing intent, forethought and premeditation on the part of the rat colony.

Much like Clare and Charles' misbehaviour on the ship to England, Mili Didi is once again blamed for the incident and oversight. She had closed all the windows except the top lights and it was through this small opening/opportunity that the rats had started to take advantage of the colonist. At the very moment Violet sought to reconnect with the Metropole by reading her periodicals, there is a rejection of civilisation and her room became the centre of a chaotic war scene. The rats first wreaked havoc by dividing and conquering, scrambling on top of surfaces and knocking over plates and perfume bottles. Once the biscuits had fallen to the floor 'they all decided, as one rat' (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch) to consume them for dinner.

Referencing the Romantic Poet Robert Southey, Violet recalled *God's Judgement on a Wicked Bishop*, and paralleled her experience with Southey's German rats 'sent to do judgement' (Southey n.d.), kill, and eat the corpse of the sinful Bishop Hatto:

At the army of Rats that was drawing near.
For they have swum over the river so deep,
And they have climbed the shore so steep;
And up the tower their way is bent,
To do the work for which they were sent.

(Southey n.d.).

²⁵ Violet gives both the Snake and Rats male personal pronouns, emphasising their dominance and power.

The story of Bishop Hatto is as follows: he was a wealthy bishop who had plenty of stores of food during a famine. Instead of sharing his wealth, he lured the poor peasants into a barn and burned them, calling the poor villagers 'rats'. Later he was haunted by his misdeeds as his portrait was eaten in its frame, his granaries emptied, and he was chased to Germany by 10,000 rats. Eventually the army of rats hunted the greedy bishop down and killed him at his tower near the Rhine (Southey n.d.). Southey's poem of Bishop Hatto is a critique of the corruption of the powerful and wealthy (*ibid.*). Although a metaphorical analogy, did Violet feel she was guilty of being a corrupt, wealthy person unwilling to share with the community, thus justifying a plague of six rats sent by God to right the wrong? Her interaction with the rats transitions from an unexpected noise, to an uninvited guest, to a warzone and, finally, to a divinely sanctioned doomsday.

Violet 'induced' the rats to leave through a drainage hole under the bath, in the 'primitive' ensuite bathroom, by throwing her limited supply of magazines at the creatures. She credited herself with 'great courage and daring' (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch) by standing on the bed, risking her foot to open the door of the bathroom and collecting the 7 magazines from her bedside table. Considering herself a pied piper, she targeted and chased each of the 'brutes' into the bathroom, closed all access routes and then checked on her two sleeping children next door.

Coming from Britain where rats are widely regarded as vermin and disease ridden, Violet may have had legitimate fears about the contamination of rats inside her home. Though she does not directly mention disease, between 1894 and 1950 (Echenberg 2002: 431), when Violet and her family were deployed in India, there were several outbreaks of Bubonic Plague spread by flea species infecting wild rodents in India and China. The disease was carried across imperial ports by British steam ships and is recorded to have broken out especially in Hong Kong and Bombay, causing 15 million deaths (*ibid.*: 432) in Asia. The effect of this pandemic was felt more strongly in the colonies due to population density and limited interventions by authorities, with almost all of those infected dying from the disease. Echenberg finds that 'Before plague burned itself in India by the 1920s, the subcontinent would suffer an estimated 10-12 million deaths, most of them in Bombay province' (2002: 443). In cases where the British government

did intervene in India it did little to consider existing beliefs and practices, causing political tensions which, 'led to the death of four Britons, and helped accelerate the growth of Indian nationalism' (*ibid.*). These rats were not just unwanted, they symbolised wresting political control from a coloniser who was fundamentally self-interested and incapable of compromising on approaches to disease and death. In the interwar years, Violet was living in a time of uncertainty. Though far from the infected port cities, with the history of the great plague of London, and reports of breakouts killing hundreds of thousands of people in India, the rats could have transported lethal pathogens into her home, in close proximity to her children, with no truly effective medical intervention available (Echenberg 2002: 437).

Leaving her room in chaos, Violet went to sleep but was scolded by her ayah, Mili Didi, the next morning for breaking the biscuit plate and damaging the magazines:

Imagine Ayah's astonishment at all the punishment I had inflicted on all that good literature. She had a great deal to say when she came in with my early morning tea, and found that she had to gather up the periodicals scattered all over the room, and the broken biscuit plate. The rats had not left a crumb.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch).

Whilst Violet may have been exhausted by her traumatic encounter, here we see greater insight into the micropolitics of power. Violet fell asleep expecting Mili Didi to clean up the mess in the morning. Although creating much of the disorder, she makes little effort to tidy up, is this just a symptom of her being an employer and lady of the house, does it demonstrate an entitled and careless attitude or, could it be both? For Mili Didi, Violet may well parallel the rats, as a messy and unpredictable being. Without evidence of the rats or a witness, Violet's misadventures seem almost a madness.

Once again in Violet's narrative, she was the plucky hero, the animals were the villains, and the Indian servant was cast as a character who comes to clean up the mess but has essentially missed the crucial moment of crisis. The colony, symbolised by the Rats, was an imposter in the home, something to be outwitted and attacked. They represented a moment where leadership and ownership were called into question and the taken for granted control the British believed they had in India, had not been secured.

In 'Plants out of Place' Nongbri suggests that the 'construction of such plants by the colonial state as a 'pest' and 'nuisance' went into the making of a discourse on 'noxious weeds', and bolstered arguments for their control and eradication' (2016: 344). The author indicates that complex legal, ethical and conservationist debates were brought about as the colonial state engaged in a 'war against nature' (*ibid.*: 344), in which it had to justify its controversial plant eradication programmes. The scale of the rat 'invasion' or, cobra in the garden significantly differ from the effects of a prickly pear and lantana outbreak which damaged agriculture and destabilised income generation (Nongbri 2016: 343). However, it is interesting that the colonial narratives employed at the governmental and individual level are similar. Flora and fauna which existed before the colonial encounter and were performing their natural purpose, became 'demonised', a 'pest', or 'nuisance' (*ibid.*) which must be addressed and removed by whatever means necessary. In Violet's collection the animals impeded colonial interests in homemaking, domesticity, and socialising. The resolution to these issues was to kill the black cobra, attack the rats and block their entryway into the domestic space.

A contrast can be drawn between Violet's interactions with the Snake and Rats, and her encounter with a disruptive Donkey back in England. A bemused tone is used to articulate the encounter with the donkey at Holcombe Church, Devon, during Henry's first service:

as he prepared to give out his opening text, a donkey was standing grazing in the doorway, and looking just inside the church proceeded to give a long and eloquent bray. As was perfectly natural and inevitable, the congregation could not control their amusement, in which the frustrated preacher joined, but pulling himself together he rallied the listeners by closing his book and saying:
'Instead of the sermon we will now sing hymn number 573 "All things bright and beautiful, all creatures great and small"'

(Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch).

Though unexpected, the donkey's braying at the church door is essentially funny and constructive. A well-rehearsed and unremarkable sermon was punctuated by nature's interlude, where the nervous preacher was able to go off-script and bond

with the congregation. The donkey was forgiven for its interruption and the whole encounter appeared to be a divine intervention.

Likewise at the Lebong chaplaincy in India, Violet recounts another donkey story. Edward was a beloved and tamed pet who carried Clare and Charles, and sat with Violet inside the house while she wrote letters (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). In this case the donkey was treated much like a dog or small pet, allowed to wander in the house and grounds with little supervision, and acted as a companion to the family. The donkey is familiar, both in relation to the family and as a symbol of the animals back in England. This recognisable character allowed him to be admitted into the domestic space and treated in the same way as other metropolitan objects and pets were, such as their fox-terriers 'Fanny and Mr. Montague' (*ibid.*).

In comparison to Violet's narrative account, Henry rarely mentions animals, and when they are referenced, they are usually a source of frustration rather than a lethal threat. In Chapter V of Henry's collection, 'The Portuguese Churches in Eastern Bengal'²⁶, he discusses the inconvenience caused by an infestation of white ants. White ants, commonly referred to as 'termites', are organisms which live in large collectives and feast on paper and wood based objects, which they use to construct their nests/mounds. Henry was studying church records when he found the damage caused by these insects (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V). Recounting a legend involving Mohammed Osman punishing Friar Raphael who converted many Muslims to Christianity in the late 1500's, Henry finds there are overlaps in records suggesting that the ruler lived until he was almost 200 years old, when he is recorded to have sold his land to the English. Instead of blaming the administrator who recorded this inaccurate information, Henry justified the discrepancy by suggesting it was Osman's descendants that in fact sold the land, and that 'the white ants may explain the confusion' (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V). The animals became an easy excuse to explain the ineptitude and lack of attention to detail on the part of the confused coloniser. They masked an error made by the administrator and demonstrated the vulnerability of paper-based, bureaucratic processes to disorder and disintegration. The lost artefacts

²⁶ Published in the Calcutta Diocesan Record in 1913.

contained crucial details on the occurrence of religious intermarriages, class and caste systems. This made it difficult for British administrators to effectively assess and evidence existing infrastructures and relationships. Paralleling the rats and snake, the termites Henry describes are a metaphor for the disruptive and disorganised India which, continued to resist colonial efforts to define, refine and map social spaces and natural environments. For Henry, who, based on his archival collection and the accounts of his family members, valued facts, accuracy and data, it seems the white ants demonstrated the unpredictability of native Indian wildlife, the inefficacy of document storage in the early Portuguese conquests, and the risk of illogical and unsystematised structures in causing mistakes.

Whilst reviewing the work of historian James MD Wise, who used those same fragmented records to inform his *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal* in 1883, Henry stated that:

There is no difference between the Christians and the heathens in their social intercourse and they consider themselves one family, but they make weak distinctions in respect of marriage viz. those descended from Mohamedans, weavers, farmers etc, want to have marriage with those of respective origins, but those distinctions are vanishing before mixed marriages. All documents of the former times were destroyed by White Ants. (Esposito 185).

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V).

Henry described the interactions between Muslim, 'heathen', and Christian class systems as an outsider. His privileged position as a coloniser, the fragmented status the documentation, and his own research being conducted almost 200 years after the original information was collected, calls into question his authoritative voice and indicates his ambivalence. Throughout his collection, Henry was meticulous and reflective when identifying errors in chronological records, yet he was rarely self-reflective on the kinds of misunderstandings he was susceptible to, in relying on information collected in the colonial context. The white ant infestation was a 'nuisance' (Nongbri 2016: 344) to Henry and any other credible colonial administrator or historian as it hampered record keeping practices and damaged paper forms of knowledge, hence document storage had to be improved to evade the creatures.

The other encounter with animals that Henry described in some detail was his journey to and from the Sonapur bathing festival. In a 1994 study, Sinha found that this festival is 'where the largest number as well as variety of animals are sold- purchased each year [...] and] this is the only mela where elephants are sold/purchased in large numbers' in India (1994: 229). The festival, held on the Ganges involves trade with international merchants, and holds religious significance as, 'pilgrims [...] make obeisance to the Lords Hari and Har' (*ibid.*: 230) through ritual bathing during the full moon of October. In 1989 when Sinha conducted his study, he recorded almost 30,000 animals being brought to the festival including: Elephants, Camels, Cattle, Birds, Dogs and Goats, this is after a decline in the number of animals brought to the fair due to new laws such as the 1982 Wild Life Protection Act (Sinha 1994: 231). For a visitor today, the scale of the Mela would be magnificent, and at the time Henry visited, over 60 years before Sinha, it is likely that an even greater number of animals were brought to trade from across Asia and the Middle East.

For Henry the animals at the Sonapur Mela were a spectacle, a source of wealth, a precious cargo and an untimely delay:

The elephant lines...to the European is the most interesting sight of the fair, and rarely perhaps only at Sonapore can two million poundsworth of elephants be seen at once though the price I was told had fallen greatly in late years with the preference of rajahs for expensive motor cars.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII).

Ever preoccupied with facts and figures Henry's trip to the Sonapur bathing festival presented an opportunity to survey the commercial value of animals, as well as identify a marked distinction between the cattle fairs seen in Europe and the 'five hundred elephants, three thousand horses and fifteen thousand head of callee with many camels and smaller animals bought and sold together with other goods' (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII). European administrators and soldiers present at the festival, informed Henry on going rates and price changes, implying that its turnover had been audited by the Government of India. The snakes and rats in Violet's narrative invade the colonial domestic space, in contrast, Henry visited public spaces, constructed for Indian people. For Henry these animals were exotic, an exciting reminder that he was in the colony, that

although he mostly socialised with Europeans and shared in Christian customs, traditional festivals existed which typified the 'authentic' India he imagined.

On his way home from the festival Henry commented that he had 'foolishly' forgotten a lamp and as such, was in a hurry to return before nightfall. Unfortunately, his journey was delayed as he chose to ride a steamboat transporting a large volume of newly purchased cattle. It was a struggle to get all of the animals aboard and one calf was almost abandoned due to the delays it was causing. For the boat owner and other passengers, Indian animals are expendable, an inconvenience that can be left behind. However, the farmer/tradesman was reluctant to leave shore without his property and 'being a man of resource, he picked up the calf and jumped on to the ship, and after a little more delay the cow was got onboard as the last passenger' (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII). Not only was this a remarkable show of strength, the farmer demonstrated that animals were, and remain a source of revenue and something to be owned. The Indian man was presented as well-built, potentially rich, incredibly strong and determined, but this only serves to reinforce the inconvenience he and his animals caused, by delaying the departure and demanding all of his cargo got onto the steamer.

Henry failed to mention or rather, did not know, the religion of the trader. However, in India (as in other countries) cows are financially valuable and 'sacred'. Reviewing the cow protection campaigns throughout the mid to late-colonial period, Adcock finds that the greatest motivation was secular and economic. In the 1880s, pamphlets were released asserting 'that cows were essential to the practice of agriculture in India and therefore to the prosperity and health of the Indian people; cow slaughter was held to damage this health and prosperity' (Adcock 2010: 301). Religious conceptions of 'pap (sin) and adharm' (*ibid.*: 302) provided further momentum for the protection of Cows, placing some pressure on the colonial government to maintain 'religious tolerance' for Hindu communities who advocated cow protection; 'Muslims (who might participate in the beef trade or slaughter cows to celebrate Bakr 'Id)' (*ibid.*: 299); and colonialists who also consumed Beef (*ibid.*). Hindu, Muslim, or Christian, for the

trader, his newly purchased calf required protection, and forms part of a greater debate on prosperity, profit, and community cohesion.

When finally at home, Henry reflected upon his pilgrimage:

The sun set and full moon rose as we crossed the Ganges, and I got home to a much needed bath, feeling that I had had a most interesting day and that I had seen the Sonapore mela for a new viewpoint.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII).

Echoing the pilgrims who attended the festival, as the moon rose, Henry engaged in his own bathing practice. Bhabha suggests that ambivalence is necessary to manage the 'the tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination - the demand for identity, stasis - and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history - change and difference' (1984: 126). Henry's descriptions of the Sonapur Cattle Fair characterise this conflict. There is a sense of permanence in spite of British efforts to convert and control, the 'flawed' infrastructure surrounding the festival and its traditional practices would continue as 'apparently all has gone well for centuries, and it will probably continue to do so' (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII).

Whilst these comments all seem to reinforce timeless imagery and picturesque unsophistication, Henry goes on:

The crowded streets are a traffic problem for the few police on duty, and through it goes the past, typified by the elephant and the ekka, and the present, as exemplified by the all-conquering Ford. In a few years the aero will be circling overhead.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII).

Whilst poetic and emphasising the spectacle of tradition, the article constantly moves between past, present and future to plot the changing sensory experiences of sight and sound. The opulence and high value trade enjoyed pre-1900 had declined, along with other markets, including the sale of elephants after Rajahs had taken up an interest in European Sports Cars as a mode of transport, symbol of status and wealth (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII). It is important to note that Elephants are a symbol not only of the colonial past and trade with the East India Company, but also of the time before the British colonial interaction. Henry suggests that soon new technologies would intervene and integrate into

the festival; an aeroplane would fly above it. Henry's account encouraged change and redefinition, the festival was not fixed in one state, however these new technologies indicate that he expected India to 'mimic' a trajectory laid out by the West (Bhabha 1984: 126). This was not an interaction trapped in the past and only suitable for picture books, but one embedded in a moment of change, after a World War, with rapidly advancing communications. Henry's prediction was correct, now the festival continues to thrive, and with new technologies aerial photographs of it have been taken almost a century after his account.

Arnold argues that 'we need to understand the tropics as a conceptual, not merely physical space' (1998: 2) constructed through medical writing, botany and science in India the 1930s. When describing their experiences with animals, Violet and Henry interact with undomesticated, wild and uncivilised creatures, which in turn come to embody and characterize India itself. Arnold goes on to suggest there is a duality at play, an 'Edenic' quality as well as physical and moral risk to the tropics (*Arnold 1998: 2*). As previously outlined whilst Violet describes her family's time in India as an idealised world, her encounter with the snake has a biblical undertone as it escaped up a fruit tree and was later punished for its transgressions. Clare and Charles, her white, middle-class children, were vulnerable to diseases from the rats. In sharp contrast, the donkey was a symbol of pastoral cultivation and domesticity in the UK. Henry's white ants and calves typify the unpredictability of India, knowledge became compromised and schedules delayed. His exploration of the Sonapur festival offers important insights into commercial animal interactions in the colony. The spectacular elephants, camels and calves, give the impression of vast scale, profit-making and trade.

Conclusion

This chapter explored Violet and Henry's considerations of education, home and leisure spaces and responsibilities. Henry's lecture notes provide commentary on state-level approaches to education and his understanding of the political benefits of these interventions (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV). Meanwhile, Violet articulates her admiration for individual, white, middle-class missionaries such as Dr Graham. After a short visit to this institution she is wholly supportive of their

mission to educate Anglo-Indian children in the colony to fit their class/race-based 'place' (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). Violet also emphasises the pressure and anxiety she felt in raising and educating her white, middle-class children to maintain their British identity, eventually deciding to board them in England (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). This decision and the efforts made by parents, missionaries and administrators in India to categorise, order and prevent the perceived 'contamination' of white and mixed-race children, strongly resembles the colonial practices Stoler observed in the archives of the Dutch East Indies in her study *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995).

Building on the idea of control, I have explored how animal interactions were used by the couple express disorder in the colonial space. Animals disrupted daily life in both the metropole and colony, however these vignettes demonstrate the nuanced relationships and subtly different reactions towards the challenges the animals cause for the couple in India. The snake could have killed a pregnant woman; similarly the rats not only threatened Violet and her children when she was without Henry's protection, they caused enough destruction that to her ayah, she may appear mad; finally the ants caused misinformation and lack of accuracy for administrators. The animals Violet and Henry meet back in England are a source of entertainment and livelihood in comparison to the cobra, rats and termites which were unchecked troublemakers putting colonial interests under threat.

Henry's study and account of his 'pilgrimage' to the mela, highlight the financial value of India's resources as well as drawing attention to Henry's engagement with wider communities. Chapter 3 will offer further examination of Violet and Henry's collection in relation to other groups and individuals they wrote about and remembered in the years and decades after they had left India. These include other white colonial citizens they ministered and supported, 'tribal' groups Henry studied, as well as middle-class Indian subjects they socialised with.

Chapter 3: Engagements with communities

Having focused on the domestic interactions in Violet's narrative in comparison to her husband's institutional framing, I will now turn attention to relationships and engagements outside of the home and immediate interests of the Fulford Williams' family. Undertaking vocational work as leaders of Christian parishes in the colony, the couple were preoccupied with building a sense of community, reforming and converting local peoples, as well as upholding the good morals of other white Christians. Their engagement with and construction of otherness and identity in the colony is complex, informed by race, education, and class. They both recall and compare groups and individuals they studied and socialised with, offering interesting reflections on categories of religion, civilisation, disease, and criminality. This chapter begins by reflecting on Henry's scholarly approach and dissemination of his opinions on 'tribal' and religious groups from across the Indian Subcontinent, through his lecture series and articles (Fulford Williams 1945). The next subsection will consider the intersection of race and class unpacking the couple's encounter with 'Angrissi', a 'mutiny baby' orphaned in the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny and raised in India (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). This is followed by an exploration of how Violet and Henry ordered and managed their interactions with Indian and white, colonialist members of the community infected by Leprosy (*ibid.*: Sixth Patch). Finally I close this chapter with reflections on criminality and the couples experience of the legislative management of Indian groups (*ibid.*: Fifth Patch).

Categorising Indian 'tribal' and religious groups:

Henry's 1939 Lisbon lecture series provided him with an opportunity to reflect on his experience and knowledge of Indian 'tribal', caste and religious communities. He framed his expertise for an academic forum of Europeans based in Portugal at the outbreak of World War Two, and opened Lecture I by confessing his own limitations as a historian. He suggested that he did not have a complete knowledge of India but would draw upon 20 years of experience to offer the audience an insight into the history, colonial relations, trade, peoples and traditional practices of the subcontinent. In his lecture notes, India is repeatedly referred to as 'she', and an object of study: 'India is not the home of a race, but it is a vast ethnic museum' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I). At once Henry

acknowledges a complex and diverse land, as well as something to be collected and categorised. According to Breckenridge's study of 'India at World Fairs':

Natives were brought to stage re-enactments of their everyday lives... in the building earmarked the Hall of Anthropology, one could view scantily-clad (Philippine) Ilongots in one corner, and giants from Patagonia in another.

(Breckenridge 1989: 212).

In fairground tents, audiences could pay a small fee to tour artificial empires, complete with a cast of 'natives' acting out their daily life on a small stage. Much like an 'ethnic museum', world fairs in the early 1900's were a way for Empires to display what the colonies had to offer to the metropolitan public, from commercial commodities to cultural curiosities. Similarly, reflecting on the 1895 Empire of India Exhibition, Gregory explores '*India*', a performance conceptualised by Imre Kiralfy, which fundamentally changed the way the colony was represented. In attempting to articulate 'almost a thousand years of Indian History in eight scenes and two acts' (Gregory 1991: 152), and instigating the construction of extravagant 'Indian' palaces and temples (*ibid.*: 154); Gregory argues that Kiralfy introduced a theatricality to exhibitions of empire, removed from the realities of everyday life in the colonial state.

Growing up at the turn of the 20th century, it is perhaps unsurprising that Henry would choose to use the term 'ethnic museum' to describe India. As an academic from Europe, the colony would have been an opportunity to not only realise his duty as a Christian, but also offer up a subject to study. Museums house artefacts, and stories organised into carefully curated histories. Henry spent twenty years in India serving in the army, raising a family, living in geographically isolated regions, reviewing historical records, and meeting local people. The development of his lecture series and typescript collection is an act of curation where he rationalised his interactions with artefacts, objects, and people, to reinforce his own position, the value and necessity of white colonisers, to a European audience who might never have visited the colony. His commentary though extensive, relies on relatively short remarks used to make up a larger chronological narrative. It is difficult to extract large quotations in which Henry's position is clearly expressed as he employs a matter of fact, academic tone and the appearance of objectivity.

The first lecture: 'The British Empire in India General Survey', rapidly reviews the geography, tribes, British, Dutch, French and Portuguese colonial influences in India:

The lower reaches of the Ganges are hot and damp and its people are unwarlike and have always been conquered with ease.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I).

The imagery and ethnographic style of his commentary cannot be overlooked, implying his authoritative knowledge on the 'hot', 'damp' environment, characterising it as sluggish and unmoving. A quality reflected in the 'native' people who were unable or unwilling to meet, and reject, the fresh European conqueror. According to Nandy, 'colonial exploitation was an incidental and regrettable by-product of a philosophy of life that was in harmony with superior forms of political and economic organisation' (2009: 10). In Henry's narrative there is an implied frailty about this region of the Ganges whose territory is not protected by the 'unwarlike', unsophisticated peoples who could therefore benefit from what colonial forces had to offer: a completely new 'philosophy' on conflict, territory and ownership. In constructing an effeminate, stagnating state (Nandy 2009: 8), Henry marks out the superiority of European invaders as a dynamic, unyielding and winning force.

Throughout the lectures Henry explored other religious groups, referring to Muslims as a 'militant minority' and vilifying Islamic historical figures: 'Azurabe who dies in 1707 was a bitter Mohamedan Persecutor' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I). Unlike his assessment of the 'unwarlike' tribes in the lower Ganges, the Muslim groups he mentioned were energetic and violent. However, this was misdirected, not to constructive ends but to criminality:

The frontier problem is complicated by the existence of a wide nomansland of border tribes, fiery Mohamedans who plunder the lowlands. In the south part the tribal leaders were powerful, and the political officers soon established good relations with the tribes, but in the north the tribes are democratic and the tribal leaders are powerless, and a series of wars ended with the war in 1897-8 which broke the tribes for a time.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I).

Fighting on geographical borders, these Islamic tribes were in a liminal state moving between regions and administrative jurisdictions, with disorganised leaders having to negotiate their authority with their own people as well as East India Forces. Even by 1939, Henry suggested administrators struggled to build successful political relationships with these groups. For colonialists these tribes were a reminder of the previous Mughal Empire which was much larger than the British in the Middle Ages and early-modern period. Referencing Muslim communities who resisted centralised British authority may be attributed to Henry's concern over the inefficacy of the civilising mission which underpinned colonial movements (Nandy 2009: 11).

As a contemporary (postcolonial) reader, throughout the text you are consistently faced with moments where Henry expresses admiration and respect for India and its peoples, followed by troubling instances of overt racism. An artefact of colonial ideologies, Henry's notes are an example of what Loomba terms the 'fundamental contradiction at the heart of the attempt to educate, 'civilise' or co-opt the colonial 'other'' (Loomba 2005: 79). First, he mentions the 'semi-negroid savages of the Andaman Islands' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I). Followed by observations on Myanmar: 'Burma has a long history quite distinct from India. It is Mongol in race and Buddhist in religion. The women run the land & rice & a cockfight is all the burman asks of life' (*ibid.*). Then the 'aboriginal tribes were another problem and there was a long struggle in Orissa, not yet quite ended, over human sacrifice' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I). And finally, Thagi, described as a religious sect who 'under the protection of Kali, the goddess of death' (*ibid.*), strangled and buried travellers, and were later hunted down by British Officials. Here peoples from across Asia have been categorised in four ways, all requiring a civilising effect: as savages, lazy gamblers, murderers, and criminals. Henry's lectures demonstrate British administration's preoccupation with categorising races as well as opening up debates on the distinction between the civilised and 'uncivilised' groups.

Wagner calls the Thuggee a 'colonial stereotype' (2004: 933) firmly established by Sleeman in the 1830's, which 'played on the rhetoric of the Evangelicalists and most importantly gained the support of the Governor General, Bentinck' (*ibid.*). The critic suggests that the Thuggee were not a literary creation, as there are

multiple primary accounts of highwaymen in Central and South India, who committed murders (Wagner 2004: 952). However, in contrast to Henry's lecture and Sleeman's assertions, a Thuggee was not a 'social bandit who resists the authorities and challenges the state power' (Wagner 2004: 958), there are even records of them paying taxes. Furthermore, instead of being ceremonial, strangling and murder was a 'practical means of quickly rendering their victims senseless' (*ibid.*: 959). Wagner clarifies that it was peasants reports of sorcery of the Thuggee, coupled with Sleeman's folkloric and Kali references in self-published books, which constructed the trope of ritualistic thugs using religion and superstition to motivate and justify their violent behaviours (Wagner 2004: 952). Nonetheless, the idea of Thuggee created the need for new policing measures and laws (*ibid.*: 961) in India. Hence, Henry's mention of the 'Thagi' blend both real and imagined aspects of Indian society, justifying colonial reform through the misrepresentation of religious organisations and banditry. Drawing upon evidence from Sleeman and other administrators a century before he began writing his lecture series, Henry misled his audience by implying that these tribes remained unchanged, continued to break laws and sacrificed humans in the 1930's.

The highwaymen that Henry calls the 'Thagi' were thought to have inherited their criminal ways and superstitious values (Brown 2001: 353). He makes no attempt to empathise with the group which perhaps lacked resources and access to employment. Social Darwinism and race theory were used to explain why certain types of crime were committed by specific familial groups, representing a threat to white colonists travelling through India. Referring to the 'Thagi and Dakaiti Department' led by W.H. Sleeman, Brown discusses the growing emphasis placed on studying 'native' criminality from the 1830's. This became more important after the 1857 Indian Mutiny, when the East India Company failed to realise that 'crime was in fact far more pervasive in Indian society than had ever before been thought' (Brown 2001: 351). 'Science' and the concept of 'social progress' were overlaid onto caste/racial groups to justify the spectrum of behaviours such as crime, ritual and religion, encountered by administrators in India, as well as their potential to advance and become civilised. 'Caste' became a loaded term through which British officials could imply and designate race and morality (Brown 2001: 357). Henry lists and characterises groups he had

engaged with or studied in colonial papers, using race and skin colour to imply the relative civility of each community. Firmly embedded in a social evolutionary framework, the writing of Henry and his contemporaries suggested all social groups fit a trajectory towards progress, and importantly, all castes were inferior to the white European coloniser (Brown 2001: 347; Nandy 2009: 11). The civilising mission gave Henry purpose in the colonies, therefore he supported reforming the Thagi tribe which he presented as a murderous and superstitious group rather than a legitimate religiously organised community, or a people making a living. The lecture series was a tool through which Henry exercised his power as a member of the colonial elite, characterising racial and religious groups as excessively violent or passive, resentful, or frail.

Guha states that the 1935 Government of India Act engendered 'wideranging debate on the future of aboriginals in a free India. How could one appropriately define aboriginals and understand their culture and way of life?' (1996: 2375). According to Guha there is a notable absence of reference to tribes in Indian nationalist archival literature from the period 1930-1947, quite unlike the treatment by Henry and other British politicians, administrators, missionaries, and anthropologists. Using Elwin as an empirical case study, Guha suggests that by 1940, this British, White, Christian was the leading expert on tribes in India, informing both the metropole and 'urban Indians' (Guha 1996: 2376). He had married into the Gonds of Mandla and penned books on the tribes of Bastar, Central Provinces, Orissa, and Bihar, offering the British government insight on how to protect them post-independence (*ibid.*: 2375). Elwin's publications would have been familiar to Henry as an academic and priest who had lived in these regions. Elwin celebrated traditional practices, and suggested a tribe that had interacted strongly with governmental forces (both British and Indian) lost fundamental qualities (Guha 1996: 2378). By 1939 when the lectures were written, Henry was reflecting on the tribes of India and his experiences in the colony while back in Europe in the midst of growing conflict. Considering Guha's research into the impact of Elwin's writing on culture, conversion and the vulnerability of tribes; Henry himself may have been questioning colonial objectives, and his role in the longevity and legacy of British governance in the colony.

In 1914, early in his career as a Clergyman in India, Henry wrote an article, 'The Portuguese Churches of Eastern Bengal', considering Christian conversion and European intermarriage in India, opening with an anecdote:

Why has that coolie got a crucifix on?' was the question asked the other day as a cultivator passed by a visitor to Dacca.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V).

Setting up a discussion of one of the oldest Christian communities, Henry implied that by 1914, when he first wrote this article for the Calcutta Diocesan records, it was still unusual to see Indian converts to Christianity. Like many other coastal districts, Bengal was an important territory in the Portuguese conquests and trade lines from the 16th century onwards (Christian 1945: 141). As a result, there was a lot of conversion as well as intermarriage in the region, and there remained a relatively large Portuguese population in India. 'Portuguese India is 3,983 square kilometers and the population just over 600,000 in 1940' (*ibid.*: 140). This group remained religiously affiliated and led by the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa in the 1900's (*ibid.*: 143).

Despite Portugal being an imperial competitor of the British Empire in India, many of the Catholic Portuguese churches and communities remained:

The preservation of the Portuguese communities was due to their Christianity, and their history is bound up with that of their churches.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V).

A sense of shared values and intermarriage with Europeans meant that not only did these groups survive after Dutch, then British colonial forces invaded, they were also respected. This is evidenced by Henry's extensive personal research touring the churches²⁷ and reading archival material about Indian-Portuguese relations. For Henry, the Portuguese-Indian subjects, though racially 'other' and descended from political competitors, represented a spiritual community in a recognisable, European style. He held this community in high esteem, and justified any historical immorality Portuguese Christian communities displayed as a result of the political environment created by Mughal leaders:

²⁷ Henry Edited the 1920 edition of the Indian Church Directory (University of Exeter 2018b).

At the hands of Moghul power an opportunity for piracy arose, and for about three quarters of a century Portuguese adventurers plundered the Sunderbunds.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V).

These early Christian adventurers are forgiven their criminality, as they were forced into their unsavoury habits by the unfair treatment of Mughal lords, who were rich, Muslim leaders in these provincial regions. Hence, Otherness is conceptualised in terms of religious affiliations, where the legacies of past conflicts with the Mughal Empire when establishing British Colonial administration played a significant role in shaping what is 'acceptable otherness' for Henry (Bhabha 1984).

In fact military history fascinated Henry, speaking to his degree studies in history and theology, as well as his colonial preoccupation towards masculinity (Nandy 2009: 8), ownership and organisation. Studying armies and battles was a useful way to compare colonial and 'native' organisations, tactics, troop numbers, fighting and leadership style. Henry took a Eurocentric approach, using his knowledge of British history to inform his analysis of India. In his lecture series, he parallels Lahore Sikhs from 1839 to Cromwell's Ironsides, an untrained group of civilian revolutionaries, and precursor to the 1645 New Model Army in Britain.

Ranjit Singh became head of the Lahore Sikhs... He organised the Sikh army- the 'Kalsa'- as a sort of Indian Cromwells Ironsides combining Religious enthusiasm with military efficiency. He used Europeans as drill-masters but kept them out of the politics and kept all the power in his own hands.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV).

Problematically, Henry transposes Indian history and organisations onto a European timeline. Immediately drawing a comparison between the relative sophistication of the societies (Young 2016: 53). The Lahore Sikhs led by Ranjit Singh, existed almost 200 years after the 'Ironsides'. This places India almost two centuries behind British trajectories in terms of battle tactics, political and military innovations. Early Modern History of Europe would have been a focus in his curriculum at Cambridge and may go some way in explaining his choice to reference the Ironside's and English Civil War. Perhaps it also indicates Henry's admiration for Ranjit Singh, recognising him as a politically astute and revolutionary leader, just as Oliver Cromwell was in challenging the Crown.

As demonstrated, Henry employs a scholarly tone and asserts his categorisations of racial, religious and 'tribal' groups through succinct comments, often only one or two lines in length. While he admires those who share in his Christian faith, such as the Catholic Portuguese Indian population (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V), other religious and 'tribal' groups are characterised as violent, uncivilised or unsophisticated (*ibid.*: Lecture I). Often, he had drawn these assessments from the work of much earlier political and historical researchers including Sleeman's investigation into 'Thugee' and James MD Wise book, *Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, instead of personal experience. In contrast, the following section focuses on Violet's very full and deep description of the friendship and engagement Henry and Violet had with a middle-class, Muslim, Indian family.

Categorisation at the intersection of class and race:

Violet and Henry built close friendships with middle-class Indian professionals and families in their parishes from different faiths. This included Ahmed Ali, a Muslim barrister and friend of Henry's who invited Violet to visit his wife for tea, his wife could speak English as could his highly educated daughters-in-law.²⁸ It was during this visit that the legacy of the Indian Mutiny was directly felt by Violet and Henry in an episode where racial boundaries were transgressed. Whilst at Ali's home, Violet had the opportunity to meet his elderly mother who was born in 1856:

Her full trousers were made of gold brocade, over which she wore a blue silk shirt, a blue and gold Benares scarf was twisted round her head; she was very thin and very old, and her silver anklets clinked as she walked up to me, stooping over her stick [...]

I got up from my chair as the Begum came towards me, and I was taken aback with astonishment, for she was white. In fact, I have never seen anyone so white before in my life. Her hair was white, which was natural at her age, but she had big, blue eyes, in a white European type of face. She came right up to me, put her two old hands together and salaamed to me. She looked so sweet I had to restrain myself from putting my arms around her and kissing her. Her unshod feet were as white as snow. This apparition then approach by an aged, aged ayah, as dark in complexion as her lady was white, and bent almost double, but with renewed salaams the two old women retreated behind some curtains at the back of the room, tea and cakes were brought in and handed round

²⁸ 'one even had a degree' (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

by the household ayahs- no men servants were to be seen on the premises- and I soon made my departure.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

Violet met a white woman called Angressi²⁹, who had been brought up in an Islamic household. By that time, she was 66-years old and revealed by Henry to be a 'mutiny baby' (*ibid.*); a European baby who was lost in the Indian mutiny of 1857 as a result of their parent's death, or separation in conflict. In the late-colonial period the Indian Mutiny remained an important part of colonial consciousness, finding white orphans from 1857 was according to Henry, not uncommon. Hubel suggests that the Indian Mutiny popularised an 'Anglo-Indian myth about the white, middle-class English boy lost during the Mutiny and raised as a native' (2004: 236). Violet provides evidence that this situation was not a myth at all, white children/orphans were adopted, cared for, and brought up in Indian households. Not only did the Indian Mutiny³⁰ change the political landscape and administration of India as the colony came under crown rule, its legacy was felt long after, when lost children were reunited with their British identities.

Aside from the 'Begum's' origins, Violet's reactions are also very interesting. Leaving Ahmed Ali's house for her own 'humble home', she described herself as astonished, and 'shaken to my marrow' (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch), but what part of her meeting with the elderly woman had surprised her most? When describing Angressi's white skin and hair, Violet gives her a ghostlike quality as she quickly entered and left the scene. Furthermore, her wealth is emphasised by the opulent gold trim and jewellery that make up her outfit, and she is barefoot, which Violet terms 'unshod'³¹. A comparison is drawn between the aging Ayah called Sancri, and her elderly white mistress, emphasising racial characteristics as well as her even more advanced age. Violet's tone is condescending, the description of Angressi is childish and doll-like. Violet states that she had to resist the urge to hug and kiss her. Loomba finds that in the

²⁹ Angressi is the name Ali's mother was given by her adopted family and is Urdu/Hindi for 'English'.

³⁰ The 1857 rebellion led by Indian members of the Bengal/British Army, against the East India Company.

³¹ This has animalistic connotations often used to refer to horses and donkeys which require shoes to perform their duties.

colonial period, 'Going Native' was presented as 'potentially unhinging' (2005: 117) in fictional and non-fictional accounts of the colonies. The meeting with the aging white woman may have confirmed this for Violet, as Angressi seemed unaware of her heritage and position, strictly adhered to Zenana³², and was fully committed to Indian religions and customs. Violet may have wanted to comfort her compatriot who had 'lost' her British identity.

As the story continues, we find out that Ahmed Ali's 66-year old mother was gravely ill and he sought Violet's advice on the best female doctor to treat the old woman. Ali is described as 'looking strikingly handsome and wearing perfectly tailored European clothes' (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch), he left calling cards and greeted Violet with a handshake. Watching him leave the parsonage Violet 'thought how much he had inherited from his British forefathers' (*ibid.*). Ahmed Ali is a perfect example of Bhabha's mimic men, as 'mimicry is like camouflage [...] a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part' (Bhabha 1984: 131). For Violet, Ali embodied the positive influence of the colonial presence, he was highly educated, wealthy, with strong morals and family values. Although he differed in religion from herself, he resembled the middle-class values closely enough to be considered good society, admirable and almost European by virtue of his mother being a white woman.

Violet waited in the car as Ali's mother received treatment from her friend, Miss Wilson. It was at this moment that the Ayah, Sancri, approached to ask a favour:

When my Angressi Baba dies, poor old ayah will die too. This is the key of my tin box- a black tin box in my go-down. The Padre Sahib must come and fetch it himself from my go-down, when my Angressi Baba dies tonight.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

Instructing Violet to take a brass key which opened a box Henry must retrieve, Sancri spoke to Violet with almost excessive respect, calling her 'Your Honour'. Conversely, Violet describes the aging woman in her memoir as a croaking, trembling 'creature' with a 'claw-like hand' (*ibid.*). The interaction takes on a mythical quality as the author states that 'aged Indians have some strange sense by which they can scent the approach of death, for themselves or for those who

³² Defined as 'the part of a house for the seclusion of women' (Oxford Dictionaries 2019b).

are very near and dear to them' (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). The Ayah's role is poetic, constructed in a similar way to Kent in Shakespeare's *King Lear*; the loyal servant survives hardships to protect her mistress before ultimately following her to the afterlife (Shakespeare 1994). In Violet's story the 'faithful guardian' seems magical, able to predict death and has vastly extended her life in order to care for her white mistress. Violet believed 'if there is a reward for us, this brave Muslim servant would get hers' (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Despite not being a Christian, Violet trusted that there is a place in Heaven for Sancri. Was she made deserving through her protection of and dedication to the white coloniser?

After Miss Wilson completed her visit with Angressi she stated that while she could not diagnose a specific condition, "having been shut up always in airless rooms has made her frail and anaemic" (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Not only was Miss Wilson directly criticising the Zenana practice, so too was Violet by highlighting 'backwards' Indian practices in her memoir. Moreover, she quotes Ahmed Ali's reply:

'Yes, Madam, you are right. We must alter some of these old customs as soon as we can in the future,' the Indian said forcibly.
(Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

Violet emphasises Ali's Indian identity, as if to demonstrate new liberal values and reformist attitudes in the Indian population, as a result of modern colonial education. However, he may have been humouring the two white women, his focus presumably being his dying mother rather than politics.

Henry later paid a visit to Sancri to retrieve the aforementioned box. At this point the Ayah reveals that her former Master and Mistress, an Artillery Captain and his wife, were killed at Murdapur during the Indian Mutiny. The box was intended to be handed over to British authorities with the baby once the Ayah had escaped. However, they were captured by Sepoys and taken to a Muslim household where the women found Angressi so beautiful that they would not get rid of the baby and instead brought her up. Upon receipt of the box and after Sancri and Angressi passed away, Henry contacted the Commissioner. They investigated the case further and found the box contained: a silk shawl, long robe, petticoat, lace cap, marriage and christening certificates; enabling them to identify the elderly white

woman. Angressi's husband Khan Bahadur, and their son Ahmed Ali, were invited by Henry to go through the contents of the box and their wife/mother's history in more detail. According to Violet, Ali stated:

'My mother was not like our other women. She was always cleverer and more spirited. She was very fair, very beautiful; she had blue eyes and golden hair. She was not an Indian.'

(Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

Importantly Violet was not present during the meeting between Henry, the Commissioner, Khan Bahadur, and Ahmed Ali; Henry relayed the details of the conversation to his wife later. Whilst Ahmed Ali's statement may be factual, his account of his mother reinforces racial stereotypes and may have been scripted by Violet or Henry recalling the conversation afterwards. Angressi, originally called 'Agnes', was more intelligent and beautiful, in essence superior to her Indian counterparts; Violet's narrative implies that this was in spite of her nurture and by virtue of her English essence.

Later in the meeting, the Commissioner suggested that as 'Agnes' was christened in the Church of England, she ought to be buried in an English cemetery, offending Khan Bahadur who asserted:

'My wife must be buried where I must be buried, amongst our people. She knew no God but Allah, and his prophet Mahomet, and she loved her faith and taught it to our children at her knee. I do not wish to oppose your authority in any way. You know that whatever my father may have felt towards the British Raj seventy years ago I and my sons are loyal subjects of His Majesty, the King Emperor. Do you not think that the other small details of my wife's babyhood could be left until a few days have passed?'

(Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

After proclaiming his loyalty and determination to see his wife buried according to Muslim rites, all four men agree to keep Agnes a secret until after the funeral, although the Commissioner invited many officers and Englishmen from the locality to attend the ceremony. They left a wreath with union jack coloured ribbons at her tomb, and the Khan Bahadur said: "I am proud to have had an English lady for my wife- my only wife she was a wonderful woman" (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Emphasising that he had only one wife, was perhaps an attempt to appeal to the Christian values of Henry and the other British colonialists present, as well as reinforce his civilised status as he

described the life Angressi led after they had married while 'still almost children'. Sancri who also passed away, had never left her side, buried in the same grave at her mistress's request. Ahmed Ali took ownership of the box but not before the Commissioner had taken the documents to make enquiries in the UK. This story demonstrates the intimacy of relationships between Indian Ayahs and the households they worked in, and the trust built up between some colonial officials and high ranking Indian citizens. This resulted in an Indian man (Khan Bahadur) being able to make authoritative decisions about a white subject of the Raj, as his marriage took precedence over official procedure. It also demonstrates that religious conversion was a communicative process that worked in both directions, white citizens could, and did become socialised into Islam and Hinduism; Angressi thrived in this setting. It also evidences the efficacy of colonial administrative practices that enabled officials to make enquiries about citizens, events and papers over 70 years after the record was created.

Reinforcing Buettner's research, European Identities were contingent on behaviour at the intersection of class and race (2000: 280). Here, notions of otherness and separating white middle-class identity from Indian society was further complicated by the legacies of imperial conflict. Ahmed Ali and Khan Bahadur demonstrated middle-class values and socialised with elite white men such as Henry. In contrast Angressi a white, bourgeois, British woman by birth, became 'Eurasian' (Buettner 2000: 280) by practicing an Indian faith, wearing Indian clothes and remaining isolated from her compatriots. Linking back to Chapter 2 and the behaviours of Clare and Charles on the voyage to England (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch), when socialising and building a community in Late-Colonial India, propriety and behaviour (Buettner 2000) are vital to racial and class categorisation of individuals and groups. Having considered 'Angressi's' story, I would like to continue reviewing Violet and Henry's responses and responsibilities towards other white colonial citizens in their local community. This is most directly considered when discussing disease.

Managing disease:

While racial identities did play a part in Violet and Henry's constructions and records of everyday life in Late-Colonial India, the couple also builds boundaries based on ideas of disease across Indian and within white, European groups.

Henry's professional obligations, charity and vocational responsibilities as Chaplain gave him (and Violet) access to institutions and groups which were often isolated from the rest of white colonial society. In particular the couple reference cases of leprosy, which infected both colonialist and local populations. Henry only discusses leprosy cases directly when recounting his journey to the Sonapore Mela where there were:

About ten yards from the path on each side, Lepers and many other deformed beggars, asking alms of the charitable, a petition that was seldom refused.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII).

He may have felt sorry for their position but appears insensitive and judgmental in his description of these beggars and their receipt of charity. Perhaps this was because those infected beggars were contravening the 1898 Lepers Act introduced by the government of India which, 'facilitated [...] the forcible "segregation and medical treatment of pauper lepers"' (Kakar 1996: 221). This colonial policy 'equated vagrancy and ulceration with contagion' (*ibid.*). In Henry's account the Paupers along the path were in close proximity to healthy members of the population therefore presented a risk of contamination and a threat to public health.

On the other hand, while stationed in the Sabathu Hills, Henry ministered a leprosy asylum for Europeans in a ward above the hospital. It was run by Christian missionaries, and according to his later research, remained under the care and guidance of the Chaplain of Sabathu until 1924. He details the facts of the asylum, its structure, dates of foundation, and owner's names but fails to mention any details about its patients who undoubtedly played an important part in his ministerial duties. The chaplaincy in the Simla Hills would have been significant to Henry as it was the location where his son was born and where he set up a home for almost two years. Violet provides a more vivid and personalised account of the Sabathu leprosy asylum:

There were some fifty lepers housed in the low built hospital at the end of Sabathu ridge – well away from the cantonment and village. Men, women and children came into the asylum voluntarily from all over the country [...]

My husband always took the greatest care about the disinfection of his clothes and shoes after visiting the leper asylum, and he always broke the cup he used as a chalice after the Communion Service there.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Breaking the chalice was a practical solution to prevent the spread of leprosy which, at this time was difficult to diagnose or treat³³. Henry smashed a cup every time he left the Asylum and meticulously washed his hands. There is a symbolic element to Violet's account of Henry concluding his ministerial visit by washing away any trace of his interaction with a group who were according to her memory, isolated from the local community and British army garrison. Kakar, notes that leprosy became a growing concern for the Government of India in the 1880's as more cases were found in Europe (1996: 220), resulting in international forums and debates on its origin, method of treatment and containment. There were calls for compulsory segregation. However, as it was not yet proven to be contagious (*ibid.*: 217), segregation remained an elective measure across most of India (*ibid.*: 219).

The number of leprosy asylums grew from the 1890's onwards, and by 1921 there were at least 94 institutions across India, most run by Christian Missionaries (Kakar 1996: 221). Initially they were considered sanctuaries for infected paupers, however, Kakar argues that they had a complex relationship with religion, medicine and the state. Leprosy asylums were sites which could enforce conversion, prevent worship of other religions (*ibid.*: 224), separate the sexes and families (*ibid.*: 225), and in some cases withhold medical support. Some of these practices, driven by religious understanding of disease transfer, framed within a narrative of guilt, sin and morality; contravened official advice given by the 'Leprosy Commission' (Kakar 1996: 228). However, they also provided census data, received investment, and offered sites to test new medicines in the 1920's (*ibid.*: 225). In this way state and missionary asylums generated information on Indian and colonialist populations living in India; created and consolidated specific forms of knowledge on disease transfer; and instilled in their patients strictly controlled values.

³³ Henry and Violet were led to believe that it was not contagious: 'Leprosy, we were given to understand, was not infectious, nor carried from parents to their offspring' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Colonialists stationed and living in the Sabathu Hills supported the asylum through food, clothing and book donations. Violet and Henry became friendly with the 'Australian Doctor and his wife' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch) who ran the hospital, and built personal relationships with some of the patients, who they continued to enquire about after they left the Sabathu Chaplaincy. Violet remembered one case of two boys fighting transferred the infection through broken knuckles, after some months, both boys were admitted into the asylum, where they 'lived on in the hospital until they died as quite middle-aged men' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Interestingly Violet terms the Sabathu hospital 'our asylum', and perhaps as the wife of the chaplain, she felt some sense of duty towards its Christian patients. Leprosy stories feature several times in the memoir and reinforce the idea of colonialists being vulnerable to lethal diseases in India (Arnold 1998). Considering Henry's proximity to those infected, as well as children who remained undiagnosed for a long time, leprosy may have been a source of anxiety for Violet, preventing infection in her home and protecting her family from catching the disease.

Later in the memoir, while stationed at Kasauli, Henry developed a friendship with an Englishman suffering from leprosy who lived in:

a tiny wooden hut, the size of a present-day one-car garage. It was situated right in the depths of the hillside scrub, within reach of a tiny rivulet, and at some hundred yards off a track used as a short cut from Kalka to Kasauli.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch).

Violet admired this 'forlorn' man who, had decided to separate himself from society in order to prevent transfer of the disease to others. She notes that he had very few visitors, was supplied food in a special box at the end of his property 'by passing coolies', and 'gratefully accepted' Henry's visits and charity in the form of clothes, books and blankets. Living between two parishes, Kalka and Kasauli, this man seems to have been trapped between things in most aspects of his life: an Englishman outside his nation state; alive but gravely ill; wealthy³⁴ but in receipt of charity; and as we find out later between two graveyards, without the ability to be buried in either.

³⁴ Henry had to notify the Englishman's Bank in Kasauli that he had passed away (Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch).

Henry visited the Englishman after a period of two weeks and found that he had been dead for several days. With the local police reluctant to assist him:

Harry took the matter into his own hands. He knew exactly who the leper's banker was, but before he returned to Kasauli, he examined the interior of the leper's hut, and found that the inhabitant had himself destroyed by fire every possible thing which fire could destroy – except his own emaciated, corrupted body, wrapped in an old blanket which we had given him. My husband, fearful that Indians passing by and finding out what had happened would come to the hut to steal the mattress, and perhaps even make use of the abandoned hut, took upon himself the duty of setting fire to everything.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch).

Violet refers to the 'coolies' as irresponsible and unreasonable, prone to stealing and desecration, and likely to fall ill through their own misbehaviour. Henry by contrast is heroic and honourable, with the forethought to say a burial committal before destroying the contaminated hut and its owner's corpse.

Whilst Henry cared for his fellow countryman, giving him dignity in death, his actions are at best foolhardy. At worst they display a disregard for the wellbeing, lives, and livelihoods of those who lived on the hillside. The fire could have spread extensively, killing and trapping hundreds of local residents, as well as damaging the surrounding plants and land. It was only with the help of 'coolies' managing the fire, that this was not the case (Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch). Although supported by their white friends in the locality, at Kalka, Henry was accused of arson by the police and magistrates, and it took weeks for him to be found innocent. According to Violet's narrative, Henry took these risks for a fellow Englishman, friend and sick parishioner, as well as to prevent the spread of disease to local populations.

Through their accounts of leprosy we can understand that categorising other groups and individuals was a way to manage risks such as disease transfer and contamination. Interacting with the 'other', risking contamination, health and reputation was in many ways a requirement of Henry's work, and a responsibility that the couple undertook with patience, diligence and control. Having outlined how Violet and Henry engaged with, managed and described diseased, racial, religious, 'tribal' and class groups, I will now explore the couple's consideration of criminality, and the implied sense of duty and morality in their commentaries.

Categorising criminality:

As discussed above, Henry offers a historical analysis of Thagi highwaymen in his lecture series (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I), Violet's memoir on the other hand presents a captivating recollection of a train 'robbery' between Betinda and Karachi. At the time, Henry was deployed to serve in Iraq while his wife and children remained in the Simla Hills. Violet decided to visit her husband and they met at a station on the journey. The train was so busy with troops and travellers that Henry and Violet barely managed to secure a seat until an American woman travelling alone, offered them a place in her compartment. It is important to note the class and racial implications of this offer. Henry and Violet were a respectable, white, English, married couple. Their benefactor a wealthy, white, upper-class American; it was not an offer that would be extended to just any person³⁵ but only those white and bourgeoisie.

Night had descended upon us, and we were crossing the Sind desert. My companions slept. I remained awake. The train stopped at a wayside station to take in water. We had again picked up express speed, when suddenly I saw the outside door of the coupé, immediately at the foot of my bunk, open, and a Pathan [Afghan] walk in. He was a huge man, wearing a tall white pugaree [turban], a loose white shirt, a dark, sleeveless coat, and baggy white trousers, with a stout lathi, or stick, in his hand.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Unlike her husband and the American traveller, Violet remained alert during the journey, she almost has a sixth sense for danger and as the heroine in her own story, she is not caught unawares by the intruder. Considering Violet wrote her memoir in 1968, she remembered a remarkable amount of detail over 40 years after the events took place³⁶. She described the intruder's appearance and stature, he is decidedly unlike some of the 'native' Indian people she is friends with such as Ahmed Ali, who wore European fashions (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Instead this 'Pathan' fits the archetype of a fictional villain, with loose billowing clothes and a weapon, indicating his otherness and threat. In her story the clothing serves as a mask for the Pathan's intentions as he could

³⁵ Especially not a man.

³⁶ Perhaps Violet kept a diary or notes from her time in India but she does not refer to them in her collection.

conceal his face, body and hair in a turban and loose fitting garments which also imply differing religious values.

It is also worth noting the use of square brackets, indicating editor's notes. Candida Slater provided a glossary of Violet's unfamiliar terminology implying a changing vernacular. Yet, in clarifying Violet's meaning Slater oversimplifies the identity of the 'Pathan', defined by Oxford Dictionaries as 'A member of a Pashto-speaking people inhabiting southern Afghanistan and north-western Pakistan' (Oxford Dictionaries 2019a). Clearly 'Pathan' is not simply an interchangeable term for 'Afghan', it is at once a more linguistically specific and geographically broad identification.

Continuing Violet's story:

Wildly I sat up and hit my husband's knee. 'A Pathan is in here! In the carriage!' I shrieked, hitting his knee again and again. Harry woke up slowly and said: 'Nonsense.' Then he flung himself at the intruder. 'Huzoor!' cried the Pathan astonished at finding a man in the coupé. 'I was on the running board when the train started and would have been killed had I not got into this carriage; let me stay in your lavatory until the next stop.' At this moment I saw the door, which had not been properly shut, pushed wide open again (the express was tearing along through the darkness) and a second Pathan stood there.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Henry appears to be brave in intercepting the stowaways, but perhaps not as quick witted as his wife or as distrustful of their environment. Violet had already condemned the intruder as an attempted thief, despite his claim to have been trapped on the train during a stop. Although the 'Pathan' speaks fluently in English and Pashto, this is not an indication of his education but actually makes him more dangerous in Violet's eyes as he can secretly conspire with his colleague in a language she cannot understand. This interaction is similar to her encounter with the rats (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch), as in the middle of the night, an isolated domestic space was intruded upon. The setting heightened the sense of mystery, tension, vulnerability and threat which may not have existed in daylight. It is only as a result of her pithy reactions, waking Henry and scaring off the thieves that this story comes to a 'happy end'. The women are protected and 'justice' prevails.

As the Pathans attempt to escape, Henry holds onto the first thief's arm, and refuses to let go until he has managed to pull the communication cord, stopping the train. Although both robbers escape, the howling and baying British army are in pursuit, chasing the thieves across the desert!

Then began the most terrific hue and cry, and a chase along the track and out into the desert. The British Army seemed to be enjoying itself. My husband and I stood at the door of our compartment, and our companion on the top bunk stayed where she was. From every door and window on our side of the train heads were protruding, and ribald and encouraging shouts made the night anything but hideous.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

Violet references the hue and cry one of the earliest examples of organised policing and law in England, it was an approach which banded the community together and made it a collective responsibility to catch wrongdoers (Merriam-Webster 2018). For the British colonialists onboard the train³⁷, this traditional method of law enforcement would have created a sense of community and shared history. It was an immediately recognisable call to action. The description echoes that of a hunt, such as the Winter parties Violet attended as a child (Fulford Williams 2010: Third Patch). The elevated emotions of the soldiers giving chase, evoked a sense of belonging and echoes of home in Devon. It is this sense of community and belonging to the 'right side' that makes Violet's reminiscences seem exciting instead of terrifying. The whole episode was orchestrated like one of her grandfather's winter shooting parties: the warrior's grouped together, spotted their target, and pursued the dehumanised Pathan with lethal force.

Out across the desert the Pathans fled, brought to justice by the British Army, acting as one homogenous unit. The two stowaway's parallel hunter's game as they did not attack any of the travellers and yet were hounded and captured.

After about half an hour, a roar of applause echoed through the thick darkness, when the two captives were brought back to the express, their hands tied behind their backs with the muslin of their turbans and four British soldiers attached to each prisoner. The train let out several alarming hoots, fizzed up steam, and we proceeded to make up time,

³⁷ A symbol of civilisation, much like the Bungalow in Violet's Cobra story (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

while the passengers sank back to get what rest they could through what remained of the night.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

It seems as though the Officers used excessive force to bring the deviants back to the train and British law, each surrounded by 4 soldiers and bound by the cloth of their turbans. The army did not only capture the thieves but stripped them of their identity and dignity by using their own clothing as handcuffs to imprison them.

There is a striking similarity between Violet's account of the British Army's pursuit and capture of the Pathans, and Kipling's fictional account of capturing a thief in 'The Man Who Was', from the Soldier's Three Part II Collection.

Caught a man stealin' carbines sir... The limp heap of rags upheld by the three men groaned. Never was seen so destitute and demoralised an Afghan. He was turbanless, shoeless, caked with dirt, and all but dead with rough handling.

(Kipling 2015: 36).

In this fictional account, Kipling described how guards from a regiment in the British Army, The White Hussars, hunted down a thief they believed to be an Afghan³⁸. The turn of events is almost identical, as an unidentified thief is outnumbered, pursued, bound and dragged back to a command hub by the British Army. First published in 1899, as part of his Victorian adventure stories and considering the popularity of Kipling's work, this tale is possibly one Violet remembered from her own childhood or perhaps one she read to her children. Importantly, her memoir strikes a similar tone and much like her animal stories, Violet constructed an entertaining adventure, which promotes the efficacy of British law and morality whilst humiliating and punishing local peoples. Simultaneously she aligns her real-life experience with fictional accounts of India written over 70-years before her own. Therefore it becomes difficult to separate the real, exaggerated and possibly imagined aspects of their train adventure.

After the thieves were captured Violet and Henry began to converse with the American Traveller in the compartment. They deduced that she must have been

³⁸ Importantly in this tale, the White Hussars (an imaginary regiment) realise they have made a mistake, that the thief was in fact a Lieutenant from their own regiment. His appearance coupled with his attempted theft of a gun, that made the guards assume he was a guilty native overstepping his place (Kipling 2015).

the target of the robbery as she was carrying with her high-value jewellery. Violet concluded that:

servants in Lahore could quite easily have circulated information as to her movements; and if she had not allowed my husband to travel in her reserved compartment, it might have resulted in the loss of her jewellery- or even of her life.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch).

With no evidence or confessions, Violet laid the blame at the feet of the American Woman's Indian servants who ultimately betrayed their white mistress and colluded to steal her possessions, or even commit murder. Whilst the intention of the stowaways may not have been pure, they do not actually harm anyone onboard the train. In fact, Henry and Violet may have exacted harsher punishment on the Pathan's as they were pursued by eight or more military men. Through this story Violet sets up a clear divide between honour and dishonour, although outnumbering the Pathans four-to-one, the British officers are honourable, capturing two 'Pathans' who had the motive and opportunity to steal and murder an innocent, white, civilian. Likewise, the Indian characters in her story were dishonourable, either by attempting to commit a crime or by divulging information which encouraged a crime to take place.

When Violet and Henry finally arrived at Karachi, they heard that the men were in fact train thieves 'whom the authorities had been trying to catch for years, without success' (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). The narrative arc of this story and characters are perfect stereotypes: the loyal soldier and protective husband who intercepts wrongdoers; two 'Pathans' who display decidedly non-European manners whilst attempting to steal from members of white colonial society; a vulnerable, solo female traveller; unreliable servants; and finally, inept Indian authorities who required British Army intervention to capture the criminals. As her story progresses the stereotypes become more exaggerated, initially the intruders are an unwanted, unexpected presence in the compartment, then characterised as thieves, whilst being pursued they are criminals, and then prisoners who would have continued to rob trains and even murder unsuspecting white tourists. The turn of events in this exotic story is formulaic, echoing Victorian Adventure Stories (Kipling 2015) and justifying British presence in India as a moral compass and source of legal governance.

Both Henry and Violet acknowledge that the application of British law is not always effective or appropriate in India: 'It was also a doubtful pain for far English law, applied to, and in India' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture III). In 'Lecture III: The Conquest of India 1761-1813', Henry claims that Britain was never 'aiming at the conquest of India' (*ibid.*), as part of the colonial system he is unaware of its larger ramifications but does reflect on the methods through which India was colonised. Unlike colonial France, Britain did not force the Indian population to become citizens and tried to use existing political systems to govern through. As Newbiggin notes 'such a policy also entailed establishing what these indigenous customs were, an act which [...] often served to transform both the status and practice of these "traditions"' (2009: 86). Colonial interactions constantly revised, legitimised and critiqued Indian legal systems, and redefined the agenda of the British government in the colony.

Writing about key historical figures such as Governor-General Warren Hastings, Henry discusses the malpractice high ranking colonial administrators engaged in:

Hastings collected the debts by threats the ordinal Indian method but it was the basis of the attack Burke launched at him

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture III).

Henry fundamentally felt that India could not be governed in the same way as Britain. Accordingly, even Hastings' malpractice, which lost him his job as Governor General could be forgiven, considering the context he was working in. Providing a further example, Henry described the case of a Brahman committing forgery, resulting in his execution by the East India Company. Henry is sympathetic with those who felt the punishment was too harsh, but casts doubt on the morality of Indian leaders and legal systems more generally, suggesting they regularly deceived those they managed and did business with.

Henry used his lectures to emphasise the universal, moral standards of 'English Law':

In some ways the courts have increased litigation, but they have the great advantage of representing one system of law that covers all races in India, all castes and all provinces.

(Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture V).

Henry was well-intentioned and sees the introduction of British legal systems as a way to ensure all members of Indian society receive fair treatment, as well as consolidating colonial authority. For him, the Caste system was complex but fundamentally unfair in comparison to the British High Courts, which although bureaucratic aimed to treat all of those it managed, prosecuted, and defended, equally.

Recognising the vast discrepancy of wealth and poverty in India Henry stated that: 'India has two economic vices, hoarding and debt' (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture V) and that the 'Indian peasantry are the most debt ridden people on earth' (*ibid.*). Seeing this poverty reinforced the value of Christian charity and legal reform in the colonies. Likewise, Violet recalls the 'slums of Howrah' (Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch) where she, Henry and Clare were based pre-1920, and describes the weekly payday at the Municipal Buildings:

more opulent contingents of Indians appeared, and squatted on the pavement, with their backs against the wall of the building. These were the Marwari money lenders, and as the unfortunate, under-paid coolies came out of the paymaster's office they were grabbed by one or the other of these birds of prey and forced to disgorge what they owed to the Marwari, or at least a part, at an exorbitant rate of interest. Often there were noisy scuffles and fights, as the debtor tried to evade the debt collector. I may add that the British Authority could do nothing to improve this very ancient custom, even in the hundred odd years in which we did all possible to improve social values.

(Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch).

Violet describes the 'native' population in animalistic terms. The so-called debt collectors were lying in wait like vultures; tracking and swarming vulnerable debtors after they received hard-earned money from a civil building meant to protect them. There is an inherent sense of threat and violence, outside of the order of the municipal building. In likening the Marwari to animals, she implies this is the natural state in India. Birds of prey are associated with strength, but use this power to attack smaller creatures and pick the meat off carcasses. Like her husband, Violet was resigned to the idea that debtor/creditor relations in Indian society not only contravened British morals but were resistant to reform. In her commentary she gives the impression that this state of affairs would never be seen in Britain (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992: 8). Both Violet and Henry consider these practices 'ancient', so entrenched that even one hundred years of

British governance and 'good-example' could not establish clear laws on this private economy.

Henry and Violet's account of the poverty and debt they witnessed, fits within a greater narrative of colonial government. During the 1920's the Government of India was attempting to write new (hybridised) laws which adapted existing Islamic and Hindu systems to stratify wealth transfer. Newbiggin finds that this process was strongly influenced by elite Hindu and Muslim men attempting to 'alter their legal systems in ways that served their own interests' (2009: 83), providing them greater political representation and voice in decision-making processes. Newbiggin draws upon the idea of joint family ownership to uncover the ways in which legal reforms afforded men and women, and different ranking members of a family, different rights to property ownership (*ibid.*: 88). This resulted in limiting 'economic and social status and mobility' (Newbiggin 2009: 88). New legislation such as Jayakar's 1929 'Hindu Gains of Learning Bill' (*ibid.*: 92), which 'was to assert the rights of wealthy, professional and mercantile men' (*ibid.*: 93), allowed sole property ownership and for women to be named estate beneficiaries in wills (*ibid.*: 92). In this way personal, secular and religious values came to shape inheritance practices, management of debt, and methods of intervention³⁹.

Through differing mediums Violet and Henry, articulate a divide between law-makers and law breakers in the colony. Violet's stories are highly personalised, based on occasions where she witnessed criminality, inequality and injustice. Once again, Henry's explanations and descriptions are an academic and historical study. However both husband and wife are frustrated by illegal economies and advocate for reformation at a local and institutional level. This is symptomatic of their commitment to the civilising mission and motivated by their 'job' managing civilian and army chaplaincies across India (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch).

³⁹ At this time Cornelia Sorabji, 'who had trained as a barrister at Oxford 1889-92' (Burton 2003: 66) was a particularly influential figure in the development of Indian law and its alignment with metropolitan frameworks. She offered counsel to the Court of Wards, and Burton describes her as 'an ethnographer for the colonial state' (*ibid.*: 70) as she had privileged access to the homes, lives and concerns of women practicing Purdah, and spoke with authority on what they thought about their position, empowerment and legal representation.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 investigated and exposed the Fulford Williams' encounters and records of other groups, crossing racial, religious, medical and legal boundaries. Through storytelling Violet was able to articulate her encounters with British citizens, Indian servants, leprosy patients and criminals, and often framed her understanding of the 'other' by highlighting their unexpected behaviours (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch), in comparison to the dutiful and honourable practices of her husband (*ibid.*: Ninth Patch). Her reflections on Ahmed Ali's European mannerisms and the English leprosy patient who segregated himself to protect local people, draw her admiration as she approves of their behaviours.

Violet constructed Late-Colonial India very differently to Henry, much of this informed by gendered responsibilities and preoccupations as well as the medium of the collections. Chaudhuri and Strobel discuss a post-independence 'Raj Revival' which established 'hero' narratives through western films and popular culture about the British Empire (1992:1-2). Writing in the 1960's, Violet narrates the good deeds she, her husband and British Authorities performed; it seems her recollections, much like empire films, served to promote her heroic efforts in India to maintain and enforce good morals and prevent entrenched criminality. Taken together with the animal narratives explored in Chapter 2, in Violet's personal account she valiantly fought nature, and raised the alarm on criminality, facilitated the recognition of a lost British Citizen, and offered charitable support to diseased groups (Fulford Williams 2010). Likewise she portrayed her husband as dutiful, meticulous and justified in his actions which risked the wellbeing of local, Indian communities. She is therefore 'complicit' (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992) in continuing the legacy of Empire post-independence, through her memoir. In contrast, Henry's succinct comments throughout his lectures and articles considered a larger scale than Violet's. Yet, he discusses, temporalizes and characterises whole groups of people, tribes, religions and institutions (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I), and in this way categorises identities more distinctly than his wife.

Having concluded this chapter with the theme of British legal management in India, the next chapter offers a detailed breakdown of the application of colonial governance through the Bhawal Sannyasi Court Case and associated materials in Costello's collection at the University of Exeter and British Library. I will offer further commentary on the authority of white, middle-class, British men, their ability to define Indian subjects and the similarly assertive tone Costello employs in the Courtroom, which can be found in Henry's lecture notes. Further exploration will also be offered on the public and private nature of these records and their immediacy, having been written between 1939 and 1941.

Chapter 4: Application of Colonial Governance

Bringing Costello's collection to the fore, I would like to demonstrate how these court documents, newspaper articles and India Office Records pertaining to his work as Chief Justice on the Bhawal sannyasi case offer a different frame to understand the complexity of everyday life for white, middle-class British citizens in Late-Colonial India. Unlike the Fulford Williams' collections, these materials are not a recollection, edited volume or narrative account but rather court evidence, files and correspondence hence, there is a different kind of immediacy when interacting with these records. The Bhawal sannyasi case from initial claims in the Lower Court through to the High Court ruling, has been investigated in great detail by Chatterjee in *A Princely Imposter?* (2002). Chatterjee focused on the political complexity and Indian zamindar family involved in the case. My research on the other hand focuses on Costello's position as a white, middle-class, British man, and how this gendered and class identity informed and influenced his interactions in the Courtroom, assessing the evidence, deliberations and delivering his verdict. Whilst Costello's collection offers little insight into poverty or criminality it does demonstrate subtle interactions between the state and the individual subject/citizen, mediated through the judicial apparatus, political agents, administrators and public opinion.

Chapter 4 will begin with a brief overview of the Bhawal sannyasi case's, protracted and convoluted nature. Then I will offer more detailed analysis of the materials in Costello's collection at the University of Exeter. Importantly I will consider how this evidence was managed, and used to record and track identities. Finally I will review Costello's controversial ruling from London. Here we see how one man could drive legislative amendment to accommodate his own interest in retirement, as well as the primacy of categorising the identities of the 'other' in India at an institutional level, informed by popular opinion, social/class status and racial characteristics.

Background to the Bhawal sannyasi Case:

Costello did not sit on the original Bhawal sannyasi case but on an appeal raised by the widow of the Second Kumar, against the sannyasi who claimed to be Ramendra Narayan Roy of the Bhawal family. In 1909 Ramendra Narayan Roy,

Second Kumar, died under mysterious circumstances in Darjeeling, raising rumours that he may have been murdered, or that he survived and was not cremated (Costello 1939a: Reply to Defence Note XIV). Evidence to this effect was brought to light when it turned out his cremation certificate was signed on a different day to the event taking place (Chatterjee 2002: 295). Over the next decade, the Second Kumar's brothers also died, and 'Suddenly, the premier Hindu zamindar family of Dacca was reduced to three childless widows, none of whom was in charge of her property' (*ibid.*: 4). Bibhabati, the Second Kumar's widow, allowed her brother to make decisions with regard to her late husband's finances and life insurance settlement (*ibid.*: 3). Later, the Crown Government took over management of her lands and inheritance through the Court of Wards. It was at this juncture in 1921, in the absence of a male successor, when a vacuum of power was left, that the sannyasi returned and claimed his 'identity' as the Second Kumar.

Based on stories around Jaidebpur, Ramendra's elderly sister, Jyotirmayi requested to meet the holy man who apparently resembled her late brother. It was she, who in collaboration with some of the extended family, were convinced that the middle-aged sannyasi sat before them was the Second Kumar who passed away in his mid-twenties. They came to this conclusion based on the similarity of his skin tone, familiar marks on his body, and his emotional responses to hearing of the unfortunate deaths of the First and Third Kumar, his would-be brothers (Chatterjee 2002: 7). Interestingly the holy man did not want to claim Ramendra Narayan Roy's identity; he was pressed and persuaded to by those he met while visiting Jaidebpur, and it took several weeks (*ibid.*: 9). His return was a well celebrated and exciting affair as the 'railway company even ran special trains to Jaidebpur, and still people were hanging from the footboards and windows' (*ibid.*: 12). The sannyasi greeted family friends, tenants and the local community, as a symbol of an older management system in India, and the only heir of a prestigious family who, perhaps felt more traditional, warm and natural than the distant, financial management of British authorities. On finally declaring himself the Second Kumar, and supported by his elder sister and her children, he petitioned the Dacca Magistrate, Lindsay, and the Board of Revenue (Chatterjee 2002: 12-13), to acknowledge his right to claim his family's lands and inheritance. Plotting the shifting identity of the sannyasi in a similar way to the snake, rats and

train robbers in Violet's Memoir (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). This was the moment his identity changed from 'wandering sannyasi' (Chatterjee 2002: 4), to local celebrity, and finally an 'imposter' and threat to the status quo of colonial governance in Dacca (*ibid.*). The Second Kumar's surprise return, a decade after death, resulted in a series of legal claims and appeals that would last for over twenty years.

In conflict with the interests of the British-run Court of Wards, the Lower Court, led by Pannalal Basu, ruled that the Claimant was in fact the prince returned. He could convincingly remember household staff, such as his Ayah Aloka (Chatterjee 2002: 9), sign his name, as well as describe some of the Bhawal estate, grounds and guest houses. Most crucially for the Second Kumar, in Judge Basu's opinion were the testimonies 'of honest men and women, of all ranks and conditions of life, including nearly all the relations, and among them the sister, the First Rani, the Second Rani's own aunt and her own cousin' (Judge Basu in Chatterjee 2002: 270). Photographs in Costello's collection demonstrate that after his declaration, the sannyasi participated in family events, festivals and gatherings. Another vital aspect of the case were the confusing circumstances of the Second Kumar's death, the reliability of death and funerary certificates, and the inability of either side to conclusively prove if the prince had died, and if his remains had been burnt (Costello 1939a: Reply to Defence Note XIV).

The Lower Court verdict in the sannyasi's favour was delivered in 1936, and almost immediately an Appeal was raised by the Second Kumar's widow under the sponsorship, guidance and support of the Court of Wards. There was a financial barrier to the reclamation of his name and inheritance, as the Bhawal estate was generating significant income for the rent collectors (Chatterjee 2002: 1). The property had passed into state management so, it became extremely unlikely that the Court of Wards would willingly acknowledge his legitimacy. Hence, the position of the Second Kumar/ sannyasi was complex. According to Jayal, 'Subjects of an empire can scarcely be properly described as citizens, for a political community of free individuals would appear to be a necessary precondition for citizenship' (2013: 27). If we consider the Second Kumar to be a subject of empire without political empowerment, through his legal 'death' he had even fewer rights than other living subjects, as he lost the ability to claim his

estate and name. Surprisingly however, both the Lower Court and High Court ruled in favour of the sannyasi, declaring him the Second Kumar. At the scale of the individual, British judicial apparatus had returned autonomy to an Indian subject, over a decade before India's decolonisation post-World War Two. The courts not only acknowledged his name and identity, but also gave him back the rights to an inheritance, which had been claimed by the state. Jayal suggests 'it is clear that class and assumptions about community were equally important' (2013: 31-32) to 'citizenship' in colonial India. Perhaps it was the class status of the Second Kumar, as a member of a noble family, close to British Officials, which facilitated his acknowledgement.

The convoluted nature of the Bhawal sannyasi case contrasts with the relative ease with which, according to Violet's memoir, Angressi or Agnes' identity was reclaimed after her death (Fulford Williams 2010: Eight Patch) as discussed in Chapter 3. This required no court intervention, because there was no question of inheritance, because she was a white, middle-class, British citizen by birth and perhaps because her records were easier to access and considered more reliable than the thousands of documents presented by Indian barristers during the Bhawal case. Importantly Agnes' return was celebrated by British authorities who even attended her funeral (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch), for the sannyasi, while his return may have been celebrated by local Indian subjects (Chatterjee 2002:12), he was denied his inheritance without a court case and treated with suspicion, as a potential 'imposter' (*ibid.*) by colonial leadership.

Ramendra Narayan Roy was only three years younger than Costello; they would have been peers. However, they represent very different approaches to empire. As part of judicial apparatus, Costello was the embodiment of British law and its application onto a colonial state (Saha 2017), representing the transfer of power to his employer, the Government of India. The Second Kumar was an authority figure from within India, a high ranking member of society, a landowner who had access to private education, and part of a family who enjoyed strong friendships with British Officials (Chatterjee 2002: 33). He represents the unique approach taken by the East India Company and British Government from the late 18th to the mid-19th century. The metropole profited from the colony without directly ruling it by encouraging powerful families to govern small districts of the subcontinent ,

'as talukdars to act as intermediaries in the collection of rents from the tenants' (*ibid.*: 20). Whilst Costello and the Second Kumar came from very different backgrounds, their experiences of empire, in terms of friendships with British expatriates⁴⁰, ability to impose authority and make executive decisions which impacted colonial subjects, may have been similar. Price finds that Zamindars (like High Court Judges) were managed by and accountable to the Government of India for rent collection in their assigned region (1983: 565). In this way both Costello and the Second Kumar held similar ceremonial and legislative positions.

The Bhawal case lasted for many years bringing together hundreds of witnesses, and thousands of pieces of evidence. As Costello noted on the 13th day of the appeal:

This Case has proceeded in the lower court for 2 and a half years and since the case has been tried another 18months have elapsed.

(Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III.3).

Marking his last case under the employment of the Government of India, the appeal took several months to hear and over a year to rule on due to delays caused by Costello's leave of absence, the availability of communications and transport in the build up to World War Two, as well as negotiations between UK administrators and their counterparts in India. Costello asserted at the start of the appeal:

Our time afterall is public time. It does not matter, personally, whether we are sitting here trying this case or any other case. We are to sit in justice in cases that come before us; but it does matter from the point of view of the public. It looks to us that a great deal of time was occupied in the Court below and if we can help it we are not going to allow that to be repeated here.

(Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III.4-5).

In his mission to see the Bhawal sannyasi case through in a timely and efficient manner, Costello fundamentally failed. While hearing this case he was an active judge on other proceedings, encompassing a broad range of colonial trade interests such as tea licensing. Importantly as a public servant, Costello was responsible for the deployment of the court resources, funded by public taxes.

⁴⁰ The Bhawal estate hosted hunting parties for Lord Kitchener and Birdwood (Chatterjee 2002: 23).

This was a similar duty to the community that Henry Fulford Williams would have felt, as he took pastoral and moral responsibility for the Christian members of his parish (Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch).

Basu, the Lower Court Judge commented that there was extensive interest in the case, which dominated newspaper headlines, with 'public sympathy [...] on the side of the Plaintiff' (Basu in Chatterjee 2002: 186). While hearing the appeal, Costello collected a large volume of newspaper cuttings; these are held in a paper folder and remain disorganised. Some do not mention the case at all, and on others there are advertisements and promotions for 'Votes for Women' and 'Birth Control' (Costello 1939a: Newspaper Cuttings). The appeal alone took up almost six months of court time and, in one of the cuttings from the Calcutta Statesman, dated 13th August 1939, under the headline 'Bhowal Raj Case Appeal Concluded, 164 Days of Hearing, Judgement Reserved', Costello is quoted: "Your troubles are over ours are still continuing" (*ibid.*). In many ways his comment acknowledges the burden of the decision before him, a choice between the interests of the Government of India and the colonial society. Referencing public responses to the case, Costello calls the sannyasi 'news' (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book I.8). It is noteworthy that after dissecting the evidence in the court room, Costello spent his leisure time reading articles on the case from multiple outlets, cut these out, and kept them with his case notes. I would question whether Costello's fixation on public opinion and the media bolstered his understanding of the appeal and its significance in the colony. Or, whether he was enjoying the sense of rumour and mystique around the case, and by extension his own notoriety. At once Costello appears to be a thoughtful and thorough decision-maker, examining the case from multiple angles, as well as someone willing to compromise his own impartiality by reading media abstractions of the original evidence he was presented with. Worse still, this collection of articles may be an example of colonial 'curiosities' (Breckenridge 1989: 212), a stack of memorabilia collected in India and brought back to England, used to reinforce his powerful position as a white, British Judge.

Having summarised the background of the case, demonstrating its significance in terms of administrative authority, resource deployment and popular opinion, I will now focus on the materiality of the collection housed at the University of

Exeter. The evidence submitted for the original trial makes up a substantial proportion of the collection. It is a case study in the administrative procedures and decision-making process of the High Courts in Late-Colonial India. More importantly it offers insight into the mentality of the High Court Judge, Costello, leading the panel and even offers record of his voice in Court Transcripts.

Evidencing and recording identities

The eclectic mix of evidence in Costello's collection was rationalised by court administrators into large albums filled with examples of the late Kumar and sannyasi's handwriting, as well as photographs (personally taken and court ordered⁴¹), and artist sketches. Each image is annotated though it is unclear whether this was by Costello himself, Judge Basu⁴² or an administrator. Comments focus on just one or two features, and guide the judicial panel through similarities and dissimilarities in the late Princeling and sannyasi's appearances. In one album, there are only four images, the Kumar's/sannyasi's face has been removed from the background of the photograph, cut away from his context. On the largest of these images, there are handwritten notes and arrows around the man's eyes. They simply read 'Yes' (Costello 1939a: Photo Album II Pt. II). Judges Costello, Lodge and Biswas sitting on the appeal, attempted to use artist impressions and enlarged photographs to confirm or disprove identity, in the absence of technologies such as DNA analysis and computer imaging.

One of the albums is unconventional in that it opens length ways and plots a timeline of Ramendra Narayan Roy through a series of teen and adult photographs prior to death, followed by images of the sannyasi after 1921 (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Pt. II Vol. III). In most of the pictures the youthful Second Kumar was central in the frame, his status clear from his clothing and the fact that no expense had been spared to regularly capture portraits of the Princeling during his youth. The first photograph is a group picture with his elder brother took in 1898, when Ramendra was 14 years old. The daughters of Bhawal

⁴¹ Ray Desmond presented a lecture in 1985, on the history and influence of photography in India, and finds that it was in the 1870's that photographic evidence was first drawn upon to enable expert witnesses internationally, to assess aspects of criminal cases, for instance 'cause of death' (Desmond 1985: 53).

⁴² Certainly Judge Basu's notes and signature are present in some of the albums as he admitted evidence in 1933, and requested photographs with multiple people to be labelled for rapid identification (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Vol. I Group IV).

estate are not present. By 18-years old (around 1902) his attire was notably westernised, photographed in a loose shirt, linen trousers and laced shoes. Another, dated 1903-4 shows the Kumar in a waistcoat, shirt, jacket and fez. This is followed by the Kumar in loose trousers, leather boots, a black blazer and shirt. In the final image known to be the Second Kumar he is in mid-twenties, and having just returned from a shooting party, proudly sits with his foot on the carcass of a tiger he had hunted. A shotgun in his hands and bullet belts across his chest, the typescript caption below the photo states: 'Taken in 1909, just before he left for Darjeeling' (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Pt. II Vol. III). Locating both the Kumar and reader in time and space, this was the closest image of the Second Kumar before his 'death', and therefore must be taken by the Judges as the truest representation of the man.

Many of the photographs are from the Victorian period, a time which Green-Lewis argues has become visible in history through photographic and filmic technologies: 'The Victorians continue to exist in the absolute and paradoxical present of the photograph, always there yet gone forever: both in, and out, of history; always already dead, yet still alive' (2000: 53). In many ways Ramendra Narayan Roy further complicated linear considerations of life and death. While articles of his identity such as photographs continued to exist, they allowed those living, including the sannyasi, barristers, court officials, and family to bolster claims on his life and inheritance. The photographs provided the sannyasi (if a fraud) with the ability to imitate the looks, style and manner of the late Second Kumar. In fact, it appears in the remaining photographs that the sannyasi had been staged in similar poses and outfits to those taken in the Kumar's youth (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Pt. II Vol. III). Gradually the sannyasi starts to appear more and more like Ramendra Narayan Roy as his beard is shaved clean, and his long braided hair cropped to a short style.

Reinforcing the confusing subject-citizen relationship the labelled photographs demonstrate the ability of British Courts to frame the Indian colonial subject, physically in the confines of the album; geographically through the notes on his location; and temporally as they track the changing appearance of the Plaintiff. More challenging still, some of the court notes around the images suggest that not all of the evidence was willingly submitted for the investigation. This material

has been captioned 'after objection' (Costello 1939a: Part II Photo Album Volume III). One could consider these photographs privileged information, taken against the wishes of the subject. Costello then shipped these images outside of India and the control of court facilities, to London, then Devon. This is a legacy of colonialism in India which, continues to act in the present. Costello made no attempt to return the photographs to official repositories or their rightful owners, hence, the albums eventually found their way into a public access archive.

The next photo in the Kumar's timeline is dated twelve years later and captioned 'Sanyasi on his return home'. This is a leading comment as it presupposes a sense of belonging and identity which had yet to be confirmed by the High Court. In the picture, the sanyasi is bare chested, in white trousers, has a full beard and long hair, reaching beyond his waist. By the final photograph, dated 1934, it is over a decade since the Second Kumar's reappearance. Costello and his colleagues were reviewing the facts of the case using evidence which was over 30 years old and discontinuous. Frustrations surrounding the integrity and completeness of documentation is something Henry articulated during his research on Portuguese Church records (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V). Providing an opportunity to cement their status as leaders, with access to privileged information, it seems storing and managing the chronology of records in the colony, was a priority for the white, middle-class, British men I have studied.

Chatterjee notes that many of the expert witnesses called to assess the photographs, including artists and photographers, argued that the pictures were of different men as their facial features were dissimilar, in ways not accounted for by age or, lifestyle (Chatterjee 2002: 189). Distancing himself somewhat from the responsibility of identifying the sanyasi as the Second Kumar, Costello ruled on whether the Lower Court investigation, trial and verdict was rigorous and competent. The photographs in many ways became superfluous to Costello's final decision as he was not required to overturn the ruling of his colleague (*ibid.*: 237) or decisively state his position vis-à-vis the identity of the sanyasi. Therefore, like the newspaper articles, were these photographs kept by Costello as a souvenir of his final case in India, instead of crucial evidence?

Other albums in this diverse collection contain extracts of letters and pages of individual words cut out to compare the handwriting of Ramendra Narayan Roy to the sannyasi (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Pt. II Vol. II). There was no expectation on the judges to read Bengali but instead to compare the shapes of the script, pen thicknesses and angle of the words changing over time. On these pages most of the content of the letters was omitted, however, it was suggested that much of the correspondence submitted may well have been dictated and written by relatives or servants (Chatterjee 2002: 166). In other places entire personal letters, receipts and shop bills, bearing the mark of the Second Kumar, his wife, and his immediate family are displayed (Costello 1939a: Photo Album Pt. II Vol. II), once again straining the idea of consent and confidentiality. The Lower Court went as far as to test the sannyasi, asking for a live signature during the trial, which was enlarged and annotated with 'hesitating' and pen lifts (*ibid.*: Photo Album Group IV Pt. I). Chaudhuri, Legal Representative for the Court of Wards, suggested that the sannyasi had merely been coached to imitate the shape of the Second Kumar's signature and did not have the literacy skills possessed by the late prince (Costello 1939a: Reply to Defence Note IX). Another line of argument he took was that due to the Kumar's class, status and education, he 'knew English etiquette fairly well. They had picked up the English ways, manners and customs because their lives made them used to it' (*ibid.*: Court Transcript Book IV.14). The Plaintiff on the other hand, did not know how to put on European-style trousers properly, and could not speak good English (*ibid.*). It seems that this case crossed all aspects of social life, from popular culture and fashion, to politics, inheritance, family, religion, and geography.

British Judges Lodge and Costello, less familiar with Indian practices and customs were in many ways ill-equipped to assess the legitimacy of an Indian subject. This was a position exploited by Chaudhuri by relating the sannyasi's case and claims to other parts of the empire. He puts it to the judges that:

It is inconceivable that any European, and I suppose any Indian, if he lived in the middle of the wilds of South Africa for 25 years that when he had come back he would have forgotten his mother tongue.

(Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book IV.7).

Of course Costello, based outside of the metropole for over a decade had retained his command of his language so, how could the sannyasi claim to have

lost the knowledge and skills possessed by the Second Kumar by virtue of time spent away from home? Drawing once again on Bhabha's framework, despite his logical arguments, Chaudhuri had become a 'mimic' figure who was 'not quite' respected by the judges sitting on the case (Bhabha 1984: 132). He and his team regularly fumbled and wasted court time (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book IV); it took several weeks for Mr Chaudhuri to get through his opening speech, a seemingly humorous and frustrating process as Costello desperately tried to receive clear answers, and repeatedly reminded the legal team to get to the point (*ibid.*).

In *A Princely Imposter?*, Chatterjee finds that the Bhawal case was an opportunity for nationalist debates and conflicts to play out:

If B.C. Chatterjee had a reputation as a nationalist barrister, A.N. Chaudhuri was his exact opposite. He was extravagantly westernized in his lifestyle and belonged to that exclusive set of Calcutta in which white expatriate businessmen and officials dominated.

(Chatterjee 2002: 140).

Considering Chaudhuri's favour with British Officials, it is no wonder that he was selected by the Court of Wards to represent the interests of Bibhabati and the property they controlled. For B.C. Chatterjee, as a nationalist, legitimising the sannyasi may have been defending an independent India (*ibid.*), in control of its own possessions and position. Throughout the appeal the two barristers competed with and criticised each other, often at the expense of presenting their case in a logical, professional manner. For complaints were raised against Chaudhuri, accusing him of 'taunts and jeers' (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III.19) which could prejudice the judgement of Biswas, Lodge and Costello. The ability to petition judges was a practice unfamiliar and frustrating to Costello who responded:

You may be quite sure we shall pay no attention to it. It is most reprehensible that matters of that kind should be dealt with by so called petitions. It is a mofussil habit which ought to be stopped.

(Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III.19).

Here not only do we see the rising tension between nationalists and those sympathetic to colonialists but also between the British Court system and the legacy of Indian legal practices. 'Mofussil' is used by Costello to denote the non-

British procedures and takes on the implication of inefficiency, distraction and inconvenience. The personal critiques, insults and petitions simply did not fit with Costello's ideal metropolitan legal framework, and saw the High Court Judge placed in a position as a mediator between the opposing councils, instead of the Plaintiff and Appellants. His comments on the need to reform these practices echo the frustrated tone of Violet and Henry's accounts of poverty and debt management in India (Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch).

The tensions continued in the courtroom with B.C. Chatterjee writing a defence note to the judges:

The argument that the Mejo Kumar would have been found out although he was roaming about with the Sanyasis either Mr. Chaudhuri has forgotten the ways of his country and countrymen; or he is arguing for arguments sake. If a member of the Calcutta Bar were to disappear with Sanyasis in like circumstances no body could find him out unless he reappeared of his own accord.

(Costello 1939a: Defence Note XIV).

The barrister suggested the only reason Chaudhuri could deny the sannyasi was the Second Kumar, was because he had forgotten himself and his heritage. That he fundamentally misunderstood his own country, religious practices and compatriots. For B.C. Chatterjee, Chaudhuri's westernised dress, lifestyle and speech meant he was only familiar with the administrative and record-keeping practices of British-managed cities. He failed to acknowledge that the sannyasis freely moved around the Indian subcontinent, were often isolated and remained unrecorded. In many ways this defence note outlines a crucial challenge in the case, Costello had to assess what was possible in India, in order to understand whether the Kumar could have remained unidentified for so long; have forgotten literacy skills; and if the body could have been lost before cremation. These crucial factors all rest on a thorough understanding of what is 'normal' in India.

When taken together the photographs, signatures, letters, artist sketches and other evidence catalogued by the Government of India's Courts, demonstrate the magnitude of colonial administrative facilities. It also allows us a better understanding of Costello's at times terse comments and frustration. Much of the evidence was superfluous and repetitive, and all of it required reviewing; the case itself became at points farcical due to the sheer volume of witnesses and

evidence presented. Some of the documents proved to be falsified (Chatterjee 2002: 343), and some letters admitted by Chaudhuri were forged or tampered with. This was an important sticking point for Costello, speaking to his own meticulous nature as much as the intricacies of the paper heavy, convoluted case. There is a sense of deceit, especially on the part of the Appellants which, implied the Court of Wards did not have intentions of a fair trial. This ties closely to Henry Fulford Williams' comment about the commonplace forgery undertaken in India by those in power (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture III). Here however, by continuing to employ Chaudhuri's law firm, a British institution, the Court of Wards, was tacitly approving of perjury.

After reviewing the contents of the collection, its consolidation and court procedure in 1939, as well as Costello's troubling management of confidential information pertaining to Indian subjects and the way it entered the archival space, I will now turn attention to how the case was closed. Much like Henry lecturing on India while based in Europe (University of Exeter 2018b), Costello delivered his final ruling on the Appeal from London, in 1941. Investigating India Office Record and Papers from the British Library, 94-pages of correspondence between the High Court Judge, various administrators and officials, I have been able to track the negotiations both institutions and Costello engaged in, in order to rule on the case (Ince 1939).

Ruling from the Metropole

The letters held in Costello's file in the British Library contain a variety of correspondence including private notes between officials (Dibdin 1940c). These go some way to explaining why Costello took so long to rule on the Bhawal Sannyasi case, which concluded after 21-months. They also evidence the complex negotiations undertaken by individual political agents during the late-colonial period. The letters and telegrams offer a picture of the Judge at the centre of bureaucratic exchanges within and between the UK and India. As will be discussed later, it seems leaders from both countries used their counterparts to make difficult decisions, reassign personnel and disclose unpleasant information (Dibdin 1940a). This was the case during Costello's concurrent employment as part of the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors in the UK and Calcutta High Court Judge in India.

On leave from India in September 1939, at the outbreak of World War Two, Costello volunteered for an unpaid position on the Appellate Tribunal, hearing cases on conscripted citizens who refused to participate in the war. This responsibility, coupled with 'ill-health', and the disruption caused by the war represented the moment the High Court Judge returned permanently to the metropole. Costello's service in British Courts required the permission of the UK Secretary of State, the Ministry of Labour, and his employer, the Government of India. The Ministry of labour conditionally offered Costello the job and requested permission from the India Office. Likewise the Government of India was consulted to ensure Costello's leave could be extended for him to perform his 'national service' (*Costello 1939b*). Ince a civil servant in the Ministry of Labour wrote:

Sir Leonard has been good enough to say that he would be prepared to serve without remuneration, provided that there is no objection so far as the India Office is concerned.

(Ince 1939).

Costello's unpaid 'national service' is the first indication that he had little intention of returning to India and was instead looking for excuses to extend his leave in the UK.

No objection was raised on the condition Costello committed to returning to deliver a ruling on the Bhawal case. An arrangement confirmed by Arthur Dibdin, Secretary in the Public and Judicial Department of the India Office in London, on the 11th November 1939:

You can take it the secretary of state will offer no objection to his serving on the tribunal without remuneration for the currency of his leave including any period by which the Government of India may be willing to extend it subject to the condition that such employment will not interfere with his return to India if he should be recalled to duty.

(Dibdin 1939).

In this letter Dibdin mentioned that Costello had not personally contacted the India Office as expected. All of the letters sent by Costello in the file were handwritten⁴³, many of them on letterhead paper from the National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, unlike the official typescript of his colleagues. The National Liberal Club was and

⁴³ Including his resignation (*Costello 1940a*).

remains to be, an exclusive, members only club in London used by upper middle-class men and women to socialise and conduct business. Costello spent some measure of his leave relaxing with upper-class peers and perhaps avoided regular contact with the Government of India and India Office who, could demand his return to the colony. By November 17th Costello wrote to the Government of India requesting an extension of his leave until the end of March 1940, at which point his judgement on the Bhawal Case would be ready⁴⁴.

Within a few weeks, three governmental organisations from two different countries had approved a monopoly of power in which Costello was allowed to act as an authority figure in both India and the UK, deciding the legitimacy of claims made by individuals who challenged the interests of the state. This process and the volume of agents involved in managing his service, retirement, and voluntary role demonstrate the intercontinental scale British Administration. Headrick writes on the history of telegrams and communications in British India, highlighting their political power to reinforce and destabilise colonial authority. By 1900 there were 12970 post offices in India (Headrick 2010: 52), when Costello was working in the late 1930's and early 1940's this number had grown. Costello's case highlights the ways in which diffuse communications with multiple agencies meant that colonial administrative systems were not always efficient. In this file correspondence was a convoluted affair, exacerbated by the slow response of the Judge to his employers and colleagues.

It is not clear how the relationship between Costello and the Ministry of Labour soured, however, by January of 1940, Ince had already enquired as to the possibility of Costello being redeployed before his leave ended in March. Dibdin wrote in an unaddressed, handwritten note:

Ince who wants to get rid of Costello. I told him that Costello is due back on 1st Mar & that if he really couldn't wait till then he'd better ring me again, & he will.

(Dibdin 1940a).

⁴⁴ This was two-months later than the original January deadline. Almost a decade after the first court case, over a year since the beginning of the appeal and three years after the lower court ruling (Costello 1939a Court Transcript Book III).

Dibdin's letters give the impression he was an acerbic, witty man, able to navigate the conflicting personalities and interests of leaders in the Ministry of Labour, Government of India and India Office. He carefully avoided taking sides, and seemed to find the notes, complaints and requests of Ince and Costello humorous and predictable. The question of Costello's employment must have taken up a significant amount of his time, and he seemed to be well-aware of Costello's motivation to avoid India:

The Ministry who in the first instance were anxious to secure him are now most anxious that he should cease to be a member of the tribunal and hoped that this would be secured by his return to India. They think that his decision not to go (if he can avoid it) is a new development (I am not sure) and would like us by fair means or foul to secure that India insist on his return.

(Dibdin 1940b).

G.H. Ince and his colleague Thorne, pressed Dibdin to arrange Costello's redeployment. Costello likewise started to indicate his preference to stay in the UK, on the grounds of ill-health⁴⁵ (*ibid.*) and initiate the process of retiring from all duties in the colony. The comment 'by fair means or foul' indicates Dibdin's political influence within the India Office, as well as the willingness of other officials to banish Costello by whatever means necessary. Clearly the British Ministry of Labour attempted to use the India Office and Government of India, to indirectly facilitate personnel changes instead of dismissing Costello from the Tribunal.

As he deliberated his position on the Bhawal case in London, advice was airmailed by the junior judges on the panel, Biswas and Lodge. Each took the opposite view (*Derbyshire 1940*) and therefore Costello was necessary to provide absolute closure to the case. This was in the interests of both the Government of India and India Office who wished to end the highly publicised appeal, which was an expensive use of time and resources, distracting from growing security and public concerns over the war. To provide a swift decision, convenient for Costello who was now based in London, he proposed making his judgement in the UK, which could simply be read aloud in the Calcutta High Court by Lodge or Biswas. This type of ruling required an 'ad hoc' amendment to the Civil Procedure Code

⁴⁵ Costello's illness is never disclosed, he only mentions losing weight (Costello 1940b).

or a short term local government act (Dibdin 1940c). Representing the Government of India, Harold Derbyshire, Chief Justice of Bengal, wrote to Dibdin to reject the idea of ruling in absentia which could have invalidated Costello's decision and left the ruling open to further appeals (Derbyshire 1940).

By 1940 the conflict in Europe had heightened and travelling to India during this time, by boat or plane was risky. World War Two fundamentally changed Costello's relationship with the colony, instead of being a place where he was able to assert his authority, secure his livelihood and a service pension, it became a threatened exile he was keen to avoid if possible (Dibdin 1940b). Perhaps as Dibdin suspected, Costello had always intended to permanently return to the UK and rule in absentia, justifying why he had brought his case files back to London and prearranged contact with Biswas and Lodge. Perhaps he did have legitimate health concerns, though as he lived another forty years (until he was 91) we can assume that the affliction was not life threatening. Or perhaps, in the wake of war across Europe and Asia, his retirement on the grounds of ill-health was a convenient way to bring his employment with the Government of India to a hasty, clean conclusion, so that he could remain at home and avoid the risk of travelling abroad (Secretary of State 1940). Despite the similarity in their background and meticulous nature, in this aspect Costello is exactly opposite to Henry. When World War Two was declared, Henry though middle-aged requested permission to re-join his former regiment and offered to return to India; instead the Bishop of Gibraltar deployed him to Lisbon (Fulford Williams 2010: Chapter Eleven- Lisbon Patches, 1939-1945).

The Bhawal sannyasi case played a significant role in Costello's career despite his distance from the colony, as his retirement was contingent on the delivery of a final ruling. By May 1940 the Chief Justice in Bengal contacted Costello requesting his return to India, as did the Home Department of the Government of India. However, with transport an impossibility until September, Costello finally secured the legal amendment necessary for him to deliver a ruling in the UK, in July 1940, 10-months after his leave began.

A Judge of the High Court may pronounce the written judgement or opinion of any other Judge of the said Court signed by him when such Judge continues to be a Judge of such Court but is prevented by

absence or any other reason from pronouncing that judgement or opinion in open Court.

(Judicial Home Department 1940).

Therefore, Costello's legal opinion and authority became boundary-less, his judgement valid even though he was absent from both the courtroom and country he was employed within. The law was not determined by a physical space and a new principle had been created for the validity of British Officials working between the UK and colonies. Vernon Dawson, also an India Office Secretary in the Public and Judicial Department, was a vital agent in securing Costello further leave, initially to November 1940. He was also the most inconvenienced in mediating between the Judge and the Government of India, frequently having to chase replies, forward or resend correspondence to Costello who was staying in London and Topsham, Devon⁴⁶ (Dawson 1941a) Dawson acted as witness for Costello's ruling and decrees in London, and forwarded his letter of resignation to the Secretary of State for India. It was agreed in India that Costello's contract of employment could not be terminated until the decrees had been received by the Calcutta High Court. Hence, Costello remained on paid leave as an employee until March 14th, 1941, whereupon, as sanctioned by the Governor-General, he received an annual pension of £1200 (*Dawson 1941b*).

Costello's concluding statement, in favour of the sannyasi was airmailed on July 10th, 1940 but did not arrive until August 19th. Drawing on a case study of a rape trial from 1911 Burma, Saha explores the positionality of British Judges ruling with 'impartiality', seeking 'truth' and maintaining Stoler's concept of the 'hierarchy of credibility' (Saha 2017: 530). In the Bhawal Sannyasi case, in acknowledging the holy man as Ramendra Narayan Roy, Costello had to demonstrate his impartiality, especially given that his verdict was actually delivered in London (Dibdin 1940c). In gendered terms he ruled in favour of the man over the widow. In terms of the court system he reinforced the authority of a colleague and by extension their employer. However, he did challenge the intentions of the British Court of Wards, in favour of an Indian Citizen.

Chatterjee states that:

⁴⁶ Henry, Violet and Costello all returned to the county to continue their vocations, and eventually retire.

The decision of the High Court was a huge blow to the defendants in the Bhawal sannyasi case. Certainly there was a keen expectation in official circles that the judges of the High Court would, as in the defamation suit of 1924-1925, overturn the judgement of the lower court.

(Chatterjee 2002: 367).

The author describes Costello's verdict as a 'mystery', and suggests he may have been motivated by a 'growing awareness that he would never in fact go back to India' (*ibid.*) and did not have 'a stake in the continuation of the system' (*ibid.*). This assessment is limited. Costello was not 'growing aware' of the fact that he would not return to his High Court duties, he was actually avoiding them for 11-months through volunteer work, slow communications and excuses. Moreover, I would like to assert that as an employee of the Government of India and a resident of the metropole, Costello did have a stake in the continuation of the system. For him, India was gainful employment, a retirement fund and a significant part of his identity as someone that had devoted his energy and career to serving his country⁴⁷.

This file of India Office Records and Papers evidence Costello's empowered position as he delayed and dictated the method of his ruling against standard procedure, and with no mention of the inconvenience he would have been causing to Ramendra Narayan Roy who was unable to access his inheritance. These letters also demonstrate the communications and compromises made at the institutional level to effectively manage both metropolitan and Indian citizens/subjects. Finally Costello's ability to significantly extend his leave whilst socialising at exclusive clubs in London demonstrates the strikingly different lifestyle he enjoyed as a civil servant (Costello 1939a: W.J. Costello), compared to the financial challenges facing Henry, who worked during his leaves from the colony (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Both Henry and Costello had a

⁴⁷ An officer in WW1, India High Court Judge through the 1920's and 1930's, a member of the Appellate Tribunal during World War Two, a politician (ACAD n.d.) and High Sherriff (Pugsley 2008: 3).

sense of duty to the empire and wished to perform some kind of national service, however, as Costello tried to avoid returning to India, Henry volunteered to go.

Conclusion:

Chatterjee's concludes that the Bhawal sannyasi case was:

in microcosm the secret story of the transfer of power in Late-Colonial India, carried out not so much in street demonstrations, prisons, and conference tables but within the interstices of the governmental apparatus itself -slowly, quietly and in the end, decisively.

(Chatterjee 2002: 378).

I would suggest that Costello evidences the ways in which the wishes of a white, middle-class, British man could influence and restructure the order of decision-making. Costello's career and social-life were completely tied up in the idea of Empire and what it meant to enforce laws in the UK and abroad. He may have ruled in favour of the sannyasi, simply because he believed that evidence to be true and valid (Chatterjee 2002: 367). Whilst not siding with Lodge or the Court of Wards, he affirmed the lower court which also worked under the Government of India, and avoided destabilising the existing system of rule. On the other hand, Costello's resistance to the wishes of the Government of India, India Office and Ministry of Labour, undermined colonial authority. This was further exacerbated by his ruling in favour of the sannyasi, effectively removing a revenue stream from the Court of Wards. In a similar vein to Stoler's research on the Dutch East Indies, this Court case and associated materials track the frameworks and amendments to institutional procedures (Stoler 2009: 58) which recorded and categorised individuals across and within groups.

The appeal and Costello's verdict were symptomatic of the end of the colonial period and the loosening of direct control of the British Empire. Costello's experience of retiring from the colony echo the confusion over power at this moment, as he resisted being recalled to India for reasons of health and delays caused by World War Two. The retention and acquisition of these materials in many ways served to perpetuate patriarchal colonial authority which negated the wishes of Ramendra Narayan Roy's widow, and resulted in private letters,

receipts and photographs being accessible to a metropolitan public without permission of the original owners, post-independence.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Through immersion into archival materials, following the research methodologies outlined by Stoler (2009) and Burton (2003) I have had the opportunity to read and reflect on the commentary offered by white, middle-class, British expatriates living and working in Late-Colonial India. The strength of this research project and archival studies more broadly is the ability to provide depth and specificity. Investigating the compromises, contradictions and complicity of Violet, Henry and Costello, this research has outlined their diverse reactions to the colony, the people they met and their responsibilities. I have compared and contrasted their narrative styles, content and tone, seeing beyond the arching narrative of empowerment and disempowerment (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992: 2).

Violet Fulford Williams' memoir articulates her sense of community, categories of otherness and responsibilities, both as a white, middle-class citizen and as a homeowner, mother and wife. Recording events within the frame of her lived experience, she described her family life in Late-Colonial India decades after Indian Independence, when she had retired to Devon, near her childhood home. She recorded moments she deemed most exciting, that represented the 'India' in her memory (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch).

Over the course of Violet's narrative we are invited into the domestic space. Her upper, middle-class background in South Africa and Devon, travels and education in Europe (Fulford Williams 2010: Educational Patches) demonstrate how she was equipped to meet the challenge of homemaking outside of the metropole (Bush 1994: 386; Stoler 1995: 8) and without the financial support of her relatives. In keeping with Stoler's finding that 'Parenting, and motherhood specifically, was a class obligation and duty of empire' (1995:135). Violet's memoir also details how she ensured her white, middle-class children conformed to British standards of behaviour. First, by sending them to a Diocesan school, and then, boarding them in England. Reinforcing this, her record of Dr. Graham's Homes (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch) articulates the positive role she believed white, middle-class, British missionaries played in educating non-white children.

As primary care-giver to Clare, Charles and Robin, Violet felt pressure to control their behaviours. Her 'horror' at witnessing Clare and Charles disrupt Christian Church services by pretending to be Muslim and Sikh (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch) was a crisis point which highlighted her failure to instil bourgeois 'moral predicates and invisible essences' (Stoler 1995: 134). This was a situation she rapidly addressed by sending her children to elite, British schools, placing an expectation on Henry to fund their instruction.

Continuing to explore the micropolitics of the home, throughout the memoir we gain insight into the relationships built up between Indian servants and white employers. Violet was completely reliant on the support of Mili Didi to run her household and look after Clare, Charles and Robin (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Nonetheless the Ayah is a target for her blame and frustration when her children interrupt church services (*ibid.*: Seventh Patch) and when animals enter the domestic space. Mili Didi is presented as crucial to their homelife, attending to the children, included in photographs, empowered to scold her mistress for an untidy bedroom, yet considered responsible for the children's misbehaviour, and careless in allowing vermin into the parsonage (*ibid.*: Seventh Patch). Violet's bond with Mili Didi has aspects of friendship and camaraderie, as well as building boundaries between employer and employee.

Safeguarding the domestic space seems to be a responsibility Violet dedicated much of her time and energy to. A 'hero' in her own story (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992: 2) Violet devotes long passages of her memoir to relatively short encounters, such as her interactions with the rats and black cobra (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). In these tales, she separates herself from the disruptive creatures and chaotic natural environment. In the case of the cobra, Violet heavily pregnant with her son, runs back to the house and allows Indian servants to pursue the venomous snake (*ibid.*: Sixth Patch). With the rats, after shooing the rodents out, she checks on her children and leaves the messy bedroom, broken crockery and damaged magazines for Mili Didi to tidy up (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Clearly household staff were an important source of support and protection for white, middle-class women and their children in Late-Colonial India.

Linked to the idea of seeking protection and safeguarding the civilised, domestic space, through the train 'robbery' scene, Violet characterised both the Indian subcontinent and 'native' populations as threatening, untrustworthy and dishonourable (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). In her story the Pathans sought to steal from/ harm colonial citizens and servants were accused of circulating private information. Comforted by Henry's protection and the law enforcement of the British Army's (*ibid.*), Violet brings her story to a happy conclusion: the criminals are captured and a potentially lethal situation keenly avoided. This story taken together with her recollections of animals evidence her inherent distrust of the Indian environment.

Entering a middle-class, Indian household, Violet is shocked when she meets Angressi. A white, middle-class, British woman by birth, Angressi was raised in a Muslim home after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. She greeted Violet with 'salaams', practiced purdah and dressed in Indian clothes (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). Violet's response to the elderly woman was maternalistic and perhaps condescending. This is in contrast the admiration she expresses for Ahmed Ali, Angressi's son who, through his education, mannerisms and fashion felt familiar and 'almost' European (Bhabha 1984: 130). Chaudhuri and Strobel point to white women's complicity in empire through 'maternal imperialism', 'sympathetic to Indians, these reform-minded women generally subscribed to the superiority of their own culture and political systems' (1992: 8). As wife to a Curate, her interest in education, reform and control extended beyond her home and children, to her husband's friends and parishioners.

Admiring and fondly recollecting Henry's work, Violet emphasised his vulnerability to catching and transmitting diseases while completing his vocational duties (Fulford Williams 2010: Sixth Patch). Ministering leprosy patients, threatened the welfare of her home and family, hence Violet records his ritual cleaning practices as an important aspect of his engagement with diseased individuals (*ibid.*). Importantly, instead of criticising the risks Henry exposed residents of Kasauli and Kalka to, in starting a hill fire to burn a 'leper's corpse, and the wooden hut which contained it' (Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch); she praises his commitment to giving their compatriot a good death and 'protecting' the local Indian population who would likely catch and spread the disease (*ibid.*).

In sum, Violet's class background, coupled with her gendered experience as a mother and wife informed her sense of duty, community and responsibility. The risk of her children failing to learn the white, middle-class, British behaviours she deemed appropriate and catching diseases such as leprosy or plague, motivated her to control Clare, Charles and Robin's home and education (Fulford Williams 2010: Seventh Patch). She had a vested interest in the work of her husband, the army he was an officer in, and the middle-class friendships he established with white and Indian members of the community, such as Barrister Ahmed Ali (Fulford Williams 2010: Eighth Patch). While in India she supported and promoted the work of other white, middle-class citizens: Miss Wilson who treated Angressi (*ibid.*), the Australian couple who managed the leprosy asylum in Sabathu (*ibid.*: Sixth Patch), Dr Graham and his wife who cared for mixed-race children at the Kalimpong Mission (*ibid.*: Seventh Patch), and her husband Henry, who ministered local communities.

Reading the collections of a husband and wife, demonstrate the differing priorities and reflections the couple engaged in during and after the colonial encounter. While Violet articulated the challenge of homemaking through moments of tension and anxiety, her husband notably focused his lens and materials outside of the domestic space. As explored in Chapter 1 and throughout this thesis, the tone of Henry's archival material is frequently assertive and appears objective. Unlike Violet, Henry does not mention his personal life, finances or family in his India Notes (Fulford Williams 1945). Through his scholarly approach, at times he conforms to masculine, Eurocentricity; prioritising British interests and frustrated by unpredictable situations such as the damage to church records caused by Termites (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter V). It is through Violet's record of her husband that we see beyond his meticulous and detail oriented style, to understand a man undertaking a vocational career, at times living apart from his family, ministering civilian and army communities, and acting as a key liaison between Colonial Officials, European citizens and Indian subjects (Fulford Williams 2010: Ninth Patch).

As a father he was responsible for the upbringing of his children. Perhaps more distant than Violet or Mili Didi in managing his children's behaviours, he was

certainly crucial in ensuring they had access to a British education. In order to do this he worked with little rest throughout his two decades in India (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch). Like his wife, Henry comments on the reformatory role of British colonialists in India, but focuses on education systems, political institutions and administration. Through his lectures he conveys a sense of colonialist nostalgia (Rosaldo 1989) articulating his regret at the apparent loss of 'culture' through education policies (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV). He also complicates Bhabha's mimicry framework (Bhabha 1984: 127) by suggesting that Indian universities did not teach or assess their graduates with the same rigour as British institutions (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture IV). As outlined in Chapter 2, Indian graduates schooled in the colony, could be considered mimics of the wealthy, middle-class Indian subjects who attended British/European institutions.

In both Violet and Henry's collections behaviours and religious affiliations are important to categorising the people they met and studied. For Henry, differing religious values and practices feature as exciting opportunities to engage with 'traditional culture'. According to his India Notes, violent tribes including 'fiery Mohamedans' and Thagi (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I) ought to be reformed and benefited from British administration (Nandy 2009:8). Meanwhile festivals such as the Sonapur Mela should be experienced, soaked in and celebrated (Fulford Williams 1945: Chapter VIII). Lecturing in Portugal in 1939, Henry clearly felt he could speak with authority on Indian history, groups and religions, and that he had some duty to share his decades of experience with other white, middle-class Europeans. In this position he was trusted to define and reinforce colonial categories.

Studying the collections of two British, white, middle-class men, offered the opportunity to understand their substantially different materials, responsibilities and motivations (Fulford Williams 1945; Costello 1939b). As discussed in Chapter 1, Costello and Henry were both educated at Cambridge University and deployed to India to serve under larger military, clerical and judicial institutions. Henry acted as a moral guide, supporting the Christian members of his curacies. Similarly, Costello served both Indian and white-European communities through the courts. It seems their professional obligations were a crucial driving force in both of their engagements with the colony. Costello took little leave while

performing his High Court judicial roles between 1926 and 1939 (Costello 1939b). Henry risked his health and his career to minister and care for his parishioners (Fulford Williams 2010: Tenth Patch). Another similarity between these men, is their failure to mention their wives and children in their archival collections. Following Nandy's *The Intimate Enemy* (2009: 20-21), this omission and the tone employed by Costello and Henry in their materials could be attributed to an internalised need to reinforce their masculinity, as well as their race and class.

Considering Violet's memoir alongside these archival collections however, we see the very different lifestyles and experiences Costello and Henry had in the UK and India. Henry's Lecture series and some of Costello's letters were written in 1939 at the outbreak of World War Two, while both men were based in Europe. At this stage Henry's attention was turned back to India; he volunteered to be deployed in the colony, when instead sent to Lisbon (Fulford Williams 2010: Chapter Eleven- Lisbon Patches, 1939-1945) he decided to consolidate his experience and knowledge of the subcontinent into a comprehensive 6-part lecture series (Fulford Williams 1945: Lecture I). By contrast, Costello's letters all point to his attempts to avoid India, his attention focused on his 'national service' on the tribunals for Conscientious Objectors (Ince 1939) as well as his ill-health which could be exacerbated by the colonial environment (Costello 1940b). Unlike Henry, it seems Costello had the luxury to negotiate the terms of his employment and significantly delay ruling on the Bhawal sannyasi case. As a Civil Servant he had a far more affluent experience in India and during his retirement from the colony than Violet and Henry, members of the Clergy.

Whilst both Violet and Henry offer some commentary on the application of colonial law, reform and governance in relation to debt management (Fulford Williams 2010: Fifth Patch), it is through reading Costello's correspondence, court transcripts and photo albums, that I have been able to consider a broader scope on how colonial administrative procedures were applied, refined and reinforced (Costello 1939a). Through the Calcutta High Court Costello met Indian subjects in a range of positions, from colleague and peer, to barrister, claimant and plaintiff (Costello 1939a). Speaking to his empowered position, the Bhawal sannyasi case serves as an example of Costello's ability to dictate the legal status of Indian subjects, as well as evidencing the professional interactions British officials had

with middle-class, highly-educated Indian men. He eventually ruled in the same way as Judges Basu and Biswas, respecting their advice, process and observations (Chatterjee 2002: 367). Yet, he was overtly frustrated by Indian courtroom practices and the behaviours of barristers Chaudhuri and Chatterjee, which he deemed inappropriate, out of place, and distracting (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book III).

Costello realised a significant change to colonial-legal frameworks by negotiating his retirement and the ability to rule in absentia. Through this collection we see that by the Late-Colonial period, individual, white, middle-class, British men could affect change at the state and legislative level (Judicial Home Department 1940). The materials held at the University of Exeter's Special Collections are problematic in that they contain private information open for public access. It remains unclear why Costello decided to keep this sensitive material, photographs, newspaper articles and court transcripts; nonetheless they were important to his memory of India, trophies of his final case as a High Court Judge (Breckenridge 1989: 212), as well as records of his celebrity (Costello 1939a: Court Transcript Book I).

Reading Violet, Henry and Costello records of their leisure and homelife, local communities and professional obligations, this thesis demonstrates the diverse experiences and reactions to the colony of white, middle-class, British individuals. Violet's class and gender place primacy on raising children and managing the home, she remembers hundreds of small stories from escaping wild animals, to meeting lost British citizens, her husband's ministerial assignments and managing servants (Fulford Williams 2010). This makes up a highly personalised and detail-rich, white, middle-class, female account of Late-Colonial India. There is a distinct difference in the tone and interactions in Henry and Costello's archival materials in comparison to Violet's memoir. For both men, while in the colony their focus appears primarily their professional obligations, efficiently ruling on court cases and ministering various curacies. Henry had an academic interest in the colony, an object of study, informing several articles and a lecture series (Fulford Williams 1945). Here, Henry categorised Indian groups and informed other middle-class Europeans about the subcontinent. He was in a position of power, acting as a subject matter expert, while leaving no room for Indian

subjects to respond to his characterisation of their communities and institutions. However, based on his reviews of the Portuguese Churches of Eastern Bengal and the Sonapur Mela, India was a place Henry celebrated and admired, and one he wished to return to (Fulford Williams 2010: Chapter Eleven- Lisbon Patches, 1939-1945). Conversely, whilst Costello's time in India was relatively profitable, by 1939 the colony was a place he was keen to avoid (Costello 1939b). Importantly, by virtue of his class, gender, race and income, Costello was empowered to navigate the politics of empire and change legislative relationships between the colony and metropole (Judicial Home Department 1940); thus avoiding his obligation to return to India and undermining the wishes of several colonial institutions.

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