

A Nabob's Progress:
Rowlandson and Combe's *The Grand Master*,
A Tale of British Imperial Excess,
1770-1830

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For Christopher L. T. Popovich

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ABSTRACT

The figure of the ‘nabob’ in British graphic satire of the late eighteenth century symbolized domestic anxieties concerning a foreign, *ad hoc* empire in India. Characterized through uncontrollable greed, untreatable diseases and uninhibited passions, India had been portrayed in Britain through a rhetoric of excess. Embodied in the nabob, these corruptive forces would travel to the West to infect the metropole. I argue that closer scrutiny of graphic satire reveals that British critics understood the true source of Indian excess to be Britain itself. Methodologically, Thomas Rowlandson’s images in *The Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi? in Hindostan* (1816) are considered as both a cohesive unit of nabob representation and as a foundation from which discussions of other nabob imagery can be launched. This approach reveals significant departures in how we view the reception of the imperial project in the metropole, the function of representations of Anglo-Indians, the production method of the ‘illustrated book’ and the characterization of Rowlandson’s artistic production. Each chapter represents a step on the nabob’s progress: In Chapter 1, Lord Moira is revealed as a bellicose representative of an overly ambitious class, bent on the ruin of the metropole through the destruction of India. In Chapter 2, depictions of nabobs engaged in excessive drinking, the results of excessive spending and in displays of excessive idleness are examined, illustrating the criticism of questionable imperial agents. In Chapter 3, the dominant strategies of representing imperial illness in India are examined, revealing the decline of the liminal, self-interested figure who could assume the physical and psychological characteristics of the East. In Chapter 4, the negotiation of British masculine identities, created through

Company-state policies and processes and justified through conflict with allegedly Eastern excess, are juxtaposed with the reality and the complexity of Anglo-Indian relationships with women. Through this progress, the nabob is exposed as a modern figure created in order to negotiate British national identity amidst significant imperial anxiety. This dissertation contributes to postcolonial debates on empire by revealing a critical, metropolitan response to the ideological function of satirical representations of Anglo-Indians.

RÉSUMÉ

La figure du “nabab” dans la caricature britannique de la fin du dix-huitième siècle symbolise des inquiétudes domestiques concernant un empire étranger, ad hoc, en Inde. Caractérisée par une avidité incontrôlable, par des passions débordantes et par des maladies incurables, l’Inde a été représentée en Angleterre par une rhétorique de l’excès. Incarnées dans le nabab, ces forces corruptrices voyageraient dans l’Occident pour infecter la métropole. Je soutiens ainsi qu’un examen attentif de la caricature révèle que les critiques britanniques ont compris que la vraie source de l’excès indien fut l’Angleterre elle-même. Du point de vue méthodologique, les images de Thomas Rowlandson pour *The Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi? in Hindostan* (1816) sont implémentées comme une unité cohésive de la représentation du nabab et comme un point de départ à partir duquel d’autres discussions de l’imagerie du nabab peuvent être lancées de façon rationnelle. Cette approche révèle la perspective divergente dont nous apercevons la réception du projet impérial dans la métropole, la fonction de la représentation des Anglo-Indiens, la méthode de la production du « livre illustré »

et la caractérisation de la production artistique de Rowlandson. Chaque chapitre reconstitue une étape dans la progression du nabab : dans le premier chapitre, Lord Moira est montré comme ayant été un représentatif belliqueux d'une classe excessivement ambitieuse, en route vers la ruine de la métropole à travers la destruction de l'Inde. Dans le deuxième chapitre, seront examinés des portraits de nababs en train de boire excessivement, des résultats des dépenses exorbitantes et des images de la paresse démesurée, afin de démontrer l'esprit critique envers des agents impériaux à la fiabilité douteuse. Dans le troisième chapitre, les stratégies dominantes utilisées pour mettre en scène la maladie impériale en Inde seront analysées dans le but de montrer le déclin de la figure liminaire, intéressée qui pourrait assumer les caractéristiques physiques et psychologiques de l'Orient. Dans le quatrième chapitre, la négociation des identités masculines britanniques, créées par le biais des règlements et procédés de la Compagnie, et justifiées par leur conflit avec le soi-disant excès oriental, sera juxtaposée à la réalité et à la complexité des relations anglo-indiennes avec la femme. À travers ce progrès, le nabab ressort comme une figure moderne qui fut créée pour négocier l'identité nationale britannique dans un temps marqué par une anxiété impériale importante. Cette thèse contribue aux débats post-coloniaux à propos de l'empire en révélant une réponse critique, métropolitaine à la fonction idéologique des représentations satiriques des Anglo-Indiens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was first confronted with the figure of the nabob in a lecture delivered by Sonia Lochner for an undergraduate summer session at the History in Art department at the University of Victoria. She slipped a single piece of British graphic satire into a discussion of Early Modern Indian portrait painters, sitters and their historical contexts. When I asked about the image (*COUNT ROUPEE. - VIDE HYDE PARK*, 6 June 1797, Figure 71), she replied that very little was known about the work, but by including the image it was clear to me that she sensed the importance of it even if she could not identify who was being portrayed, by whom or why. Notwithstanding his unsavoury characteristics, the nabob has repeatedly proven to be a magnetic figure, drawing a vast and varied community of interested scholars, funders, and supporters who have shown a willingness to help illuminate his significance.

Beginning at UVic, Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood provided advice and encouragement to pursue graduate work at the University of York's Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies. There the insights of Dr. Harriet Guest, Dr. John Barrell, Dr. Geoffrey Cubitt, and Dr. Mark Hallett helped shape my understanding of the nabob as a figure created in response to imperial anxiety as well as the need for interdisciplinarity to fully grasp the implications of his representation. Before attending McGill, I spent a critical period at the Getty Foundation under the supervision of Dr. Nancy Micklewright, where I learned the fundamentals of institutional philanthropy and have used the skills in administration, grantmaking, and networking gained at the Getty to great effect ever since. The Art History and Communication Studies department at McGill further equipped me, not only with

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intricacies of academia and for this I am very grateful. It is clear to me that I have had the right kind of supervision.

In PhD survival guides, popular culture and anecdotal sources, writing a dissertation is often portrayed through the image of a lowly graduate student, pitted against the sublime void of the blank page and left to battle out a contribution to the sum of human knowledge in isolation, while so-called regular people are free to pursue personal relationships, gainful employment and an uncritical engagement with the ‘real world’. I found this experience anything but isolating and it is the communities that I discovered through the dissertation-writing experience which I gratefully acknowledge here.

My partner Christopher L.T. Popovich, in a typical example of his confidence in my work, is quick to say that I could have done this without him, but it would not have been as rewarding. The same can be said about my life. I dedicate this dissertation to him for all the reasons he knows and all those he does not.

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Figure 65. Charles D'Oyly, *I. An European Gentleman with his Moonshee, or Native Professor of Languages; II. A Gentleman in his private Office, attended by his Duftoree, or Native Office-Keeper; IV. A Gentleman Dressing, attended by his Head-Bearer, and other Servants; V. A Gentleman attended by his Hajaum, or Native Barber; VI. A gentleman delivering a Letter to a Soontah-Burdar, or Silver Baton-Bearer; VIII. An English Family at Table, under a Punkah, or Fan, kept in Motion by a Khelessy*. Reproduced from D'Oyly, Charles and Captain Thomas Williamson. *The European in India; from a Collection of Drawings, by Charles Doyley, Esq. [sic] Engraved by J.H. Clark and C. Dubourg; with a Preface and Copious Descriptions, by Captain Thomas Williamson; Accompanied with a Brief History of Ancient and Modern India, from the Earliest Periods of Antiquity to the Termination of the Late Mahratta War, by F.W. Blagdon, Esq.* (London: Edward Orme and Black, Parry and Company, Booksellers to the Hon. East India Company, 1813), n.p.

Figure 66. Charles D'Oyly, *Gentleman With His Sircar, or Money-Servant*, 1813. Reproduced from D'Oyly, Charles and Captain Thomas Williamson. *The European in India*, n.p.

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Staff Situation in India (London: J. Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, 1828), frontispiece.

Figure 69. J.F. *West India Luxury!!*, 1808. Coloured aquatint. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, USA.

Figure 70. Thomas Rowlandson, *Behaviour at Table, 25 August 1808*. Etching. Reproduced from *Chesterfield Travestie; or, the School for Modern Manners*. (London: Thomas Tegg, 1808.), 7.

Figure 71. James Gillray, *Count Roupee.--Vide Hyde Park*, published by Hanna Humphrey 6 June 1797. Coloured engraving. The British Museum, London, United Kingdom.

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Figure 73. Sir Joshua Reynolds, PRA, *Captain John Foote*, 1761. Oil on canvas, 123.2cm x 99cm. York Art Gallery, York, United Kingdom.

Figure 74. Thomas Rowlandson, *Miseries in India*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

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Figure 76. Charles Williams, *Hot Quarters for the Tenth, Or a Curiosity for India*, published by John Fairburn 1824. Engraving. Walters Collection. Reproduced from Pal, Pratapaditya and Vidya Dehejia. *From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 63.

Figure 77. J. Lewis Marks, *Adventures of the Tenth!*, published by E. King in 1824. Coloured etching, 25.6cm x 38.3cm. The British Museum, London, United Kingdom.

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Figure 82. Thomas Rowlandson, *Missionary Influence or How to Make Converts*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

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Figure 85. John Flaxman, *Monument to Frederick Christian Swartz*, Tanjor, Swartz (Little Fort) Church, 1805. Reproduced from Barbara S. Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858*. Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1995, 92.

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Figure 87. John Bacon the Younger, *Monument to Frederick Christian Swartz*, 1806. St. Mary's Church, Madras, India. Reproduced from Barbara S. Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858*. Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1995, 93.

Figure 88. John Flaxman, *Memorial of Julia Annabella, Lady Shuckburgh-Evelyn, 1798-1802. Monument*. St. John Baptist, Upper Shuckburgh, Warwickshire. Reproduced from Irwin, David. *John Flaxman 1755-1826: Sculptor, Illustrator, Designer*. (New York: Studio Vista, Cassell Ltd., 1979), 148.

Figure 89. Thomas Rowlandson, *Qui Hi's Last March to Padree Burrows's Go Down*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. Quiz, (William Combe). "The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan" A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz. Illustrated with Engravings by Rowlandson. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 90. J. Lewis Marks, Detail, *Adventures of the Tenth!*, published by E. King in 1824. Coloured etching, 25.6cm x 38.3cm. The British Museum.

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Figure 92. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Death of Tippoo or Besieging the Haram!!!*, published on 8 October 1799 by Samuel W. Fores of Piccadilly. Coloured engraving. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, USA.

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Figure 94. Thomas Rowlandson after James Gillray. *A Sale of English Beauties in the East Indies*. Published by Thomas Tegg, 1810. Etching and aquatint with added watercolour. 43 cm x 55 cm. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

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Figure 101. Charles Smith, *Indian Lady, Perhaps the Bibi of John Wombwell*, 1786. Oil on canvas. David Cotton, Esq. Reproduced from Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825*. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979) pl. XIII.

Figure 102. Johan Zoffany, *The Palmer Family*, 1786. Oil on canvas. India Office Collections, The British Library, London, United Kingdom. Reproduced from Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*. (London: Ashgate, 2005), 87.

Figure 103. James Moffat, *Rival Candidates in Calcutta!*, 1813. Coloured engraving, published by William Holland. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Farmington, CT, USA.

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Figure 106. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Burning System Illustrated*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 107. Tilly Kettle, *Sati Scene*, ca. 1770-1771. Oil on canvas, Private Collection. Reproduced from Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*. (London: Ashgate, 2005), 71.

Figure 108. Johan Zoffany, *Sacrifice of an Hindoo Widow Upon the Funeral Pile of Her Husband*, ca. 1795. Oil on canvas. Collection of Giles Eyre Esq. and Charles Grieg Esq. Reproduced from Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*. (London: Ashgate, 2005), 22.

Figure 109. William Skelton after William Hodges, *Procession of a Hindoo Woman to the Funeral Pile of her Husband*, 1793. Engraving, Reproduced from Giles H. R. Tillotson, "The Indian Travels of William Hodges," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Third Series, 2, no. 3 (November 1992), 378.

Figure 110. Anonymous, *A SNUG MEETING to get up an ULTRA-LOYAL ADDRESS, or a peep at the TAG RAG and BOB-TAIL*, 1821. Coloured engraving, 34cm x 23cm. Published by John Fairburn. Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, London, United Kingdom.

Figure 111. James Sayers, *The Madras Tyrant or the Director of Directors or the Father of Murder, Rapine, etc.*, 16 March 1772. Engraving, published by Matthew Darly, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom.

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Figure 114. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Bear & Ragged Staff*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 115. Attributed to Thomas Hickey, *John Mowbray*, ca. 1790. Oil on canvas. The India Office, The British Library, London, United Kingdom.

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Figure 119. Detail, Thomas Rowlandson, *Attends General Koir Wigs Levee*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 120. Detail, Thomas Rowlandson, *Attends General Koir Wigs Levee*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring, 24cm x 14.7cm. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 121. Thomas Rowlandson, *A New Map of India From the Latest Authority*, 1816. Aquatint with hand colouring. *The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz*. London: Thomas Tegg, 1816. Posner Collection, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Figure 122. James Sayers, *For the Trial of Warren Ha[stings]'*, February 1877. Etching, 17.8cm x 12.7 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London, United Kingdom.

INTRODUCTION

I. The Nabob

The youth, while tears run down his face,
 Gives *poor mama* a last embrace,
 Receives some hints for his instruction,
 A letter, too, of introduction.
 A trunk contains his goods and chattels,
 With sundry plans of Indian battles;
 For he may yet, *in time to come*, be
 Another Clive or Abercrombie;¹

The progress has begun: in the bottom left corner a man helps the figure ahead to gain purchase on the twisting palm tree as two other soldiers shinny their way to the top (Figure 1).² The goal is to reach the elaborately draped *howda* to sit on the saddle's cushion fashioned from a sack of rupees, the symbolic pinnacle of achievement for an aspiring 'nabob'.³ Here sits Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings and the 2nd Earl of Moira (1754-1826), Governor-General of India from 1813 to 1823.⁴ He is depicted in this print plucking the last remaining fruit of India which he squeezes into a vat of palm toddy while the tree bows under the strain of too many climbers (social, political, and economic). In

¹ (William Combe) Quiz, "*The Grand Master or the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan*" *A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz. Illustrated with Engravings by Rowlandson* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1816), 3.

²This figure is identified by M. Dorothy George as Col. Lionel Smith of the 65th Regiment stationed at Bombay who was the son of Charlotte Smith, the poetess, novelist and radical intellectual (1749-1806). This identification is made based on his positioning on top of a collection of his mother's work. Col. Smith's grandfather was General Richard Smith, a nabob described by Macaulay as "dissolute, ungenerous and tyrannical". M. Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, (London: British Museum, 1949).640-41. Sudipta Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India," *South Asia XXXIV*, Special Issue (2004): 29.

³ A seat for two or more persons erected on the back of an elephant, often fitted with a railing and a canopy.

⁴ Although often referred to by historians as 'Hastings', Lord Moira was not made the Marquess of Hastings until 13 February 1817; therefore, to avoid confusion with first Governor-General of Bengal, Warren Hastings, he will hereafter be referred to as Lord Moira.

case we are left with any doubt of the tremendous burden, “EXHAUSTED” has been inscribed upon the bark of the bending palm. Nevertheless, this endeavour has been doomed from the start: disregarded by the climbers, the trunk is cracked at the base and threatens to break altogether. Those who successfully navigate the perilous journey and reach the top do not remain at the apex for long—the *howda* is small, the elephant carries too much, the footing is unsteady—and the climbers fall to the ground, ending where they began but on their backs. The scene is the frontispiece to *The Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi? in Hindostan. A Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos*, an illustrated book comprised of twenty-eight hand-coloured engravings by graphic artist Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and accompanying satirical poetry by William Combe (1742-1823).⁵

Described by Thomas Babington Macaulay as a man with “an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart”, the nabob was a servant of the East India Company, perceived to have returned to Britain equipped with ill-gotten prosperity, an insatiable appetite for luxury and a desire to rise into elite spheres of power and influence.⁶ From the 1770s to the 1830s, the figure of the nabob was featured in British graphic satire to express domestic anxieties regarding a foreign, *ad hoc* empire in India. India had been portrayed in Britain through a rhetoric of excess which expressed uncontrollable greed, uninhibited

⁵ The hudibrastic is a variety of burlesque poetry that derives its name and structure from Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras* of 1663. In it, Butler, a staunch Royalist and Anglican, follows the character of Sir Hudibras, a Puritan knight whose mundane, humiliating and pedantic misadventures satirize the rigid Puritanism of the Cromwellians and the Presbyterian Church. See M. H. Abrams, “Hudibras,” in *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Montreal: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999), 37. Quiz, *The Grand Master*.

⁶ Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843), 192. James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (New York: n.pub, 1926), 7-8.

passions and untreatable diseases. Embodied in the nabob, these corruptive forces journeyed to the West to infect the metropole. The *nawab*, a Persian term which referred to Muslim officials of the Mughal Empire on the Indian subcontinent, was phonetically anglicized and deridingly applied to characterize the profligate lifestyle and ruthless ambition of the Company man.⁷ The relative freedom Company servants enjoyed from their London Directors, described by the first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings (1732-1818), as “what may be call’d a distance of two years”, enabled unchecked greed while the sources of profit—mercenary king-making, three-party trades in opium, and collecting taxes from acquired Indian territory—contributed to the idea of a rapacious, ruthless and corrupted “oriental adventurer”.⁸ Historians of the nabob attribute Horace Walpole’s 1761 complaint that “West Indians, conquerors, nabobs, and admirals” were overwhelming every parliamentary borough in the general election as the first likely application of the derogatively modified term, but it was subsequent satirical literary references, exemplified by Samuel Foote’s play *The Nabob* (1772); Timothy Touchstone’s *Tea and Sugar: or the Nabob and the Creole* (1772); and Richard Clarke’s *The Nabob: or, Asiatic Plunderers...* (1773) which firmly established the vile figure of the nabob in British parlance.⁹ In 1783, East

⁷ A *Notes and Queries* correspondent “Jas. Platt, Jun.” defends the ‘corruption’ of the term by arguing that it is not a distorted version of the Persian “*nawab*” but a true imitation replica of the “vulgar” Hindustani *nābab*. Jun. Jas. Platt, *Notes and Queries* 10, no. II (1904): 445.

⁸ In Hasting’s evidence to the House of Commons in 1767 as quoted in P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813*, ed. G.R. Elton, vol. 3, Historical Problems: Studies and Documents (London and New York: George Allen and Unwin Ltd and Barnes & Noble Inc, 1968), 29. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 533.

⁹ Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, “Our Execrable Banditti!: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain,” *Albion* 16 (1984): 225. Although this play was written earlier in the century, it was not produced at Haymarket until 1772. *Plays by Samuel Foote and Arthur*

India Company apologist Richard Price worried for those who had undeservedly “obtained the detestation of their countrymen” through the designation of nabob and attempted to deconstruct the term.¹⁰ The definition Price generated to conduct his defence of innocent Company servants, instead made the generalisations of the nabob more comprehensible:

Nabob is a general term of reproach, indiscriminately applied to every individual who has served the East India Company in Asia; and every body understands it as implying, that the persons to whom it is applied, have obtained their fortunes by grievously oppressing the natives of India.¹¹

The seminal work by James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (1926) was the first effort to isolate the nabob from the vast historical focus of ‘British India’.¹² Holzman’s goal was to determine “how the Nabobs spent their money”, an approach dependent upon proving the nabobs were a class of *nouveau riches* who were “assailing insular and agricultural England.”¹³ Nevertheless, recent scholarship has made substantial strides towards tracing the more symbolic, even mythological nature of the nabob by directing the historical focus to

Murphy, ed. George Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 81-111. Timothy Touchstone, *Tea and Sugar: Or the Nabob and the Creole* (London: printed for J. Ridgway, 1772). Richard Clarke, *The Nabob: Or, Asiatic Plunderers a Satyrical Poem, in a Dialogue between a Friend and the Author. To Which Are Annexed, a Few Fugitive Pieces of Poetry* (London: J. Townsend, 1773).

¹⁰ Richard Price, "Richard Price Tracts," in *Imperialism & Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook*, ed. Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 52. Richard Price, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse; or, an Enquiry into the Reason Why Certain Persons Have Been Denominated Nabobs; with an Arrangement of Those Gentlemen into Their Proper Classes, of Real, Spurious, Reputed, or Mushroom, Nabobs Concluding with a Few Reflections on the Present State of Our Asiatic Affairs. By the Author of the Vindication of Gen. Richard Smith* (London: n.p., 1783), 1.

¹¹ Price, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse*, 1.

¹² James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (New York: n.p., 1926).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8, 15.

representations of this figure in popular, cultural material of the eighteenth century. Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, for example, focussed on political sources which featured the nabob as a new, potentially destructive political player who threatened to devastate the parliamentary *status quo*.¹⁴ Renu Juneja approached the nabob as a fictional character constructed through popular literature, who expressed the psychological displacement suffered by British men in India and the consequences this mental “corruption” would wreak upon the metropole.¹⁵ James Raven mined sources for responses to economically-based fears, including the assumption that nabobs were financial de-stabilisers who had the ability to drive domestic prices up and value down.¹⁶ Concentrating on perceptions of the body by tracing the transformation of the “effeminate” nabob to the *sahib*, an officious agent of the British Empire, Elizabeth Collingham discovered that the physicality of the nabob was vital to Britain’s approach to rule in India.¹⁷ Furthermore, Matthew O. Grenby explored how the nabob became a functional character through which novelists could express the inherent dangers of an unmerited social position that challenged “proper hierarchy” in late eighteenth-century England.¹⁸ More recently, Stephen Gregg examined the depiction of the nabob in popular theatre, arguing that this figure was but one in a long tradition of

¹⁴ Lawson, “Our Execrable Banditti”, 226.

¹⁵ Renu Juneja, “The Native and the Nabob: Representations of the Indian Experience in 18th-Century Literature,” *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 27, no. 1 (1992): 183.

¹⁶ James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 221-48.

¹⁷ Elizabeth M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, C. 1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 13.

¹⁸ Matthew O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 149.

satires against mercantilism.¹⁹ Jitender Gill surveyed “metropolitan ambivalence” towards the figure of the nabob through mainstream fiction, claiming these contradictory emotions stemmed from the inability to locate the colonial figure in “the pre-existing social fabric”.²⁰ Most recently, Tillman W. Nechtman asserted that nabobs were naturalising India within Britain through “pieces of a far away empire”; either by the diamonds nabobs used to transport their wealth from India to the metropole or by the conspicuous commodities and architectural styles which began to appear in Britain, thus threatening to reverse the process of colonialism.²¹ What these studies share is the assumption that eighteenth-century critics believed India to be the source of corruption in the nabob.

Published in 1816 by Thomas Tegg at No. 111 Cheapside, London, *The Grand Master* tells the story of the character Qui Hi and his dubious adventures with illness, misery, disillusionment, poverty and death during his twelve year tenure as a soldier with the East India Company.²² In reference to Qui Hi’s

¹⁹ Stephen Gregg, "Satire, India, and Popular Theatre: Samuel Foote's the Nabob," *The Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 2 (2002). See also a reprint with minor changes in ———, "Representing the Nabob: India, Stereotypes and Eighteenth-Century Theatre," in *Picturing South Asian Culture in English: Textual and Visual Representations*, ed. Tasleem Shakur and Karen D'Souza (Liverpool: Open House Press, 2003), 19-31.

²⁰ Jitender Gill, "Servants of the Raj: Colonials and Their Fictions, 1770-1930," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2004), 1.

²¹ Tillman W. Nechtman, "A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (2007): 71-86. See also, ———, "Nabobs: Defining the Indian Empire and the British Nation in the Late Eighteenth Century" (PhD Diss., University of Southern California, 2005); ———, "Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 4 (2006): 8-30; ———, "Nabobs Revisited: A Cultural History of British Imperialism and the Indian Question in Late-Eighteenth-Century Britain," *History Compass* 4, no. 4 (July 2006): 645-67.

²² The very name Rowlandson chooses for his protagonist embodies the assumptive designs of new East India Company recruits. "Qui Hi?" which means 'Who's there?' was used by Anglo-Indians as a universal call to servants. Captain Thomas George Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum; or, Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, Booksellers to the Honorable East India Company, 1810), 37-38. See also John and Dudley Snelgrove Baskett,

humble beginnings, the initials “I.N.” inscribed on the trunk depicted in QUI HI ARRIVES AT THE BUNDER-HEAD in *The Grand Master*, likely stands for ‘Irish Newcome’, suggesting that Qui Hi was both an Irish subaltern and a development of the character “Johnny Newcome”, a figure which enabled satirical comment on the life of an aspirant West Indian planter (Figure 2).²³ For example, the *Adventures of Johnny Newcome*, a print by William Emes also published by Tegg, condemns the intemperate qualities of a British colonial expressed through overeating, excessive drinking, the desire for luxury and sexual promiscuity (Figure 3). Associating nabobs with Briton’s of subordinate status had been established in the 1780s with Company men of Caledonian origins, a connection that was a source of anxiety for English politicians as trade in India provided an opportunity for Scots to rise to unprecedented levels of influence in London.²⁴ In a fascinating example of how supple the ‘nabob’ could be as a tool for censure, James Gillray’s *DUN-SHAW, one Foot in Leadenhall St. and the other in the Province of Bengal*, published 7 March 1788, depicts the viscount as a colossus straddling the ocean between the Company headquarters in London and the roof of India House in Bengal, clad in a kilt and slapdash turban (Figure 4).²⁵ His very participation in Company politics in London had pushed Dundas to the periphery, illustrated by his designation as a nabob. Moreover, though more rare, a

The Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson in the Paul Mellon Collection (London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd., 1977), 83.

²³ Both Eames and Rowlandson produced “Johnny Newcome” adventure books between 1812 and 1816, works that were reissued well into the twentieth century. William Elmes, *Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1812). Thomas and David Roberts Rowlandson, *The Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (London: Patrick Martin, 1816).

²⁴ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England*, 326.

²⁵ For a more indepth discussion of this print, see my "Rewritten and Reused: Imaging the Nabob through 'Upstart Iconography'," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 32, no. 2 (2008): 39-59.

connection between the Irish and India was made in the 1790s with the play at London's Sadler's Wells, *PLANXTY NA-BOCK-LESH*, advertised as "a Comical Vocal Effort, being a new Nabobish Chant in Anglo-East-Indian-Irish".²⁶ His Irish origins may account for QUI HI'S INTRODUCTION & COOL RECEPTION in *The Grand Master* by a Company administrator who expressed his own aspirations for and perhaps success in nabobery through an appreciation of fine furnishings and art (Figure 5).

Based on the satirical tradition developed by William Hogarth in the 1730s, *The Grand Master* is an ironic 'progress' of an aspirant nabob. Through Qui Hi's progress, read satirically as his *decline*, the beholder is invited to witness the "public execration" of the British colonial project through the overreaching idea of what Edmund Burke termed "imperial responsibility".²⁷ An example of what Mark Hallett called an "extended satire", the progress was not intended to offend the beholder; quite the contrary, visitors to Hogarth's studio "could define themselves, and their own sense of civic identity, against the activities, appetites and personalities... [which Hogarth showed] consistently deviating from respectable, urbane behaviour."²⁸ The progress was, indeed, a cautionary tale and a method by which one defined one's own identity but, unlike Hogarth's 'modern

²⁶ Though the scripts of this comical play may not have survived, advertisements of upcoming performances can be traced in "Sadler's Wells," *Oracle*, Monday, September 24, 1792, "Sadler's Wells," *Diary or Woodfall's Register* Tuesday, September 18, 1792, "Sadler's Wells," *Public Advertiser* Wednesday, September 19, 1792.

²⁷ Rowlandson outlines the satire's project by inscribing "PUBLIC EXECRATION" below a satirical representation of Krishna being drawn by a wagon in THE MODERN IDOL JAGGERNAUT (Figure 6). One of the Hindu religious rights early British colonists witnessed was the annual procession of *Jagannath* where devotees were known to throw themselves under the wheels to be crushed. See also Jeff D. Bass, "The Perversion of Empire: Edmund Burke and the Nature of Imperial Responsibility," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81(1995): 208-27.

²⁸ Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon, 2000), 94.

moral subjects' where the artist presented the protagonist/antagonist at each stage with what Ronald Paulson called a "bipolar choice", Rowlandson depicts the nabob's corruption as a *fait accompli*.²⁹ The only opportunity for the subject to choose between 'virtue' and 'vice' is in the initial step he makes on his progress.³⁰ In this dissertation I will demonstrate that through Rowlandson's representation of the nabob in a satirical progress, the artist showed the true source of the nabob's corruption. Crucially, it was not his destination but his point of departure. This position prompts a significant question, the answer to which serves as the aim of this study for, if the true source of Indian corruption in the nabob is Britain, how did this affect the beholders of the progress, and by extension, the identity of the metropole itself?³¹

Rowlandson gives his mission, allegedly "*pro rege lege et grege*" (for the king, the law, and the people), sacred status in the frontispiece, acknowledged by 'The Great Architect' or God symbolised through Freemason iconography by the 'Eye of Providence', the all-seeing purveyor of reason and judgement enclosed in an equilateral triangle from which glorious rays of light emerge. Rowlandson also includes a *memento mori* in the form of a skeleton straddling the neck of an

²⁹ Ronald Paulson, "The Simplicity of Hogarth's Industry and Idleness," *ELH* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1974): 314.

³⁰ *Ibid.* The 'progress' as a satirical narrative, advancing towards a predictably unpleasant conclusion is also cited as a form of the early comic strip. Other examples include John Nixon's *The Progress of Passion* (1792); James Gillray's *John Bull's Progress* (1793); Richard Newton's *Progress of a Player* (1793), *Progress of a Scotsman* (1794), *Progress of an Irishman* (1794) among others. For examples, see David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Satires in the European Broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825*, 2 vols., vol. I, History of the Comic Strip (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1973), 357-88.

³¹ Although I acknowledge Kathleen Wilson's suggestion that our conception of identity may be anachronistically applied to the people of Georgian England, I suggest throughout this dissertation that the creation of the nabob was an act of distancing, in order to establish an ideal metropolitan identity, a strategy for self-definition challenged by Rowlandson through his nabob's progress. Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 2.

elephant. This not only reminds the viewer of the inevitability of death but reinforces the notion that God's judgement of the nabob is being conducted on the earthly plane, exemplified by the compass and the square, both tools of an architect which are used here to measure the worth of man. The satirical tools of the artist and the author have also been taken up in *The Grand Master* and the result is a tangible example of what Dennis Porter called "counter-hegemonic thought" which complicates monolithic, binary conceptions of identity in colonial projects.³² The construction of the East as an inferior realm corrupted by inherent immorality, immoderate behaviours and political backwardness facilitated the invention of a rational, civil and even progressive counterpart in the West, an identity employed to justify colonial pursuits. This oppositional model, credited to Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*, fails to encompass what Michael J. Franklin termed the "multiplicity of Orientalisms" and, furthermore, neglects what Kate Teltscher identified as "inconsistencies, contradictions and instabilities" by paying inadequate regard to historical contexts.³³ By extension, acknowledging this multiplicity allows for a consideration of the range of 'Occidentalisms' discernable in contemporary texts, an issue made manifest when it is recognized that the colonial state in India was a consequence, not of

³² Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and Its Problems," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 152.

³³It is important to note that, according to Said, the superior identity of the West was created through the suppression and supersession of the 'Orient's' ability to express or even represent itself. By Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 3. Michael J. Franklin, "General Introduction and [Meta]Historical Background of [Re]Presenting 'the Palanquins of State; or, Broken Leaves in a Mughal Garden'," in *Romantic Representations of British India*, ed. Michael J. Franklin, *Routledge Studies in Romanticism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 2; Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India 1600-1800* (Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.

homogeneity, but of dominance, the product of which was heterogeneity in both indigenous *and* colonial discourses.³⁴ Subsequently, histories dealing with colonial projects can no longer be produced from simple models established between the colonial and the indigenous since, as Lata Mani has acknowledged, “there were more than two contenders involved in the proceedings”.³⁵ One of these ‘contenders’ is the local British critic and, though the nabob had been utilized as an effective *domestic representation* of *foreign ills*, I argue that Rowlandson’s progress of a nabob inverts this construction and instead, advances a subject that is a *foreign symbol* of *domestic ills*.³⁶

II. Imperial Identities

The significance of the nabob as an embodiment of corruption is found in his role as a representative figure with the ability to inhabit multiple, contradictory spaces. For example, though he was British, venturing to India made him Anglo-Indian.³⁷ Returning home somehow meant he was *invading* Britain as one example of what a 1785 article in *The Times* described as the many “new-imported Nabobs, who have a vast deal of money among them.”³⁸ In this

³⁴ Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

³⁵ Ranajit Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," *Subaltern Studies* VI(1989): 210-309. Lana Mati, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 5.

³⁶ *The Grand Master* can be counted as an example of what Suleri called a “radically decentering narrative that is impelled to realign with violence any static binarism between colonizer and colonized”. Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-2.

³⁷ In her study of women in colonial India, Lionel Caplan uses “Anglo-Indian” in its early twentieth-century sense which refers to “the descendants of Euro-Indian unions”. I am critical of this attempt at consistency as it closes off opportunities to explore the significance of the term’s liminality and creates confusion, particularly as the bulk of Caplan’s study deals with the nineteenth century. Lionel Caplan, "Iconographies of Anglo-Indian Women: Gender Constructs and Contrasts in a Changing Society," *Modern Asian Studies* 34, no. 4 (2000): 864-65.

³⁸ *The Times*, September 21, 1785, 2.

sense, the nabob was both a ‘domestic product’ and a ‘foreign good’ infiltrating what was touted as a moral, domestic market; thus echoing eighteenth-century concerns that the prevention of excess was challenged by the “over-importation of foreign goods”.³⁹ The multiplicitous nabob’s “liminality”, a term used by anthropologist Victor Turner to describe the condition “betwixt and between established states of politico-jural structure”, suggests that the conceptual borders of the nabob were permeable.⁴⁰ This premise benefits considerably from the theoretical foundations laid by scholars who recognize significant perforations in the boundaries of identity, particularly those margins delineated by empire.⁴¹ As the examination of *The Grand Master* will reveal, this instability can also be perceived in the identities of the colonisers. The aspirations of national identity in eighteenth-century Britain were hotly contested and often hedged with doubt.⁴² Moreover, according to Wilson, culture often created and disseminated “competing images of the state and nation, Englishness and otherness, citizenship and exclusion.”⁴³ The nabob could therefore be described as both a product of and a reaction to uncertainty in an emerging debate regarding national

³⁹ Catherine Molineux, "Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves: Moral Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London," *ELH* 72(2005): 496. Similarly, Saggini describes the liminality of the nabob as “both alien and native, outsiders as much as insiders” in Francesca Saggini, "The Stranger Next Door: Identity and Diversity on the Late Eighteenth-Century Stage," in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 2003): 2.

⁴⁰ Victor Turner, *Blazing the Trail: Way Marks in the Exploration of Symbols*, ed. Edith Turner (Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 49.

⁴¹ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argued that the most basic tension of empire was that the ‘otherness’ of colonised peoples was neither inherent nor stable. As cited in Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 6-7.

⁴² Stephen Gregg, *Empire and Identity: An Eighteenth-Century Sourcebook* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3.

⁴³ Kathleen Wilson, "The Good, the Bad, and the Impotent: Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Georgian England," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 237.

distinctiveness. If Anglo-Indians were what Gill described as colonials who “come to/from India”, where can the true realm of the nabob be located, but in the interstitial site of the ‘to/from’ discourse.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the liminal quality of the nabob also implies marginality and, as per the work of Mary Douglas, danger lies in the transitional states inhabited by marginal beings.⁴⁵ Douglas argued that the edges of form are blurred at the periphery, creating confusion that “spoils pattern” and, significantly, the individual who passes from one state to another is not merely a danger to himself, but a menace to the blameless inhabitants of the interior.⁴⁶ This conceptual understanding of the threatening quality of transitional states can help illuminate why the figure of the nabob was so reviled by eighteenth-century critics. The binary model of identity as rooted in the opposition between two cultures has been further undermined by Michael Taussig who revealed how the act of mimesis appropriates the power of the ‘other’, thus illustrating how the boundaries of identity are constantly being expanded, indeed penetrated, as a strategy for coping with authority; an authority so powerful in India, claims Ahsan Habib Chowdhury, that the British man had no choice but to adopt its characteristics, resulting in the militaristic, luxury-seeking nabob.⁴⁷ Homi Bhabha’s conception of “hybridity” similarly distinguishes the site of colonial contestation as an “in-between” or “liminal” space in which cultural differences communicate and produce imagined “constructions” of cultural and

⁴⁴ Gill, "Servants of the Raj", 2.

⁴⁵ Mary Douglas, "Powers and Dangers," in *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (1966) (New York: Routledge, 2002), 94.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993). Ahsan Habib Chowdhury, "The Fabulous Nabob: Miscegenations of Empire and Vocation in Eighteenth-Century British Literature" (PhD diss., Auburn University, 2006), 6.

national identities.⁴⁸ In light of this, it is not surprising to find that the nabob is a constructed character, imagined and realised to deliver messages of imperial anxiety.

The theoretical work focussing on the perforated boundaries of identity has therefore enabled the nabob to be defined as a liminal being; one who can be located at the thresholds of identities. Moreover, much of the work of identity-making occurred on a symbolic, metaphoric and even fictional level; therefore, in terms of a methodology, I am not concerned with proving that nabobs existed beyond their representations.⁴⁹ What is more, I do not attempt to resolve ‘nabob’ as a term, for intrinsic in its meaning are potentially contradictory elements—desire, aspiration, and achievement as well as derision, laziness and failure—which comprise exchanges between inclusionary and exclusionary processes of identity development in the early modern period. By recognizing the historical constructedness of the nabob, I can move beyond the mere caricature of a socio-political upstart in order to recognize why this figure was so important to identity formation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Britain.⁵⁰ “It is at

⁴⁸ Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 86.

⁴⁹ Tillman Nechtman contends that “nabobs were a real presence in domestic Britain...a material marker of empire on national soil”; however, the reputation of the immense fortunes and the methods by which they were attained has ever been questioned. For example, T.H. Bowyer tracked the personal fortune of Philip Francis—unofficial co-prosecutor in Edmund Burke’s Impeachment trial against Warren Hastings—who, according to Sir Elijah Impey, had “returned from India enormously rich”. Bowyer revealed that the bulk of his fortune came from gambling. As such, I believe the importance of the nabob is found, not in proving the nabob existed, but in his symbolic function expressed through his representation. Nechtman, "Nabobs Revisited", 647. T. H. Bowyer, "India and the Personal Finances of Philip Francis," *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 435 (February 1995): 122, 130.

⁵⁰ These so called realities were also challenged by contemporary critics. Price suggested, for example, that “Falsehoods often repeated, and never contradicted, in time come to be considered as real facts, and at last are adopted by credible historians, and go down to posterity as parts of true history.” Price, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse*, 4.

borders,” Geoffrey Cubitt explained, “that nationality is checked, and national difference most formally asserted; it is in frontier regions that national belonging, being most at risk, is often most persistently invoked.”⁵¹ Therefore, the nabob is simultaneously a product of the metropole, an inhabitant of a liminal space and a figure on the frontier of empire. Nevertheless, in observing the nabob’s progress succinctly captured in *The Grand Master*, we are also reminded of an essential issue that has helped characterise a “new imperial history” explained by Kathleen Wilson; namely, the “rather remarkable re-discovery of the importance of empire in the British past.”⁵² The critical climate that exists in postcolonial scholarship has made it possible to ‘re-discover’ a critical climate that also existed in the colonial discourse of the long eighteenth century.⁵³ It must also be acknowledged that the analysis of literary satire has enjoyed a long and trusted tradition, yet, too often, graphic satire is implemented to embellish rather than drive historical arguments. As such, the visual and textual examinations I make throughout the following chapters will illustrate the relationships and, in some cases, the tensions between text and image in *The Grand Master*. Both satirical mediums will be treated as documents of a perspective in history without losing the understanding

⁵¹ *Imagining Nations*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 10.

⁵² Kathleen Wilson, "Introduction: Histories, Empires, Modernities," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

⁵³ The ‘Long Eighteenth Century’ refers to the period between the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the Reform Bill of 1832. Originally characterised as an “Anglican-aristocratic hegemony” by revisionist historian Jonathan C. D. Clarke in reaction to the Marxist and Whiggish approaches to the eighteenth century, the term has been taken up to reflect studies which look at the eighteenth century in its own terms as opposed to as a precursor to the nineteenth century. See his *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). See also Frank O’Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832*, The Arnold History of Britain Series (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997).

that though *The Grand Master* dealt with important, topical situations, it was also meant to entertain and, paramount to the interests of the publisher, to sell.

III. The Product

Owing in part to his entrepreneurial success in the sale of inexpensive reprints and remainders acquired in wholesale auctions to the active “lower sector” of the trade, Tegg has been described as “a hack publisher of no merit”.⁵⁴ Though he characterised himself rather unflatteringly as “the broom that swept the booksellers’ warehouses”, his trade decisions may have reflected his business acumen more than his personal tastes.⁵⁵ Though his publications would have reached a discerning, yet frugal audience comprised primarily of the middling classes, perhaps it was less presumptuous and more enterprising for Tegg to advertise: “Noblemen, Gentlemen, etc. wishing to ornament their Billiard or other Rooms, with Caricatures may be supplied 100 percent cheaper at Tegg’s Caricature Warehouse.”⁵⁶ Self-deprecation notwithstanding, Tegg also characterised himself as “one of the first booksellers in England”.⁵⁷ Recent scholarship has revealed Tegg to be one of the largest publishers of original material in the early nineteenth century and the titles illustrate his particular

⁵⁴Baskett, *The Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson in the Paul Mellon Collection*. 7. Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 4.

⁵⁵ Thomas Tegg, *Memoir of the Late Thomas Tegg, Abridged from His Autobiography, by Permission of His Son, William Tegg. From the City Press. Printed for Private Circulation* (London: Printed by W. H. & L. Collingridge, Aldersgate Street, E.C., August 6th, 1870), 7.

⁵⁶ Donald cites this advertisement to support her assessment that Tegg’s publications were inferior to Ackermann’s. In her opinion, the advertisement was not in fact directed at the ‘Nobleman’ or ‘Gentlemen’ but exemplified how the publisher flattered his clearly lower-station clientele. As quoted in Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 5.

⁵⁷The fact that Tegg wrote an autobiography not only suggests a healthy sense of self-worth, but may also point to a potential market for his life story. Tegg, *Memoir of the Late Thomas Tegg*, 7.

interest in satire.⁵⁸ Profits from India were therefore not limited to the silks, muslin, tea and spices of the East India Company. Tegg intended to capitalise, not only on the well established practice of ridiculing the Company for its extravagance, vice and folly, but on the previous successes of his collaborative satirical team. Artists and writers had been ridiculing figures like the nabob for nearly half a century prior to Tegg publishing *The Grand Master* and the satirical partnership of Combe and Rowlandson, created by publisher Rudolph Ackermann, was fresh from a wildly successful publication surrounding the character of *Doctor Syntax*, a “skin-and-bone hero, a pedantic old prig, in a shovel-hat, with a pony, sketching tools, and rattletraps”.⁵⁹ The roving, sketching schoolmaster and parson’s gentle adventures and light folly captured the imagination of a vast and receptive public:

A CARD—R. ACKERMANN has the honour to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public, that a TOUR in SEARCH of the PICTURESQUE, by the Rev. Dr. SYNTAX, a Poem in thirty Chapters, printed with a new type, on large royal octavo vellum paper, and hot-pressed, priced with thirty coloured engravings, 21s. or without engravings, 10s. 6d. was ready for delivery, at his Repository of Arts, 101, Strand, on the 1st of May instant. It may now be had of all the booksellers in the united kingdom.⁶⁰

Ackermann was a leading print retailer in London whose ‘Public’ was comprised primarily of loyalists of the middle to the upper middle-class sections of British society. In 1798, Ackermann employed Rowlandson to produce light, whimsical

⁵⁸ James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, "Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg, London Publisher, 1776-1846," *Book History* 3(2000): 45.

⁵⁹ John Aldolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 291.

⁶⁰ *The Times*, Tuesday, May 12, 1812, 1.

satire which was meant to inspire patriotic sentiment whilst it gently entertained. Rowlandson also illustrated the successful *Microcosm of London* (1808-1810), a three volume series which provided scenes of notable London buildings with explanatory text.⁶¹ In the third volume, Ackermann sought to supplement his stable of hack writers and found a prolific, yet hard-pressed candidate in William Combe, Esq. Following the success of the third volume of *Microcosm of London*, Ackermann commissioned the duo to produce a series of poems and engravings based on a character of Rowlandson's design "where the object may be made ridiculous without much thinking".⁶²

Professional success came to William Combe late in life; the first *Doctor Syntax* was published when the author was seventy years old. With an impressive accumulation of unpaid debts, Combe was working his way towards freeing himself of the jurisdiction of the King's Bench Prison. He was both prolific and respected, though he "never affixed his name to his works" or publicly admitted to writing anything for money—his claim of being a gentleman served as grounds for his professional anonymity.⁶³ Combe's pseudonyms included "Mr. -----" or "an old artist" and "a Country Gentleman". Publications from Ackermann's tended to announce, "By the Author of Dr. Syntax", or posthumously, "by the late William Combe, Esq. Author of the Three tours of Dr. Syntax, &c."⁶⁴ For *The Grand Master*, William Combe adopted the pseudonym 'Quiz', which referred to

⁶¹ Thomas Rowlandson, A.C. Pugin and John Summerson, *The Microcosm of London* (London: King Penguin books, 1947). Rowlandson and Combe also collaborated on *The English Dance of Death* (London: Rudolf Ackermann, 1815).

⁶²As quoted in Aldolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*, 291.

⁶³ Sylvanus Urban, "Obituary—William Combe, Esq." *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* XCIII, no. Part 2 (1823): 185.

⁶⁴Harlan W. Hamilton, *Doctor Syntax: A Silhouette of William Combe, Esq. (1742-1823)* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969). 311.

a piece of literary hypocrisy or a form of public banter or ridicule, a *nom de plume* often used in anonymous articles printed in *The Times* between 1786 and 1809. It is perhaps not surprising to learn that Combe was an editor and contributor to *The Times* between 1786 and 1791 and, then again, from 1803 until roughly 1809.⁶⁵ Combe was actually the son of iron monger Robert Combes and grew up in what biographer Harlan W. Hamilton called the “sober, middle-class life of Cheapside.”⁶⁶ He was an oppidan at Eton College, where he gained both the classical education and gentlemanly principles he depended on for most of his career and, though he studied the law, once he received his inheritance from his father and from his Godfather, all plans to become an attorney were abandoned. According to Walpole, Combe was “popularly called ‘Count Combe,’ till his extravagance had dissipated a noble fortune; and then, addressing himself to literature, the Count was forgotten in the author.”⁶⁷ Combe, conceivably following his own *progress*, became known for his social élan and, while he had money, he was seen often in fashionable circles.⁶⁸ Regardless of his personal fictions, which became an accepted part of ‘Old Combe’s’ personality, his professional narratives hit their mark. G.S. Rousseau described William Combe,

⁶⁵ Quiz, *The Times*, Thursday, March 30, 1786, 4; ———, *The Times*, Wednesday, July 22, 1795, 3; ———, *The Times*, Friday, August 14, 1795, 3; Old Quiz, *The Times*, Tuesday, October 17, 1809, 3. Notable is that the August 1794 article from *The Times* was signed by “Old Quiz” and one of Combe’s nickname was “Old Combe”. Hamilton, *Doctor Syntax*, 227.

⁶⁶ Perhaps in support of his goal to distance himself from his less than aristocratic beginnings, William dropped the ‘s’ on his surname. *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁷ As quoted in S. R. Townshend Mayer, “William Combe, Author Of ‘The Tours of Dr. Syntax.’,” *Notes and Queries* IV (1869), 14-15.

⁶⁸ Harlan W. Hamilton, “William Combe and the Original Letters of the Late Reverend Mr. Laurence Sterne (1788),” *PMLA* 82, no. 5 (1967): 421.

Esq. as a satirist who instinctively met the demands of an audience from an era “that needed daily flailing and excoriation.”⁶⁹

The financial peril suffered by Combe seems to have been echoed by his artistic counterpart. Rowlandson had “indulged his predilection for a joyous life” and expressed his “love of play” at the gaming houses; but when put into considerable debt, he buckled down to work and paid back the money he owed.⁷⁰ He was quoted to have said, “I have played the fool’; but, holding up his pencils, ‘here is my resource’.”⁷¹ The historiographic treatment of Thomas Rowlandson’s professionalism and his efficiency in design has often led to him to being deemed as somewhat less of an artist than he could have been. Though he was predominantly employed as a “graphic humourist”, biographers are quick to say how very skilled a draughtsman he was and, despite being an artist for hire, he redeemed his artistic reputation through his many fine drawings of antique busts and sculpture.⁷² Even James Sherry, arguably a pioneer in the study of graphic satire, described Rowlandson as a “skilful opportunist rather than a creator of new forms.”⁷³ What is clear is that though his medium did not merit notice by contemporary academicians, or even twentieth-century scholars, Rowlandson’s talent and prolificacy demanded attention. Even so, the biographical details of his life are sketchy. What is known is that Rowlandson was admitted to the Royal

⁶⁹ G.S. Rousseau, "Doctor Syntax: A Silhouette of William Combe, Esq.," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5, no. 2 (1972): 354.

⁷⁰ "Obituary--Mr. Rowlandson," in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle. From January to June, 1827*, ed. Sylvanus Urban (London: J.B. Nichols, 1827): 564.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 564.

⁷² *Ibid.* John Riely, "New Light on Rowlandson's Biography," *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 918 (1979): 587.

⁷³ James Sherry, "Distance and Humor: The Art of Thomas Rowlandson," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 11, no. 4 (1978): 458.

Academy Schools in November 1772 at the age of sixteen. He won the silver medal for *bas relief* sculpture in 1777, embarked on a career of graphic satire and book illustration and died at “his apartments in the Adelphi, after a severe illness of two years” on 22 April 1827, at the age of 70.⁷⁴

The contribution of a systematic analysis of the artist’s representation of India to existing Rowlandson scholarship will provide a deeper understanding of his critical engagement with empire, casting him in a new light. For example, it has been argued that, like Combe, the theme of poverty influenced the commissions accepted by Rowlandson. In regards to *The Grand Master*, there is a record of what John Riely called a “tersely worded note from Thomas Tegg, the publisher in Cheapside, to Rowlandson ...which illustrates the brisk, businesslike nature of such employment.”⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Rowlandson may have had a personal reason for wanting to create a progress of a nabob that located the source of so-called Eastern excess in the metropole. On 10 May 1782, just as Rowlandson had begun to achieve success as an artist, his younger brother, James, entered into the service of the East India Company as a midshipman on the Indiaman the *Europa*.⁷⁶ On 20 April 1783, James was “Blown up assisting the *Duke of Athol* [sic]”, a Company ship anchored off of Madras that exploded when a barrel of spirits ignited and spread to the magazine.⁷⁷ The squadron responded to the guns of distress and the *Europa* sent a party consisting of “the gunner,

⁷⁴ "Obituary--Mr. Rowlandson", 564.

⁷⁵ Riely, "New Light on Rowlandson's Biography", 587. At the time of Riley’s publication, the note was in print seller Andrew Edmunds’ collection (44 Lexington Street, Soho, London), however, according to Edmunds, it has since been lost or sold.

⁷⁶ M.T.W Payne, "The Explosion of Rowlandson's Brother," *The Burlington Magazine* CSLVII (August 2005): 552.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Carpenter, three midshipmen and two men” to assist.⁷⁸ According to the ship’s surgeon, “Their efforts seemed at last to be blessed with success; the flames became moderate and we began to think ourselves secure; fatal security to many! For about 15 minutes from eight o’clock the ship blew up.”⁷⁹ The explosion killed nearly everyone aboard and was represented in an engraving by James Gillray entitled *The Duke of Athol East Indiaman* (Figure 7). This personal angle may provide a new dimension to Rowlandson’s treatment of the nabob in *The Grand Master* and, furthermore, may account for the often sympathetic tenor discernable in images depicting Qui Hi.

In terms of the production method, completed engravings by Rowlandson were delivered to Combe to inspire his accompanying poetry and, though clearly a creatively symbiotic attitude existed, it is doubtful they met prior to publication. In the preface to *The Tour of Doctor Syntax*, Combe described their working method:

An Etching or a Drawing was accordingly sent to me every month, and I composed a certain proportion of pages in verse, in which, of course, the subject of the design was included: the rest depended upon what my imagination could furnish.—When the first print was sent to me, I did not know what would be the subject of the second; and in this manner, in great measure, the Artist continued designing, and I continued writing, every month for two years, ‘till a work, containing near ten thousand Lines was produced: the Artist and the Writer having no personal communication with, or knowledge of each other.⁸⁰

The result was very popular indeed. The publications of Ackermann and Tegg, and the products of the partnership between Rowlandson and Combe in particular,

⁷⁸As quoted in Ibid.

⁷⁹As quoted in Ibid.

⁸⁰As quoted in Robert R. Wark, *Rowlandson's Drawings for the English Dance of Death* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1966), 6.

mark a significant shift in the way prints were sold in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Rather than sell single sheets or rent a collection of topical engravings for an evening's entertainment, both marketing strategies implemented in the middle to late eighteenth-century shops of Hannah Humphrey, Samuel William Fores and William Holland, prints were bound with accompanying text to be sold as illustrated folios.⁸¹ Though historians of the book have often overlooked the primacy of the image, Combe had no illusions where his work stood in the hierarchy:

Was Hogarth's pencil now at hand,
Well could we ridicule command,
For certain 'tis the pencil does
To the spectator's eye disclose,
More sentiment, and more description,
Than narrative, if truth, or fiction.⁸²

Nevertheless, graphic satire, once a stand-alone medium that did not require modification from the copy, was gradually becoming an illustration to text.⁸³

Rowlandson's artistic technique in *The Grand Master* swings from the sophisticated, complex satires of his contemporary from earlier in the century, James Gillray, to the subtle, "descriptive jobs" comparable to George Cruikshank's *oeuvre* of the later nineteenth century.⁸⁴ *The Grand Master* is

⁸¹ A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints & People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), 606. Fores advertised "Folios of caricatures lent out for the evening". As quoted in Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip*, 359.

⁸² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 82.

⁸³ Mark Bills, *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London: Museum of London, Philip Wilson Publishers, 2006), 33.

⁸⁴ W.A. Coupe, "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 1 (1969): 87.; I have also traced this shift in "Abandoning Graphic Satire and Illustrating Text: Cruikshank's *Crowning Himself Emperor of France*, 1814" in *Word and Image in the Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, ed. Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholarly Press, 2008), 323-342.

therefore, but one step towards this significant transition between graphic satire and the ‘Victorian Illustrated Book’.⁸⁵

In light of the theoretical, methodological and material significance of *The Grand Master*, it is curious it has not informed the dynamic scholarly interest in British imperial history, particularly now that interdisciplinary approaches are proving so productive. Individual images from *The Grand Master* have, of course, been referred to in various texts, yet the fact that each image is but a single component of an extended satire of the nabob has not been acknowledged, if it is even known.⁸⁶ To be sure, scathing stanzas and pictorial lampoons have yet to be fully rescued from “Victorian contempt”, but illustrated books like *The Grand Master* were clearly of interest to the British public and therefore have significant value to art historical and literary investigations in pursuit of the history of imperial identities. More surprising is the reality that graphic satire, on the whole, is conspicuously under-utilized in the study of the nabob.⁸⁷ The nabob

⁸⁵ Richard Maxwell, ed. *The Victorian Illustrated Book* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 2002).

⁸⁶ The individual works MISSIONARY INFLUENCE OR HOW TO MAKE CONVERTS, THE BURNING SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED and A NEW MAP OF INDIA FROM THE LATEST AUTHORITY have each been addressed in a cursory way without reference to their origins. See Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (London: Ashgate, 2005), 230. THE BURNING SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED also appears in Mati, *Contentious Traditions*, 115 while A NEW MAP OF INDIA appears in Peter Marshall, "The Making of the Hybrid Raj, 1700-1857," *History Today* 47, no. 9 (November 1997): 8, and Deidre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 53.

⁸⁷ A case in point is Nechtman’s historical examination of the nabob where he includes examples of graphic satire but provides very little analysis of the images beyond a basic description of the scene. Any conclusions he makes do not take into account the agency of the artist; for example, the author acknowledges Mildred Archer’s claim that nabobs did not wear Indian-inspired fashions in Britain yet he suggests that nabobs made “Indian fashions more present in domestic Britain. Eastern clothing styles became the metaphoric means by which to represent a nabob.” Unlike Captain John Foote, immortalised by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1761, who commemorated his Indian experience by sitting for his portrait in a turban, a *jama*, or full-length surcoat and accompanying *patka*, or sash, by the 1780s Indian dress had become closely associated with satirical representations of British men in India. In other words, it is not the nabob that has made the sartorial satirical, but the satirist. Nechtman, "Nabobs Revisited", 654.

was a significant, *visible* subject between the 1770s and the 1830s, a period marked as the peak of British print culture.⁸⁸ This disregard for the pictorial representation of the nabob is consequently puzzling when the wealth of sources available and the popularity satirical prints enjoyed during this period is considered. The nabob was a favoured character of a medium at its zenith and *The Grand Master* is a microcosm of the anxieties embodied by the nabob; therefore, this object of analysis not only provides a logical, thematically based outline for this study, the episodes found within the book also serve as a stable foundation for reading and comparing other significant graphic examples.

V. The Progress

The chapters that ensue will form yet another progress, leading us through the representation of nabobs in graphic satire. As such, each thematic chapter will constitute a step on the progress of the nabob. Chapter 1 reveals that, according to Rowlandson, Lord Moira was a bellicose representative of an overly ambitious class, bent on the ruin of the metropole through the destruction of India. The images in *The Grand Master* challenged prevailing notions of an Eastern role model for dangerous nabobery and, instead, provide a British aristocratic archetype which foreshadows the downfall of the colonial project and acts as the presage to the nabob's progress. In Chapter 2, depictions of nabobs engaged in excessive drinking, excessive spending and in displays of excessive idleness are interrogated to illustrate the kinds of criticism directed towards questionable imperial agents. I argue that, despite the established strategies to use nabobs to

⁸⁸ David Bindman, "Prints," in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832*, ed. Iain McCalman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 207.

dissociate from the East, for Rowlandson, the embodied identity of the nabob was a synecdoche for an imperial project that could not be distanced from the metropole. Chapter 3 investigates two dominant strategies of representing imperial illness in India: one which depicts the nabob as responsible for his own ill health and the other which portrays an Anglo-Indian, courageously sacrificing himself for the sake of empire. These representational approaches illustrate the decline of the liminal, self-interested figure who could assume the physical and psychological characteristics of the East, thus signalling a less permeable border between the British body and Eastern excess. I argue that Rowlandson challenged the right of Britain to rule India by resisting imperial rhetoric, first by locating the source of imperial illness in the metropole and second, by criticising imperial martyrdom, thereby exposing that a nabob was merely a British man abroad. Chapter 4 examines debates that facilitated the negotiation of British masculine identities, created through Company-state policies and processes and justified through conflict with allegedly Eastern excess, which emphasized the inappropriateness of women in India and advanced an ideal of homosocial colonialism. I argue that Rowlandson complicated the creation of national, masculine identities by focussing on the reality and the complexity of Anglo-Indian relationships with women. Company reactions to prostitution, consortship with *adventurous* European women and interracial, domestic liaisons with native women illustrate how women in India were regarded as objects of excess through hazardous sexual vice, wasteful domestic superfluity, and conjugal arrangements incongruous with projections of a liberal imperial project.

Privileging graphic satire as a primary source animates the study of the nabob and draws attention to the value of visual documents in informing conclusions made about British imperial history. Grounding the study in *The Grand Master* facilitates participation in an active, postcolonial discourse which sheds light on emerging examples of resistance to British imperialism which derived from the metropole itself. Yet, *The Grand Master* is not simply a progress of a nabob from a promising youth to a reviled and cursed man; it represents a broader consequence in the progress of the British identity in India “From Merchants to Emperors”.⁸⁹ Furthermore, *The Grand Master* is not merely a product of an upstart publisher who hoped to profit from an established and successful publication formula, but signifies a step in an art historical progress which traces the characteristics of an artistic genre from graphic satire to humorous book illustration. A nabob, a nation, a genre: each progress captured by *The Grand Master* is negotiating identity, but the significance of these negotiations will affect yet another faction. According to Combe, the progress begins with a hopeful British youth who seeks his fortune in India and ends when the youth’s soul becomes embodied in a flying fish. Qui Hi is portrayed in *The Grand Master* with a serious problem: he cannot afford the passage home by boat, so he swims and, in an attempt to escape a school of sharks, accidentally jumps aboard a British ship. He begs to be put back in the water: “But this appeal was made too late, / The fish had met its destin’d fate.”⁹⁰ The malevolent cycle of a man destroyed is suggested by the ship upon which Qui Hi leaps—it is coming

⁸⁹ Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, *From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986).

⁹⁰ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, vii.

to India, filled with more young men to empower this vicious cycle of greed and tragedy. According to Rowlandson's progress in *The Grand Master*, Qui Hi suffers a traumatic and irreparable break with his culture simply by embarking on his adventure, an exploit he viewed as inextricably linked to the colonial project. He is a representative of British youth who suffers cruelly before finally succumbing to a useless death so far from home. Therefore, *The Grand Master* not only reveals the true source of corruption as British colonial conquest, but exposes the true victim of imperial ambition as Britain's future.

CHAPTER 1

‘OMENOUS’ SIGNS:
THE GRAND MASTER AS ILLUSIONISTIC MORALITY PLAYI. Pictorial Strategies, Moral Objectives and a Noble ExemplarInvocation to Butler

What pity, in this curious age,
 That Hudibras has left the stage,
His talents might be wanted ;
 For surely satire’s pointed pen
 Was ne’er required by viler men,
 Than *those* the muse has *painted*.
 If *honor’s* dictates can’t prevail,
 And *human laws* deficient fail,
 To cause their reformation;
 In mercy let the muse aspire,
 To *thy* extinguished’d *attic fire*,
 And Shew them to the nation.
 Folly or vice, if *far* or *near*,
 Deserve a scourge—devoid of fear;
 And *this* shall now be given:
 Nor vice, or ermin’d, or in crape,⁹¹
 Shall Quiz’s *pickled lash* escape,
 And this I vow to heaven!⁹²

Located immediately following the book’s preface, Combe’s ‘Invocation to Butler’ lays out the goals of *The Grand Master*: to expose the nabob to the nation; to warn that distance from the metropole does not constitute sanctuary from scrutiny; and to establish that even nobles and clergymen are not exempt from the moral examination conducted by satirists. This chapter will identify the methods by which ‘the muse has painted’ the “Grand Master”, identified as George Augustus Francis Rawdon, Baron Rawdon, Earl of Moira (1754 - 1826).

⁹¹ Ermine: “With reference to the use of ermine in the official robes of judges and the state robes of peers” and Crape: “In the 18th c., ‘a sort of thin worsted stuff, of which the dress of the clergy is sometimes made’ (Bailey 1755); hence, sometimes put for those who are dressed in ‘crape’, the clergy, a clergyman”. “Crape, N.,” in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁹² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, ix-x.

Examining representations of nabobs in graphic satire between 1770 and 1830 reveals two distinct pictorial approaches. The first is a form of scathing political commentary responding to specific India-related political affairs and featuring major, recognizable figures like Robert Clive, Henry Dundas, Thomas Rumbold, Warren Hastings, Charles James Fox, William Pitt and King George III. The frequency of this form of nabob imagery can be correlated to the Parliamentary Inquiry on the East India Company in the 1770s, the formulation of the India Bills between 1780 and 1785, and the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings (1788-95).⁹³ Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal (1773-85), is the figure most frequently lampooned as a nabob through the satirical device of depicting him wearing exaggerated versions of Indian dress, reflecting contemporary impressions of Company servants as Oriental tyrants (Figure 8).⁹⁴ The trial, which commenced on 13 February 1788, was concerned with the methods by which the British generally and Warren Hastings specifically advanced colonial interest in India and laid a complex string of charges of tyranny, bellicosity, extortion and torture pertaining to Hastings' management.⁹⁵ As such, the trial was not only perceived as the height of anti-nabob sentiment but as the antidote to Eastern corruption as subsequent parliamentary reforms enacted

⁹³ Raven, *Judging New Wealth*, 226.

⁹⁴ Finbarr Barry Flood examines the significance of visuality to the controversial exchanges surrounding Warren Hastings' impeachment proceedings in "Correct Delineations and Promiscuous Outlines: Envisioning India at the Trial of Warren Hastings," *Art History* 19, no. 1 (2006): 47-78.

⁹⁵ The trial was histrionically portrayed by Macaulay as an event where "The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude." *Selections from the Writings of Lord Macaulay*, ed. George Otto Trevelyan (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1877), 153, 155. For a good synopsis of the trial, see Pam Perkins, "Trial of Warren Hastings," (The Literary Encyclopedia, 2005).

by Lord Cornwallis in the 1790s removed opportunities for the accumulation of private fortunes in India. These reforms ensured that the glory days of “nabobery” were at an end, and consequently the nabob appeared to lose its efficacy as a political anti-type.⁹⁶ Hence, satirical representations of key political figures as nabobs went into decline. Concurrent to the image of the identifiable Eastern adventurer was a second pictorial approach which featured fictional nabobs engaged in a variety of activities—such as dancing, riding horses, suffering from stomach maladies, complaining of the Indian climate, competing for Indian women, and generally being slothful—thereby representing the subjects as relatively benign creatures of folly. This variety of imaging freed graphic satirists from the confines of specific political events and personages and enabled artists to articulate wider-ranging concerns inspired by an impending Eastern empire.

In *The Grand Master*, Thomas Rowlandson combined both pictorial approaches. Interspersed throughout Qui Hi’s progress, (a figure portrayed as the comparatively unthreatening East India Company newcomer or “griffin”), is the ridicule of the *Burra Sahib*, or “the great Master”.⁹⁷ According to Rowlandson,

⁹⁶ Juneja, “The Native and the Nabob”, 184. Further to the notion of the Hastings trial being the remedy for Eastern corruption, Nicholas B. Dirks has recently argued that the Hastings ‘scandal’ served as the “emblematic moment” when corruption was taken out of the hands of the individual and normalised, launching Britain in to the modern world as a nation with “global political ambition”. Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 29.

⁹⁷ Significantly, Company men chose to underscore the newcomer’s liminality by using a term that traditionally referred to a fabulous animal often represented as having the head of one creature and the body of another. Percival Spear, *The Nabob: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 95. Similarly, current work by Jill H. Casid dealing with the colonial history of the ‘chimera’, a term contemporary discourses use to refer to transplant subjects, suggests that “current discourses and representations of transplantation are deeply imbricated with colonial taxonomies of race and gender”. Jill H. Casid, “Transplantation and Chimeras: Early Modern Practices of Change at the Edges of the Human”

and to a lesser extent Combe, Lord Moira is a bellicose representative of an overly ambitious class, bent on the ruin of the metropole through the destruction of India. Challenging the prevailing understanding of the nabob as an upstart figure who threatens the established political hierarchy, a composite figure wrought from ruthless ambition and Mughal example, Rowlandson advances Lord Moira's 'ermin'd' vice' as the true exemplar for the rapacious nabob. This chapter will not only satisfy the necessity for an historical overview of the events which led to Moira accepting his Indian Commission, but suggests that through the attack on Moira, the artist had an ethical purpose for the work.

I have argued elsewhere that satirical representations of nabobs in this period often utilised preexisting 'upstart iconography' which immediately identified the subject as socially or politically presumptuous.⁹⁸ Visual emblems such as the 'Colossus', symbolizing unmerited pride followed by inevitable downfall; the socially impudent 'cit', indicating the insalubrious emulation of the ruling class in their tastes and pursuits; and the 'equestrian', a manipulation of the classical idea of *virtus* perverted to express self-interest, were tailored through the use of a few India-related props to signify the despised figure of the nabob.⁹⁹ As members of a new upstart class, nabobs personified threats to the socio-political

(paper presented on McGill's Art History and Communication Studies Speaker Series, McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada, 15 January 2009). See also Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). For a definition of *Burra Sahib*, see Henry Yule, Sir., in *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive.*, ed. B.A. William Crooke (London J. Murray, 1903).

⁹⁸ Christina Smylitopoulos, "Rewritten and Reused: Imaging the Nabob Through "Upstart Iconography," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 32, no. 2 (2008): 39-59.

⁹⁹ A literary equivalent for upstart iconography can be found in the "ready-made" vocabulary describing the middling orders' emulation of elite society in the novels of the 1790s. See Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, 147.

status quo and, in graphic satire, domestic critics found a useful method of public censure. Nevertheless, by examining the symbolic languages utilized in *The Grand Master*, an often overlooked reality is exposed: British critics of the late eighteenth century frequently expressed resistance to forming an Eastern empire; hence, the anxieties embodied in the nabob go beyond the social climbing of the *nouveaux riches*. To this end, Rowlandson similarly utilizes preexisting visual idioms in *The Grand Master*, but not merely to draw attention to unmerited pride, social presumption or even self-interest. Through established satirical themes of the fall of Phaeton, pale riders, solar eclipses and phantasmagorias, Rowlandson cautions beholders to the ill-fated path of empire, a course he saw inextricably linked to the progress of the aspirant nabob, the pinnacle of which was occupied by 'The Grand Master'. These themes, which envisage the results of a dubious journey by characters of questionable motives and compromised moral fibre are intensely dramatic and feature allusions to Greek gods, references to Armageddon, suggestions of terrifying celestial phenomena and depictions of dire apparitions of future events. The questions that drive the analysis of Rowlandson's representation of Moira in *The Grand Master* are twofold: first, why did Rowlandson use established satirical expressions of foreboding in dealing with the subject of Britain's Indian ambitions and, second, what purpose was served by reiterating this warning again and again in *The Grand Master*.

Reforms had made amassing vast private fortunes near to impossible. Yet, notwithstanding the reduced opportunities for rapacity in India, Lord Moira still managed to acquire vast amounts of territory. As close examination of Qui Hi's

progress will illustrate, the global consequences of Moira's ambition in India were suffered locally. The landmark experiences of a nabob in pursuit of an empire of conquest—dependence upon substances, financial insolvency, idleness, disease and illicit relationships— not only resulted in the death of Qui Hi but in the effeminacy of Britain. The significance of Rowlandson's critique is found in the artist's deviation from representing nabobs as figures who emulate the despotic rule and the excessive habits of Eastern tyrants. Rowlandson's portrayal of Lord Moira's occupation of India suggests the source of tyranny in India was the British ruling class.

Rowlandson's cautionary tale strikes a productive comparison to the morality play, a theatrical genre considered a cornerstone of English drama which gained initial popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The morality play (and its shorter successor, the moral interlude) was often ribaldrously humorous but at its core remained didactic in nature.¹⁰⁰ To be sure, the comedic characteristics of moralities coincide with what is commonly considered a chief function of graphic satire; namely, to expose vice and discourage folly by applying ridicule, irony, sarcasm, and humour.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, closer scrutiny of the broad formula of the morality play in comparison with Rowlandson's progress reveals a satirical departure: moralities featured an innocent victim who naïvely falls into temptation, prompting the protagonist to battle allegorical representations of Vice in an effort to return to his natural, righteous state.

¹⁰⁰ "Moral Interlude," in *The Concise Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll and Peter Found (Oxford Reference Online: Oxford University Press, 1996), n.p.

¹⁰¹ Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 10.

Though he may be, once more, tempted by sin the hero is ultimately redeemed by Virtue in returning to his moral path.¹⁰² On the contrary, Rowlandson's satirical progress is the story of an anti-hero (however sympathetic) who travels a path driven by the hope of personal profit, purposefully pursuing vice and consistently avoiding redemption, the results of which are misery, illness and death.¹⁰³

This conception of an extended visual satire as a theatrical modality was similarly reconciled by Hogarth, as evidenced by an entry in his autobiographical notes: "Subjects I consider'd as writers do, my Picture was my Stage and men and women my actors who were by Mean of certain Actions and express[ions] to Exhibit a dumb shew."¹⁰⁴ In *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson is tapping into traditional theatrical models used to explore ethical concerns.¹⁰⁵ The goals of the morality play were to instruct the audience the way to salvation, to instill a desire for knowledge, and even to promote political accord.¹⁰⁶ Simply put by Edgar T. Schell, the function of the morality play was "the moral betterment of their

¹⁰² Merle Fildes, *The Rhetoric of Free Will: The Five-Action Structure of the English Morality Play* (Leeds: The University of Leeds School of English, 1974).iii. *English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes*, ed. Edgar T. Schell and J.D. Shuchter (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), viii.

¹⁰³ According to Martin Myrone, the negotiation between virtue and vice in the eighteenth century was particularly concentrated following the American War of Independence when "the virtues of the hero and the vices of the savage criminal might shade imperceptibly into one another". This tension between hero/anti-hero is a subject being worked out in much of British portraiture, caricature, history painting, and monumental works of sculpture in this period because violence and conquest was "now distasteful". Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2005), 220, 218.

¹⁰⁴ William Hogarth, "Autobiographical Notes," in *The Analysis of Beauty* ed. Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 209.

¹⁰⁵ There is also a strong connection between satire and the morality play. Edgar T. Schell describes a "not-so-latent satiric strain" which focussed on the morals and manners of contemporary society during the mid to late sixteenth century. *English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes*, xix.

¹⁰⁶ Rainer Pineas, "The English Morality Play as a Weapon of Religious Controversy," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 2, no. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1962): 157.

audiences.”¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Rowlandson is referencing Hogarth’s graphically satirical adaptations of the morality play in his ‘modern moral subjects’.

Throughout *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson operates simultaneously as playwright and ancient Greek chorus, providing the action but also standing aside from the drama to make comment upon the events.¹⁰⁸ Qui Hi, as a representative of a generic would-be nabob, cannot profit from Rowlandson’s warnings as he is, by nature of the doomed progress, deaf to foreboding. Therefore, the targets for Rowlandson’s progress are the metropolitan beholders grown accustomed to distancing themselves from imperial actors in India. Rowlandson’s cautionary presage to Qui Hi’s progress predicts the fall of Lord Moira, the fall of Qui Hi and the fall of the Britain.

Following an examination of Moira’s appointment to the Governor-Generalship of India, the satirical language Rowlandson utilizes to express judgment about his Lordship’s leadership in India will be examined. As the frontispiece suggests, the summit of British ambition in India is not stable and Moira’s descent from the *howda* foreshadows subsequent representations of Moira in *The Grand Master* as doomed by his pretensions to power in India, as a precursor to Indian disaster, as an ‘omenous’ shadow reaching the metropole, and as a man answerable for terrible future events.

¹⁰⁷ *English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes*, vii.

¹⁰⁸ In an excellent example of the tension between the image and the text, Combe is selective in his support of the claims made by the images. For example, many of the plates in *The Grand Master* are attacks against Moira and contain “allegations not made in the text.” George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 641.

II. The India Commission

In November 1788, George III began to exhibit signs of mental illness. The likely cause of his peculiar behaviour was the hereditary disease porphyria. The King's illness presented a significant political problem as Parliament could not conduct business without the opening speech from the sovereign. Political factions rallied, with William Pitt, the Younger arguing for confidence in the King's recovery and Charles James Fox arguing for the declaration of a Regency. In what became known as the Regency Crisis, Lord Moira allied himself with the Prince and, in a further expression of loyalty, loaned him several thousand pounds. The King eventually recovered and subsequently the Prince's reputation diminished; however, when the King once again fell ill in 1810, by act of Parliament the Prince of Wales became the Prince Regent. In an outward show of gratitude, Moira was asked to form a government. Unfortunately, the Regent's political manoeuvres, which involved forcing Moira to form a bipartisan ministry at a time when sharing power was impossible, rendered Moira's goal to form a government unattainable. Paul David Nelson argues that the Prince Regent set Moira up as a political dupe, always intending to reinstall the administration under Spencer Perceval and using Moira's 'failure' as a justification for maintaining the political *status quo*. Catholic emancipation, an issue of great political interest to Lord Moira, was also abandoned by His Royal Highness. In response, Moira left the Regent's inner socio-political circle and even refused the nomination to the Order of the Garter. His political depression and nostalgia for days more "congenial to the noble soul" was even captured by a sonnet,

supposedly penned by Moira himself.¹⁰⁹ Yet, regardless of the Prince's financial betrayal and political duplicity, Moira continued to be a great supporter of the Regent. His political career in ruins and the loans unpaid, in 1812 Lord Moira grudgingly accepted "The India Commission" from the Prince of Wales.¹¹⁰

Observers assumed that the Regent's unpaid debts to Lord Moira resulted in his "splendid banishment" to India.¹¹¹ For example, Miss Mary Godfrey, friend and correspondent of poet Thomas Moore (1779–1852), who enjoyed patronage from Lord Moira, responded to the news of his commission accordingly:

At his time of life, giving up friends and country and old habits must be a painful effort, and nothing in all probability but the ruined state of his affairs, and the disappointment he must feel from the Prince's conduct, could have decided him to accept of a place which he may suspect is given to him to get rid of him.¹¹²

Moore points up Lord Moira's naïveté and lack of judgement as the cause of his financial dilemma, characteristics, he warns, that may even compromise the Company's financial goals, rendering the Prince of Wales analogous to the Mughal *nawab* in his shallow, even illusionary expressions of friendship:

They must keep him out of the reach of all Indian princes, or the Company's rights will be in a bad way. A shake by the hand from a

¹⁰⁹ "What splendid vision o'er my fancy flies,/And with long dormant heat my bosom warms,/Banners and barbed steeds, and loud alarms,/And listed fields, and love the mighty prize ;/Bewitching to my thought the years arise/When chivalry refined the pride of arms :/Then valour sought its meed from female charms,/And fierceness melted at the fair one's eyes./O days, congenial to the noble soul !/Then love was dignity ; then falsehood, shame :/Then conscious truth a generous boast allowed./Now, under fashion's frivolous control,/Tis ridicule to bear a towering name/Or hold a post distinguished from the crowd. Bury, *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth*, 87.

¹¹⁰ Paul David Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquess of Hastings: Soldier, Peer of the Realm, Governor-General of India* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005), 11.

¹¹¹ Thomas Moore, *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, 8 vols., vol. 1 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853), 310-311.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

tawny prince-regent, and a plume of heron's feathers to wear upon birthdays, would go near to endanger our empire in India. This is too severe, but it is wrung from me by his criminal gullibility to such a—— as the Prince.¹¹³

The “duplicity and iniquity” of the *nawab* had been well documented and even mastered by the likes of Robert Clive in what Stanley Wolpert calls the “nabob game” which used bribery, extortion, coercion, threats, force and the support of rivals to disputed centres of power in Indian states, resulting in indirect rule.¹¹⁴ Indeed, the only distinction between Moore’s ‘prince-regent’ and Robert Orme’s mid eighteenth-century assessment of the Indian aristocracy’s “impulses of fancy” even when “in the greatest distress of money” is the ‘tawny’ complexion.¹¹⁵ The impact of Moore’s oblique comparison between a *nawab* and an English sovereign is found in their very similarity, and it is to this likeness that Lord Moira is countered. For example, Lady Charlotte Bury (1775-1861), novelist, diarist and lady-in-waiting to Caroline, the princess of Wales recorded her impressions of Moira being “sent off to India” as a means to discuss his many ill-timed virtues:

I call it being sent off, for it is evident the Regent cannot bear to have him near his person. ... Lord Moira has accepted this honourable banishment, because he cannot help himself, and is ruined. But who ruined him? He lent uncounted sums of money in former years, of which no note whatever was taken, and of which he never will see one farthing in return. Yet no one pities or feels

¹¹³ Ibid., 312.

¹¹⁴ According to Wolpert, this form of king-making was perfected by the French Governor-General of *La Compagnie perpétuelle des Indes* and, were it not for the loss of support from his company directors, Joseph François Dupleix would have made India a French colony. *Encyclopedia of India*, ed. Stanley A. Wolpert (Detroit: Charles Scribner’s Sons Thomson Gale, 2006), 209, 213.

¹¹⁵ As quoted in Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1997), 28.

for this man. Why? – because he is of nobler stuff than the common herd.¹¹⁶

The character described in these passages as a noble soul victimized by a double-dealing Regent suggests the unsettling possibility that European methods of commerce and control were heavily influenced by Mughal structures of power.¹¹⁷ For example, Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau, a French officer then working under Joseph François Dupleix (1697-1763), Governor-General of the French establishment in India, maintained that among “a people as doublefaced as those with whom we have to deal, to show only straightforwardness and probity is, to my thinking, only to be their dupe, and we shall inevitably be that if we do not conform to the usages of the country.”¹¹⁸ For Rowlandson, however, the comparison between princes merely illustrates how the British were just as capable of exhibiting characteristics of an ‘adventurer’ typically cast in Eastern climes.

With respect to Moira’s India commission, the deception committed by the Prince would continue. It was understood by Moira that he would simultaneously occupy the position of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the British Armed forces in India, which appealed to Moira as both a

¹¹⁶ She goes on to say that “Vanity and ambition were his only flaws, if flaws they be; but his attachment, or rather devotion; to the Regent was sincere, chivalric; and of a romantic kind, such as the world neither believes in nor understands; it was a kind of affection which amounted even to a passion of the mind, and, like all passions, led him into one or two acts beneath the *“chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.”* But nevertheless, he is a noble creature upon the whole; and what can poor human nature ever be more? Formed to live in another day than the present, some men seem born too late, and some men too soon.” Lady Charlotte Campbell Bury, *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth, Interspersed with Original Letters from the Late Queen Caroline, and from Various Other Distinguished Persons*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), 85-86.

¹¹⁷ Chowdhury, *The Fabulous Nabob*, 8.

¹¹⁸ As quoted in James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 28.

soldier and administrator and contributed to the notion of Britain's empire emerging as a "fiscal-military" regime.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, the real draw lay in the promise of a double salary (which did not materialize when he arrived in India to take up his posts).¹²⁰ Along with the appointment to India, Moira eventually accepted the Regent's olive branch and in June 1812 became a Knight of the Order of the Garter. He set out for India in April 1813 but considered the passage beneath his dignity. The frigate, the *Stirling Castle*, was ordered to convoy merchantmen around the Cape of Good Hope, extending the journey by at least three weeks and disappointing his intention to "go out in that dignified stile which should rebut the popular imputation that [the Regent] was only studying to get rid of me."¹²¹ A dignified departure to India was further thwarted by an article in *The Times* which accused Moira of conducting a sordid investigation on behalf of the Regent who wanted a divorce. Evidently, Moira had probed into the alleged scandalous conduct of Princess Caroline, behaviour which was rumoured to have resulted in an extra-marital pregnancy:

It was not to be borne, that the last act of a Nobleman, as he stepped on shipboard from our country, should be to cast back dirt with his foot in the face of our future Queen. Lord Moira, therefore, must stop and explain; his words cannot contain the meaning, which, with such concomitant marks of indignation, is generally attributed to them.¹²²

In a similar vein, another article equated Moira's journey to India as a journey to his death and pleaded for an explanation before the inevitable occurred:

¹¹⁹ Robert Travers, "Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century India," *Past & Present* 196(August 2007): 195.

¹²⁰ Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings*, 148.

¹²¹ Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings*, 149.

¹²² *The Times*, April 1, 1813, 3.

My Lord, you cannot leave England till you have wiped off the aspersion, which you have thus at parting cast upon the character of one, whom a natural ordination of Providence may place upon the throne of it, before you are three days sail from its shores....Tell the world while you are yet alive, lest the perilous secret should die with you.¹²³

Once in India, Moira's tenure was characterized by self-styled "decorations of authority", and he took the declaration of Crown sovereignty over the Company in the Charter Renewal Act of 1813 very seriously. Etiquette, rank and spectacle were thus initiated and emphasized "keeping up a becoming show", as he put it, with the intention to "soar and dazzle the public eye".¹²⁴

Moira understood the power of representation and his own likeness was captured on numerous occasions by the leading artists of the time. Thomas Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Chinnery, Hugh Douglas Hamilton, Sir Martin Archer Shee, John Hoppner, Joseph Nollekens, Sir Henry Raeburn, among others, agree on dark, heavy eyebrows, a long face, a tall stature and His Lordship's primary identification as a soldier. With regard to satirical representations, James Gillray portrayed Moira in at least thirty-six satires between 1788 and 1809. *The Reconciliation* and the image entitled *A Hint to Young Officers*, both from 1804, illustrate the artist's emphasis on Moira's heavy brows and lean build, features artist John Kay also accentuates in his caricature etching entitled *Earl of Moira Addressing the Loyal Edin. Spearmen* (Figures 9-11). These are characteristics also taken up by Rowlandson in *The Grand Master*, however, the significant difference in Rowlandson's depiction of Moira is in his

¹²³ "To the Earl of Moira," *The Times*, March 31, 1813, 3.

¹²⁴ Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings*, 150, 157.

inclusion of the contentious Star of the Order of Garter.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, before a visual analysis of Rowlandson's satirical portrayal of Lord Moira can take place, his satirical title of "The Grand Master" must be examined.

As the Masonic iconography of the frontispiece suggests, the title *The Grand Master* is not simply an English translation of the Urdu, *Burra Sahib*. It refers to Lord Moira's position as Acting Grand Master of English Freemasonry, a powerful administrative rank which he held for the symbolic head, the Prince Regent, who was appointed in November 1790.¹²⁶ Moira held the position of Acting Grand Master for twenty-two years and identified with this role in a portrait by James Ramsay, engraved by Charles Turner in 1811 (Figure 12).¹²⁷ The half-length portrait shows Moira seated in a chair heavily ornamented in Masonic symbols, wearing Masonic robes and turning the page of a book on a lectern. Indeed, the significance of Freemasonry to the British colonial project, and Moira's involvement, has recently been explored by Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs who argues convincingly that Freemasonry was an informal agent of empire and, although largely overlooked by historians, was in fact central to

¹²⁵ For other portrait examples by Kay, see John Kay, *Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay, Miniature Painter*, vol. II Part I (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, Carver and Gilder 1838).

¹²⁶ His Royal Highness was proposed by Lord Rawdon, the acting Grand Master, and his election was of course unanimously approved. The health of the New Grand Master was given with THREE TIMES THREE, when the general enthusiasm was such, that the Acting Grand Master had not any favorable pause to 'crave assistance' "Grand Master of Masonry," *The Times*, November 25, 1790, 2.

¹²⁷ Lord Moira's association with Freemasonry was clearly quite public. For example, rescheduling a Masonic dinner hosted by Moira also warranted advertisement in *The Times*. According to the article, the reason for the postponement was the unexpected death of Moira's sister, the Countess of Ailesbury. W. H. White, "Masonic Dinner to the Earl of Moira," *The Times*, January 12, 1813, 1.

forming and sustaining the British Empire.¹²⁸ She claims that freemasonry was an early form of globalization resulting in supranational identities that, unlike military or mercantile interest groups, exercised subtle influence over the colonial project in two ways. First, by enabling members to adjust to the challenging environs of distant colonial outposts by providing established information and connective networks of people and of infrastructure and, second, by creating strong symbolic impressions of invincibility and permanence through ritual and ceremony.¹²⁹ Harland-Jacobs' work reveals Moira's belief that Masonry served as a civilizing agent to relieve what he considered to be "the despotism, the ferocity, the degradation of manhood in the Asiatic regions where no casual ray of Masonry has ever pierced the gloom."¹³⁰ It is not clear in her analysis, however, whether Moira meant the 'despotism' and 'ferocity' of the Company or that of the Mughal ruling class. In any case, the impressions provided by Miss Mary Godfrey, Thomas Moore, Lady Charlotte Bury and by Moira's own poetic hand cut quite a sympathetic figure. Despite this, Rowlandson chose to identify Moira

¹²⁸ Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1-12, 13. For discussions of Freemasonry and British cultural and political hegemony, see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981) and her *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹²⁹ Globalization is a productive theoretical construct for approaching imperial histories; however, the expansive quality of the term and of the phenomena it represents is being addressed in works that call for a more precise definition. Geoff Eley, for example, has recently called for specificity in the use of globalization to prevent the 'over-simplification' of the history of global capitalism. Geoff Eley, "Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital: Giving the Present a Name," *History Workshop Journal* 63, no. 1 (2007): 154-58. Likewise, Felicity A. Nussbaum suggests 'critical global studies' to pursue the history of the eighteenth century to provide a more nuanced approach to the connections between colonialism and modernity. *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. Felicity A. Nussbaum (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Even Geoff Eley's critics have advanced suggestions for "how to think globally while not effacing the local". Felix Driver, "Feature Global Times and Spaces: On Historicizing the Global," *History Workshop Journal* 64, no. 1 (Autumn 2007): 322.

¹³⁰ As quoted in Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire*, 174.

as a Phaetonic character who prophesies the fall of British interests in India. In Rowlandson's satirical representation, Moira embodies what Parker Tyler defined as "man's pretension to divine or quasi-divine powers which the gods, when intimately touched, were so prompt to punish".¹³¹

III. The Fall of Phaeton

The mythological figure of Phaeton and his reckless and feckless journey across the skies was in use as a satirical tool as early as the 1730s with Henry Fielding's *Tumble-Down Dick; or, Phaeton in the Suds*, a parody of Mr. Pritchard's pantomime, *The Fall of Phaeton* of 1736.¹³² According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Phaeton was the son of the sun god Helios (Phoebus and later, Apollo) and the nymph Clymene (Asia). His true identity had been withheld from Phaeton until he reached adulthood, but to prove his lineage to doubting peers, Phaeton asked his father if he could drive the chariot of the sun across the sky. Though he warned Phaeton of the perils of his daily journey, Helios consented and gave up the reins. Dawn (Aurora) opened her doors and Phaeton drove upward; however, Phaeton was unable to control the fierce horses that drew the chariot and the vehicle veered too high making the earth grow cold and then dipped too close, scorching the ground. The critical point in the story, and the one most frequently depicted by satirists, is the moment Zeus (Jupiter) intervenes by striking the chariot with a lightning bolt, the act that causes Phaeton to plunge into

¹³¹ Parker Tyler, "Phaethon: The Metaphysical Tension between the Ego and the Universe in English Poetry," *Accent* 16(1956): 29

¹³² For a comparison between Pritchard's play and Fielding's parody, see Charles W. Nichols, "Fielding's Tumble-Down Dick," *Modern Language Notes* 38, no. 7 (1923). For a discussion about Fielding's possible political motivations for writing this parody, see Thomas R. Cleary, *Henry Fielding: Political Writer*. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984).

the river Eridanus (Po). Thus, Phaeton symbolizes the humiliating fall from favour owing to a senseless boast of lineage.¹³³

In *THE MODERN PHAETON OR THE HUGELY IN DANGER*, found in “Canto VII” between pages 198 and 199 of *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson depicts Moira, sash and star of Garter plainly evident, desperately gripping an out of control chariot labelled “FEAR” (Figure 13). The vehicle is driven by three fierce horses, their saddle blankets emblazoned with “ANGER”, “RAGE” and “IMPETUOSITY” as it plunges towards the Hooghly River. On the banks, Calcutta is burning as a result of Moira bringing the sun (labelled ‘LONDON’) too close to the earth; black smoke billows up, dramatically framing the vehicle’s plunge. Unable to retain stability, Moira’s “INTEREST” falls towards the surface of the water where two corpses of native men are feasted upon by vultures as they float down-current while a crocodile in the left foreground opens his jaws in “ANTICIPATION” of Moira’s ultimate descent. Rowlandson identifies the cause of the imminent wreckage as Moira’s “INCAPACITY” and “WEAKNESS”, crimes that are branded upon the wheels of the doomed chariot.

Rowlandson’s use of inscriptions, which carefully point up the deficiencies of Lord Moira’s leadership, are indeed helpful to viewers of the print; however, without these textual indicators, the fundamental message of incompetence in the face of presumed authority would not be lost. The artist capitalised on a pre-existing satirical idiom which expressed excessive self-confidence resulting in imminent and unavoidable disaster. In 1764, for example,

¹³³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses (8 Ad)*, ed. E.J. Kenney, trans. A.D. Melville, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 23-36.

the image of Phaeton inspired an instant understanding of forthcoming doom in Hogarth's *Tail Piece/The Bathos* which depicts the figure of 'Time' reclining against a ruined column, exhaling the last puff of a broken pipe (Figure 14). He is surrounded by symbols of decay, devastation and death and in the clouds above, Phaeton's chariot falls towards the earth (Figure 15). As the following selection of examples demonstrates, the pictorial convention Rowlandson draws upon and adapts to portray Moria as the 'Modern Phaeton', was a form of critical shorthand which destabilised the subject by casting him in the role of incompetent pilot.¹³⁴

At first glance, in *LIGHT EXPELLING DARKNESS,—EVAPORATION OF STYGIAN EXHALATIONS,—OR—THE SUN OF THE CONSTITUTION, RISING SUPERIOR TO THE CLOUDS OF OPPOSITION* of 1795, James Gillray places William Pitt in the role of Apollo holding the reins of his chariot, pulled by the British lion and the Hanoverian horse (Figure 16).¹³⁵ What complicates the image is the idealisation of Pitt's physique, a body which was a popular target for satirical stabs. In the early 1790s, Gillray standardized the satirical image of Pitt as an emaciated figure with an exaggerated hook nose on a red, chinless face, exemplified by *THE BOTTOMLESS-PITT* of 1792 (Figure 17). The title of the engraving makes the satirical target of Pitt's body explicit, but Gillray underlines his intention by portraying his subject asking "If there is a Fundamental Deficient..." suggesting that the dearth is, in fact, located in Pitt's buttocks. Furthermore, utilising Pitt's body as a means to damage his public persona was not restricted to graphic satire.

¹³⁴ The notion of an artistic 'shorthand' which deployed "stock symbols" to express opinions, refer to past situations, render judgements and were taken "as read" by audiences was explored by Roy Porter's investigation of the use of prints as sources for historical inquiry. See Roy Porter, "Seeing the Past," *Past & Present* 118, no. 1 (1988): 201.

¹³⁵ Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 164.

In a pamphlet entitled *Mustapha's Adoration of the Sublime Sultan Pittander Omnipotent* of 1795, Pitt's physique is similarly ridiculed by his supposed faithful servant, Mustapha:

Fain would I bow me down and kiss thy hinder parts in testimony of my submission, but thy hinder parts are wanting; I would pour precious ointment on thy beard, but thou are without a chin.¹³⁶

With startling contrast, in *LIGHT EXPELLING DARKNESS*, Pitt is portrayed with a body reminiscent of a classical Greek sculpture; thus, the visual irony suggests Pitt is not the god Apollo, but his bungling son Phaeton.¹³⁷ What is clear is that Gillray's portrayal is not a glorification of the Prime Minister, but a warning that the light he brings to political darkness—the 'Stygian Exhalations', referring to the infernal provinces of classical mythology—is ephemeral at best. Lurking below the billowy clouds beneath his chariot are enemies which will live beyond his spectacle of power.

Clearly a useful critical tool, the satirical idiom of the fall of Phaeton was used again by Gillray in 1808 in a work entitled *PHAETON alarm'd!* (Figure 18). Here it is Foreign Secretary George Canning represented as Phaeton in a chariot pulled by horses with the faces of his fellow cabinet ministers amidst a bewildering pageant of terrifying animals of the zodiac, depicted here as the Opposition. This moment captures Phaeton's foolishness as he is determined to push on with his plan to drive the chariot, despite his father's fervent forewarning:

¹³⁶ *Mustapha's Adoration of the Sublime Sultan Pittander Omnipotent*, vol. Part I (London: G. Riebau, 1795), n.p. The lack of 'hinder parts' may also make reference to the preoccupation of visual satirists regarding "seats of power". See Vincent Carretta, "Satires on Seats of Power in the Age of Hogarth and Gillray," in *Hogarth in Context: Ten Essays and a Bibliography*, ed. Joachim Möller (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996), 87-105.

¹³⁷ Diana Donald likewise drew attention to Gillray's satirically motivated conflation of Apollo and Phaeton in the slack manner by which Pitt holds the reins. Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 164.

No! Wild beasts lie in wait and shapes of fear!
 And though you keep your course and steer aright,
 Yet you shall meet the Bull, must brave his horns,
 And face the Archer and the ravening Lion,
 The long curved circuit of the Scorpion's claws,
 The Crab whose claws in counter-menace wave.¹³⁸

In unintended foreshadowing, Lord Moira is featured in *PHAETON alarm'd!* as one of Lord Grenville's claws, here portrayed as 'Scorpio Broad-Bottom' (Figure 19). Gillray was making reference to Moira's position as Master General of the Ordnance in what was derisively called the Ministry of All the Talents (1806-07). A coalition government formed under Grenville in the wake of William Pitt's death, the Talents have been characterised by historians as incompetent in military strategy, inept in the management of Catholic claims, and diplomatically naïve in their attempts to make peace with France. The greatest achievement of the Talents was the banning of the slave trade, but even this was considered more of a personal victory for private members who put forward legislation than the combined efforts of the ministry.¹³⁹ In *PHAETON alarm'd!* Canning is losing control of the chariot, whose blazing wheels crush the scales of justice while the ghost of William Pitt, cast as a weeping Apollo, despairs for his reckless son.¹⁴⁰

In an example of the suppleness of the trope, the employment of the Fall of Phaeton as a visual idiom was not solely linked to complex spectacles of political intrigue. In a work entitled *THE FALL OF PHAETON* predating those

¹³⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 27.

¹³⁹ Though the primary goals of The Ministry of the Talents were not achieved, new evidence suggests that the approach of "empirical, scientific liberalism" held greater repercussions to the future of British politics than previously understood. Joe Bord, "Whiggery, Science and Administration: Grenville and Lord Henry Petty the Ministry of All the Talents, 1806-7," *Historical Research* 76, no. 191 (February 2003): 108.

¹⁴⁰ Donald also speculates whether casting Pitt as Apollo in *PHAETON alarm'd!* may have been self-referential, pointing to Gillray's earlier treatment of Pitt in *Light Expelling Darkness*. See Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 164.

mentioned above (1788), Gillray portrayed the Prince of Wales falling from his 'phaeton', a type of light four-wheeled open carriage drawn by a pair of horses, onto the bare backside of his mistress, Mrs. Maria Anne Fitzherbert (Figure 20). Although the image refers to an accident which occurred in Kensington in 1788, the comic interpretation of the Prince of Wales as Phaeton is also clearly intended. According to the inscription below the print which Gillray attributes to Ovid, living openly with his 'imaginary Bride' and concentrating on 'what e'er She shows' has brought the Prince down from celestial providence to terrestrial humiliation. This 'bringing one down to earth', so to speak, is a device which would prove helpful to Rowlandson, particularly in terms of the aspiration for imperial dominance in India. Rowlandson had applied the Phaetonic theme to Lord Moira before publishing *The Grand Master*. Another version of the Prince of Wales' accident, *GOING TO RIDE ST. GEORGE. A PANTOMIMIC SCENE LATELY PERFORMED AT KENSINGTON BEFORE THEIR M____S* (1788) portrays the King and Queen looking away as Mrs. Fitzherbert falls on her lover. The Prince looks up to the heavens, reaching for assistance that does not materialize (Figure 21). Another example of a 'dumb shew', the 'pantomimic scene' recalls the theatrical performances of mythological stories expressed through gestures and actions popular in Imperial Rome. Furthermore, the inter-play between examples of graphic satire formed a dynamic dialogue of critical representation which could be deployed as artists saw fit. For example, Rowlandson's *THE MODERN PHAETON* is but one example of the Phaetonic theme applied by graphic satirists to engage with the political issues of India. James Sayers created *THE FALL OF*

PHAETON in 1784 depicting Charles James Fox as Phaeton falling head first from his chariot, pulled by a lion and a unicorn (Figure 22). In one hand he holds a scroll which reads “*Die et mon droit*” (God and my right), the motto of the British monarchy, and in his other a document labelled “India Ref[or]m Bill”. Under the title of the work, Sayers comes to the principal point: “Ambition this shall tempt to rise / Then whirl the Wretch from high”&c. &c.” This sentiment was echoed in Richard Newton’s *SOLA VIRTUS INVICTA—VIRTUE ALONE IS INVINCIBLE* of 1784 where Charles James Fox is again depicted as Phaeton, speeding through the streets and flattening everyone in his path (Figure 23). The moment before Fox is crowned with a laurel wreath, which signifies the attainment of his goal to arrogate royal authority, lightning tears through the sky surrounding his vehicle. The reins are slack and Fox, now out of control, has only to fall.

Lord Moira’s tenure as Governor-General was a period characterised by rapid territorial expansion. With military efficiency, Moira capitalised on the disorder among neighbouring native powers and in 1814 launched the campaign securing the Gurkha state of Nepal. Justified by Gurkha attempts to encroach on Company protected districts in the northern section of Oudh, Moira’s campaign ran contra to the Company’s policy of maintaining the territorial *status quo*. An entry in Moira’s personal diary dated 6 February 1814 outlines his ambitions:

Our object ought to be, to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so. We should hold the other States as vassals, in substance though not in name; not precisely as they stood in the Mogul government, but possessed of perfect internal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the British government with the pledge of the two great feudal duties.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ As quoted in Nelson, *Francis Rawdon-Hastings*, 161.

By 1816, Moira's forces were marching within fifty miles of the capital, Katmandu. The Gurkhas deserted the areas of dispute and, in recognition of this successful endeavour, Moira was created Marquess of Hastings. With this accolade in mind, it is initially puzzling that Moira has been characterised by Rowlandson as 'The Modern Phaeton'. To be sure, Company court directors did not value imperial goals over the more profitable motivations of trade and some parties "at the west end of the Town would be glad of a favourable opportunity to trip up Moira's heels".¹⁴² Nevertheless, *The Grand Master* could hardly be described as a voice for Company concerns. It comprises the ill-fated progress of a Company griffin, illuminating the folly of imperial ambition by means of a corporation that by 1816 was thought of as representing national interests. Succinctly put by Nicholas Dirks, "When British leaders... would wage war and annex territory in far-off lands, they were now to do so in the name of Britain, with all the presumed glory, justification, and (in the end) profit that attended this new imperial mission."¹⁴³ Thus, Rowlandson's intention was to impart that tyrannical and bellicose leaders in India spelled disaster for Britain, despite their alleged success. In THE MODERN PHAETON, the chariot begins its descent as Moira screams, "*That cursed Lightning—and from that quarter too, there is no Alternative I must Fall.*" Moira has brought 'LONDON', represented by the sun, too close to India, requiring intervention. Meanwhile, Combe's support of Rowlandson's composition in *The Grand Master* reads as follows:

¹⁴² As quoted in Cyril Henry Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834 (1940)*, ed. Patrick J. N. Tuck, vol. VI, University of Manchester Historical Series (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1998), 199.

¹⁴³ Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, 125.

Our classic readers all must know,
 That Phaëton tumbled in the Po,
 When Jove¹⁴⁴ had found that *three* in hand
 This Jehu¹⁴⁵ did not understand ;
 And so, to save the world from fire,
 Plung'd Master Phaëton in the mire.
 Another Phaëton, but more ugly,
The Hindoos tumble in the Hugely ;
 Where, like Prometheus, it is said,
 Vultures are on his liver fed.

...

Our hero never could endure
 A self-sufficient connoisseur !
 And ask'd if any of this class
 Resided here, or at Madras ?
 The subs. assur'd him, one and all,
 That such a fool was in Bengal.¹⁴⁶

In an excellent example of how the text and the image can be at odds in *The Grand Master*, Combe's verse dilutes the strength of Rowlandson's criticism. The artist rendered a symbol for foolishness leading to disaster, whereas the writer merely talks of the fool with little reference to repercussions. Nevertheless, Combe does make mention of the motivations of the satire: the warning delivered by Rowlandson via a pre-existing, and therefore immediately understood visual idiom communicates to beholders that London contains opinions that were critical of Moira's ambitions. The 'classic readers', Combe suggests, will understand these metaphors directly and, in order 'to save the world from fire', the metropole will intercede. Despite this reassurance from Combe, Rowlandson does not leave his warning there, but takes up yet another traditional visual motif to reinforce his cautionary tale.

¹⁴⁴ Poetical equivalent to Jupiter (Zeus).

¹⁴⁵ A fast and furious driver.

¹⁴⁶ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 198.

IV. Pale Riders

In MORE INCANTATIONS OR A JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR, found in “Canto VI” of *The Grand Master* between pages 128 and 129, Rowlandson depicts Moira as a horned, skeletal representation of Death, one of the metaphorical Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, riding an equally bony horse puffing “DESOLATION” and “PESTILENCE” towards the Governor’s residence in Calcutta (Figure 24). In his right hand, Moira clutches a paper inscribed with “Napaul War” and, in the violence of the charge, the symbol of his nobility—a coronet—falls to the ground. He is urged on this path of frenzied war by evil advisors, one of whom is identified as Lionel Smith, who wears a belt labelled “VICE” and shakes a torch of “DISCORD” whilst wielding a cat of nine tails. His companions have yet to be definitively identified, but it is clear from their waving torches that they echo Smith’s goading sentiment, helping to create a mob-like atmosphere that encourages Moira’s assault. Closer inspection of the mob, however, reveals complications: a “Daemon of Discord” has infiltrated the crowd.¹⁴⁷ Horned, bare breasted and wielding a short sword inscribed with “SLANDER”, the figure is a “Fury”, a deity from Greek mythology sent from the realm beneath the underworld to avenge crime. As her weapon suggests, Moira’s nemesis has been dispatched to punish bellicosity and slander, but the appearance of an avenging goddess is not the only intimation of hesitation in the image.¹⁴⁸ The civilian who occupies the centre, left foreground holds the tail of Moira’s mount and, though

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹⁴⁸ The sword Fury wields may also be a reference to Act II, Scene III of Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale*, line 108-09: “slander, Whose sting is sharper than the sword” See William Shakespeare, “The Winter’s Tale,” in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (1914)*, ed. W.J. Craig (London: Oxford University Press, Bartleby.com, 2000).

the flames that surround him will soon waylay his attempt to avert Death's progress, his effort to stall Moira's confrontation demands attention. I argue that the figure is Charles Theophilus, Baron Metcalfe, a talented and well-connected administrator in the Company who believed the British in India were dangerously overconfident in their military forces (1785-1846).

Born in Calcutta, Metcalfe embarked on a career in the East India Company at fifteen following a classical education at Eton and by 1811, rose to the position of Deputy Secretary to the Governor-General. According to C. A. Bayly, it was in his next position as chief commissioner of the city of Delhi that Metcalfe revealed the moderate radicalism which informed his view of Britain's impact on India. He later became associated with the Age of Reform and worried that "a very little mismanagement might accomplish [Britain's] expulsion" from India.¹⁴⁹ During Lord Moira's tenure, however, his concern was fixed on the overestimation of Indian support for British military matters. In a letter to Moira, Metcalfe expressed his anxiety over Britain's unstable hold on India:

Whatever delusions may prevail in England respecting the security to be derived from the affections of our Indian subjects, and a character for moderation and forbearance with foreign native states, it will probably be admitted in India, that our power depends solely on our military superiority.¹⁵⁰

If the civilian figure in Rowlandson's MORE INCANTATIONS is indeed Metcalfe, and a comparison with Metcalfe's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

¹⁴⁹ C.A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, ed. Gordon Johnson, 1 vols., vol. 2, *The New Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 121.

¹⁵⁰ John William Kay, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe; Late Governor-General of India, Governor of Jamaica, and Governor-General of Canada from Unpublished Letters and Journals Preserved by Himself, His Family, and His Friends*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, Publisher in Ordinary to her Majesty, 1854), 388-89, 392.

(London) makes it feasible, his hold on the horse's tail is not to prevent Moira from a militaristic approach (Figure 25). Quite the contrary, he was very much in favour of the war; he simply wanted Moira to pause for long enough to consider the best way to win.

Rowlandson's MORE INCANTATIONS advances the message of impending doom, a point emphasized through the depiction of Moira's horse leaping over a flattened tombstone reading: "Hic Jacit/ The Mortal part/ of Infamy Avarice/ and/ Tyrany" [sic]. The coming onslaught Rowlandson portrays will not, however, come as a surprise to the inhabitants of Calcutta. A man stands at a podium upon which is inscribed "Search the Scriptstures [sic] for therein & . &c." and delivers the incantation, spelling disaster: "and I looked and beheld a pale horse and his name that sat on him was Death and hell followed with him" (Figure 26).¹⁵¹ Succinctly put by George, Moira is "threatened with calamity"; yet, it is not only Moira who is in danger. Calcutta will have to bear the hell Moira visits upon it, confirmed by the gibbets in the distance and, as Calcutta is the seat of British power in India, so too will Britain.¹⁵²

Like the satirical idiom of the Fall of Phaeton, Rowlandson refers to a tradition of the pale rider in graphic satire, each instance tailored to suit the particular political circumstances under scrutiny. For example, on 4 June 1795,

¹⁵¹ George suggests that the figure could in fact be Moira posing as an idol and reading the scriptures prior to the commencement of war. If it is Moira, and the hint of a heavy eyebrow suggests the possibility, the image implies that Moira cast himself in the role of the deliverer of the final judgement in India. In terms of her assessment that Calcutta is Death's destination, a comparison between Rowlandson's MORE INCANTATIONS and a rendering of the Governor-General's residence by James Moffatt shows a persuasive architectural resemblance (Figure 28). See M. Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vol. 9 (London: British Museum, 1949), 647.

¹⁵² Ibid.

Hannah Humphrey published Gillray's *PRESAGES OF THE MILLENNIUM; WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FAITHFUL, AS REVEALED TO R. BROTHERS, THE PROPHET, & ATTESTED BY M.B. HALHEAD ESQ.* Here Pitt is depicted as Death riding furiously over what Burke described as the "swinish multitude" in an effort to destroy those who campaign for peace with France (Figure 27).¹⁵³ The apocalyptic figure of Pitt wields a flaming sword in one hand and a winged serpent in the other, a sentiment which is echoed by the scriptural quotation from the Book of Revelation, printed at the bottom of the image:

And e'er the Last days began, I looked & beheld a White Horse, & and his name was Death, & Hell followed after him... And I saw under him the Souls of the Multitude, those who were destroy'd for maintaining the word of Truth, & for the Testimony.

The doomed attitude 'as Revealed to R. Brothers, the Prophet', points to millenarianism, the belief in a coming age of tranquillity dependent upon the end of an existing world order, and is cited by Gillray in this print as inspiration for the Death theme. Despite the spirit of Enlightenment rationalism in the late eighteenth century, David Bindman explains that "there were always prophets and seers who could see in thunderclaps, comets and eclipses portents of universal destruction and ultimate redemption."¹⁵⁴ For example, Richard Brothers was a self-appointed prophet who claimed to be the nephew of the Almighty and a descendent of King David. He identified the French Revolution as but one of a series of steps in a divine plan which would lead to the judgement and the rightful

¹⁵³ Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to That Event.*, ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 173.

¹⁵⁴ David Bindman, "The English Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Frances Carey (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 209-10.

destruction of George III and all those in his realm. Britain, according to Brothers, was wavering on the edge of destruction and his text, *Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times* (1794-95), declared that George III would surrender the crown or stand in judgement. The result would be the total devastation of London in the flames of God's fury.¹⁵⁵ According to Deborah Madden, the popularity of Brothers' publication pointed to a "rich tradition of Scriptural exegesis" that had participants attempting to glean significance out of contemporary events while feeding "an apocalyptic expectation for great change."¹⁵⁶ Bindman maintains that satirists were provoked by self-proclaimed prophets such as Brothers into "spectacular displays of ridicule".¹⁵⁷ Gillray, therefore combines these themes, aiming his satiric scope at a political leader who avoids peace with France and, in so doing, places his country on a path which will be visited by the remaining apocalyptic riders—war, famine and conquest.

Considering Gillray's treatment of Pitt as Death, a satirical shorthand is clearly evident in Rowlandson's MORE INCANTATIONS. Britain is again teetering on the brink of destruction; in this instance it is the imperial ambition by an aristocratic agent expressed through combat-driven territorial acquisition that threatens the metropole with more devastation. Bellicosity, Rowlandson's main criticism of Moira's campaign in India, is efficiently highlighted by referencing

¹⁵⁵ Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 165. Deborah Madden, "The Religious Politics of Prophecy: Or, Richard Brothers's Revealed Knowledge Confuted," *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 3 (September 2008): 270-71. Richard Brothers, *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times. Book the First. Wrote under the Direction of the Lord God, and Published by His Sacred Command, It Being the First Sign of Warning, for the Benefit of All Nations. Containing, with Other Great and Remarkable Things, Not Revealed to Any Other Person on Earth, the Restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, by the Year of 1798, under Their Revealed Prince and Prophet, Richard Brothers* (London: n.p. 1794).

¹⁵⁶ Madden, "The Religious Politics of Prophecy", 271.

¹⁵⁷ Bindman, "The English Apocalypse", 244.

Gillray's satirical convention of the pale rider, an instrument that proved to be supple in his oeuvre. In *THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH*, from September 1808, for example, Gillray once more employs the figure of Death (Figure 29). This time, Death's long spear points directly at Britain's enemy—Napoleon is overwhelmed by animals and monsters symbolizing his many adversaries, while Death's hourglass signals that the emperor's time is nearly up.¹⁵⁸

By the time *The Grand Master* was published, the war with the Gurkha forces of Nepal had ended with Moira celebrating the successful martial and diplomatic efforts of Boston-born, Major General Sir David Ochterlony.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the timing of the satire makes one wonder what possible value the image could have held as a warning device for audiences in 1816. Combe's echo of Rowlandson's message, delivered via a constructed Brahmin's fable, could hold the key; thus warranting a full quotation from the text of *The Grand Master*:

“The Fable then means to describe,
 “The conquests of this curious tribe : —
 “ * * * * * * they went,
 “To visit ev'ry continent ;
 “And certain merchants avaricious,
 “And most confoundedly ambitious ;
 “Not quite contented with the spot,
 “That Brahma had ordain'd their lot :
 “Tir'd of an honest Banian* trade,
 “Chose other countries to invade :
 “And to effect this bad intent,
 “Procur'd an act of P——t.
 “This done, the only thing remain'd,
 “Was some grand motto to be gain'd,

¹⁵⁸ Nineteenth-century scholar John Ashton preferred to view this piece as less satirical and more prophetic and questioned whether it could accurately be classified as caricature, “for it is far too serious in its conception; Napoleon's situation at the moment is here firmly grasped.” John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I*, 2 vols., vol. II (London: Chatto & Windus, 1884): 87.

¹⁵⁹ Ochterlony was subsequently made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, the first officer of the British Indian Army to achieve such an honour.

“The legislators in a trice,
 “Declar’d their motto should be Vice,
 “They wear the motto, and e’en now,
 “Their arms, their practices avow.
 “Those white adventurers, they say,
 “To foreign countries sail’d away,
 “And Brahma, angry with us here,
 “To India made the coffres steer ;¹⁶⁰
 “Brought them secure to Gange’s stream,
 “And gave possession of the same ;
 “Since then, and many years have gone,
 “They reign triumphant here alone ;
 “Some good* they certainly afford us,
 “For independence is restor’d us !!!
 “Their happy laws have here extended,
 “And rich and pore alike befriended.
 “Some of their chiefs, ‘tis true, act wrong,
 “ (To them authority belong ;)
 “We to their individual crimes,
 “Impute the present iron times ;
 “Bad men cannot be calculated
 “To be with sov’ reign pow’r inflated ;
 “Under the hand of noxious power,
 “Locusts each day our crops devour ;
 “Famine and pestilence attend,
 “The footsteps of each foreign friend ;
 “Whole cities raz’d, our Rajahs fated,
 “To be low-born insult treated ;
 “The sacred Veda’s spurn’d by those,
 “Who well we knew were Brahma’s foes;
 “The sacred Ban’yans holy shade,
 “Those infidels have dar’d invade !¹⁶¹

The ‘infidels’ invasion has launched the apocalyptic powers of the Four
 horsemen, heralded by the pale rider, but *The Grand Master* suggests the true
 devastation will be felt by the so called ‘sov’ reign pow’r’—Calcutta. According
 to Rowlandson, who draws upon yet another satirical tradition to express caution,

¹⁶⁰ The term “coffer” was often derogatively applied to Christians by Indian Muslims and refers to an infidel or nonbeliever. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, “Ar. *Kāfir*, pl. *Kofra*”.

¹⁶¹ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 126-28.

the news is not good. The actions of Lord Moira were ‘Omenous’ signs that threatened to eclipse the “prosperity of the presidency” in India.

V. Solar Eclipses

For English pundits condescend
Th’ observatory to ascend,
And sometimes are surpris’d to find
Comets of a malignant kind.
He then describ’d a meteor
That very lately did appear ;
Which, to the people’s vulgar eyes,
Appear’d an object of surprise
And terror; as they all expected,
Hindustan’s safety it affected.
It blaz’d awhile; but ‘twas foretold.
Its borrow’d rays would soon be cold :
And so it was—a darker sphere
Over its disk did now appear,
Eclips’d the “Jack-a-lantern’s” light,
And sent it to eternal night.¹⁶²

Found in the final pages of “Canto III” of *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson’s AN EXTRAORDINARY ECLIPSE depicts a crowd of civilian and military men witnessing the overshadowing of Lord Moira, symbolised by a sun fashioned from the Star of the Garter (Figure 30). The agent of his obscuration is “PUBLIC DISAPPROBATION”. This terrifying politico-celestial event is occurring directly over Fort William in Calcutta, the base of British sovereignty, visually asserted by a waving Union Jack. In the excerpt from “Canto III” above, Combe refers to Moira as a ‘Jack-a-lantern’, a double entendre which simultaneously denotes a light bearer (the sun) and an *ignis fatuus* (Latin: foolish fire), suggesting the

¹⁶² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 73.

subject is “misleading or elusive”.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, according to Combe and Rowlandson, this malignant comet’s light will soon be extinguished by the moral condemnation of the British people. More than thirty years prior to the publication of *The Grand Master*, THE ECLIPSE by an unknown hand employed the theme of celestial concealment to express an overpowering event of political intrigue (Figure 31). William Pitt the Younger literally overshadows his political rival with rays of blinding light whilst an obscure Charles James Fox recedes to the dark background.¹⁶⁴ The event is witnessed by the earth-bound figure of George III; however, the key to the prophetic quality of this image is in the declaration made by the allegorical figure of Britannia:

them [sic] Fiends of Darkness to P--t
 Shall Soon give Way,
 Reflect new Glories and
 Augment the Day.

Three years later, THE ECLIPSE AT AN END - AND POLITICAL TILTING DISCOVERED attributed to Rowlandson depicts a mounted confrontation between Chancellor Edward Thurlow steadying a woman, possibly Queen Charlotte, on an ass labelled “WP”, referring to William Pitt (Figure 32). The opponents, likely the Prince of Wales (owing to the horse’s decorative feathers) and an unidentified companion, struggle to stay on the saddle to tilt their jousting lances as the horse rears, but the potentially violent movement has been tempered by a weight on the horse’s front left hoof. Meanwhile, the political manoeuvres on the ground

¹⁶³ "Jack-O'-Lantern, Jack-a-Lantern, N.," in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

¹⁶⁴ Placing Pitt in the centre of a Baroque -styled cloud flanked by cherubic figures of North and Burke may also be a reference to absolutist Louis XIV’s ‘Sun King’ iconography thereby positing Pitt as an autocrat. The king utilised symbols and images of Apollo to support his “miraculous authority”. Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque and Rococo Art and Culture* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1999), 60.

attempt to eclipse the celestial body of George III, symbolised here as the sun. It is tempting to speculate that the unknown companion is, in fact, Lord Moira. Thurlow and Moira were not on the best of terms between 1787 and 1789 and the Chancellor had twice condemned Moira's support of insolvent debtors in the House. The partial profile and lack of distinguishing features renders a positive identification tenuous; nevertheless, Rowlandson may have been referencing earlier depictions of Moira in eclipse-themed satire.

In Gillray's *WIERD SISTERS; MINISTERS OF DARKNESS; MINIONS OF THE MOON* [sic] of 1791 the King, in reference to his alleged lunacy, is portrayed as the moon which attempts to eclipse the sun, his wife Queen Charlotte (Figure 33). A parody of Henry Fuseli's eerie painting *The Weird Sisters*, inspired by the three witches in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Gillray portrays Lord Dundas, William Pitt and Lord Thurlow in an effort to ridicule the ministerial uncertainty and unusual alliances during the Regency Crisis (Figure 34).¹⁶⁵ George III's insanity threatens to eclipse the power of the monarch and those who wish to see him remain in power are depicted as frightening witches that threaten the British political structure by foreboding evil and calamity.

In *AN EXTRAORDINARY ECLIPSE*, Rowlandson adapts the familiar trope of the solar eclipse to insinuate that Lord Moira's control and influence in India, indeed in Britain, will soon be obscured by a greater power. But it is not only

¹⁶⁵ According to Jonathan Bate, the title encourages other significant literary associations: the 'Ministers of Darkness' puns on Hamlet's "ministers of grace" and the "minions" refer to "our noble and chaste mistress the moon, under whose countenance we steal" which refers to the Queen (Henry IV, I.ii.23). In other words, these three politicians are "men of bad government who steal under the licence of their 'noble and chaste mistress' Queen Charlotte." Jonathan Bate, "Shakespearean Allusion in English Caricature in the Age of Gillray," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 210.

Moira who is implicated. A crony of Moira's, depicted with budding horns, views the eclipse through a sextant and worries for his own subordinate position:

It's sinking rapidly, that dark planet seems alarming, and may draw stars of a less magnitude into its vortex—don't you think Sir these signs are Omenous? I hope its not too late to repent.

His companion, seated casually below, peers through a telescope and replies:

A very extraordinary Eclipse indeed! I think I should have a better prospect of its termination from the telegraph on the Admiralty Office—gentlemen has any of you calculated its duration? let me see Beginning 7^h 57.1 half M at Kensington in 1806 Middle 9h - 7M somewhere about Westminster in 1813. total Obscuration I think may be expected in this country in 1815—perhaps it may be perceived sooner in England.

In 1795, the Admiralty Office in London erected an optical telegraph system designed by the Rev'd. Lord George Murray (1761-1803) comprised of six octagonal shutters that could be opened or closed and the various combinations created messages that could be read at a great distance (Figure 35).¹⁶⁶ Though this technology was already in use in France by 1792, this new method for overcoming the problem of distance in communication was believed to be a symbol for what Nigel Leask calls the “radical discourse network”.¹⁶⁷ Articles in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (1794) outlined the technology and its development by “Citizen” Claude Chappe as a Jacobin form of communication; however, it was Gillray's depiction of Charles James Fox, anthropomorphised as a telegraph sending treasonous messages to a waiting French fleet as an expression of the length to which he would go to avoid war in *French Telegraph making Signals in*

¹⁶⁶ France J. D. Davies, "Murray, Lord George (1761–1803)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition*, Jan 2008(Sept 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19606>.

¹⁶⁷ Nigel Leask, "Thomas Muir and the Telegraph: Radical Cosmopolitanism in 1790s Scotland," *History Workshop Journal* 63, no. 1 (2007): 64-65.

the Dark (26 January 1795), which illustrates how the device was implemented as a symbol for treachery against the nation (Figure 36).¹⁶⁸

By referencing the telegraph in AN EXTRAORDINARY ECLIPSE, Rowlandson is recalling how the device evoked impressions of impending treason. By mentioning the telegraph's location, the seated figure is suggesting that London is all too aware of Lord Moira's nature and that his downfall could be predicted more accurately from the metropole. The cause, Rowlandson suggests in this dialogue, is Moira's 1806 participation in the "Delicate Investigation" of the Princess of Wales and her subsequent indictment for perjury in 1813. The report claimed to have conducted investigations "respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess" and the conclusions suggested impropriety to a shocking degree:

That her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness, in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.¹⁶⁹

Indeed, Combe gives support to the accusations made visually by Rowlandson by including a discourse in "Canto V" between a wise Hindu man and Qui Hi. The

¹⁶⁸ "Invention of the Telegraphe," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1794). For an account of the current state of telegraph scholarship, including work on the "almost-forgotten" Swedish telegraph inventor Abraham Edelcrantz, see Christopher H. Sterling, "CBQ Review Essay: Histories of Land Telegraphy," *Communication Booknotes Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2004). The case for the Jacobin political utility of Chappe's telegraph was also made in France by Joseph Lakanal, in *Rapport sur le télégraphe fait au nom du Comité d'instruction publique* (Paris: l'Imprimerie Nationale, 1794). The intention of this speech was to counter suspicion in France that the telegraph was being used to communicate with France's enemies; therefore, treasonous associations with the telegraphe were apparent on both sides of the Channel.

¹⁶⁹ Spencer Perceval, *The Genuine Book. An Inquiry or Delicate Investigation into the Conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; before Lorr's Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, the Four Special Commissioners of Inquiry Appointed by His Majesty in the Year 1806* (London: R. Edwards and W. Lindsell, 1813), 4-5.

Brahmin suggests that the Grand Master's friends had to "Transport him to some foreign station" due "to injur'd justice, and the nation":

To some Great Rajah, and made strife
 Between the Rajah and his wife ;
 And whether public execration
 Compell'd the man to quit the nation?¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile, the other seated figure in AN EXTRAORDINARY ECLIPSE, dressed in uniform and ostensibly giving a military perspective on the coming event offers yet another warning regarding the supposed British control: "*I am sorry for its decline it may shake the intire indian System of – discipline.*" [sic]. Perhaps the most astute comment is made by the simply dressed merchant: "*I hope it cannot affect the prosperity of this presidency tho its influence may injure the harvest and destroy Barns.*" The focus of the British presence in India, in other words, has been distracted from mercantile interests and the consequence of empire building will have a negative effect on the market. The shadow of moral indignation will soon eclipse Lord Moira's leadership in India, but the warnings to the Grand Master persist.

VI. Phantasmagorias

The Caves of Ghārapuri (Fortress City), known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the cave-temples of Elephanta Island, have been cited as the primary image of Romantic sublimity in the Indian prospect.¹⁷¹ The island, located in the Arabian Sea near the Mumbai (Bombay) harbour, was a subject of intense artistic study. The work of James Forbes (1749-1819), James Wales

¹⁷⁰ “* Ballata, Hindostanee for England, or the United Kingdom”. Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 109-10.

¹⁷¹ de Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 47-48.

(1748-1796), William Westall (1781-1850), and George Ridge (1804-1831), to name a few, resulted in ‘views’ that captured the imagination of the British public. The sculpture and carved walls of Elephanta featured in works like Richard Gough’s *Comparative View of the Ancient Monuments, of India, particularly those in the Island of Salset near Bombay* (1785), Thomas Daniell’s *Oriental Scenery* (1803) and Edward Moor’s *Hindu Pantheon* (1810) clearly provided inspiration for satire as evidenced by Thomas Rowlandson’s satirical treatment of Lord Moira in *The Grand Master*. Though it is difficult to recuperate which images Rowlandson accessed, they were clearly very accurate. In HINDOO INCANTATIONS A VIEW IN ELEPHANTA, found in “Canto II” between pages 43 and 44, Rowlandson depicts Moira in military uniform, perched on a stool before the massive carving of the Hindu Trimurti of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva—the creator, preserver and destroyer—in the cave temple dedicated to Shiva (Figure 37).¹⁷² Moira peers through a device which projects medallions containing spectral images of terrible, future events caused by Moira’s injudicious deeds as Governor-General. Lord Moira’s “RETRIBUTION” is expressed via a phantasmagoria, an illusionistic display of seemingly preternatural phenomena produced by the use of a magic lantern, or projector.¹⁷³

¹⁷² See also (Figures 38 and 39).

¹⁷³ The deceptively animate characteristic of phantasmagoria has been of interest to film scholars as a literal foreshadowing to cinema; however, recent exhibitions and scholarship have made significant strides in tracing the correlation between spectral illusion and the qualities of the sublime. *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination*, ed. Martin Myrone (London: Tate Publishing, 2006); Jordan Bear, "From Magician to Metal Brain: The Embodiment of Illusion in Early European Film Theory," *Studies in European Cinema* 5, no. 1 (2008): 17-29; Mervyn Heard, *Phantasmagoria: The Secret Life of the Magic Lantern* (Hastings: Projection Box, 2006); Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and Media into the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). For a more general historical treatment of phantasmagoria, see Mervyn Heard, Ine Van Dooren Crangle, ed. *Realms of Light: Uses and*

Using simple shutter devices, the French invention of phantasmagorias were first exhibited in London in 1802 at the Lyceum by a Parisian entertainer, Paul de Philipstal (known as Philidor). William Nicholson, who published a study of the phantasmagorias in the *Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts* in 1802, describes the show as “various terrific figures, which instead of seeming to recede and then vanish, were (by enlargement) made suddenly to advance; to the surprise and astonishment of the audience, and then disappear by seeming to sink into the ground”.¹⁷⁴ His article also highlights the importance of how the venue is staged:

All the lights of the small theatre of exhibition were removed, except one hanging lamp, which could be drawn up so that its flame should be perfectly enveloped in a cylindrical chimney, or opaque shade [sic]. In this gloomy and wavering light the curtain was drawn up, and presented to the spectator a cave or place exhibiting skeletons, and other figures of terror, in relief, and painted on the sides or walls.¹⁷⁵

This terrifying display which operated, as Tom Gunning offers “in the space between Enlightenment and superstition” could conjure images of the dead who, through projection, appeared to walk again amongst the living.¹⁷⁶ The “transitional zone” occupied by the phantasmagoria and its possibilities for satirical use was quickly explored by graphic satirists.¹⁷⁷

Perceptions of the Magic Lantern from the 17th to the 21st Century (London: Magic Lantern Society, 2005).

¹⁷⁴ As quoted in Terry Castle, "Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie," *Critical Inquiry* 15, no. 1 (Autumn, 1988): 38.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Tom Gunning, "Illusions Past and Future: The Phantasmagoria and Its Specters," *Refresh! The First International Conference on the Histories of Art, Science and Technology* (2004), <http://hdl.handle.net/10002/296.5>.

¹⁷⁷ Akin to the liminal space inhabited by the nabob, the transitional zone, “between the sublime and the Gothic, between the solemn and the comic, and between seriously intended fears and sly mockery of such beliefs” is discussed in Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and*

Gillray's *A PHANTASMAGORIA – Scene – Conjuring-up an Armed Skeleton* from 1803, for example, criticises the Peace of Amiens made with France in 1802, which was viewed by critics as surrendering Britain's interests to France (Figure 40). Prime Minister Henry Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Charles James Fox, political supporter of the Treaty, are depicted as the witches from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, while William Wilberforce, a diminutive monk-like figure in the foreground, prays over the cauldron being fed gold coins. This evil soup, which creates an ephemeral steamy cloud of "Peace", is destined to fail, symbolised by the skeletal figure of Britain which emerges from the muggy haze. Confirmed by the oval shape and back-lit figures, this phantasmagoria prophesies the decay of Britain inspired by the short sighted goal of peace with France.

In a similar vein, in "THE PHANTASMAGORIA – or a REVIEW of Old Times", Isaac Cruikshank (1762-1811) depicts a magician, dressed as Napoleon in a cocked hat and consular dress wielding his sabre over the figures he has conjured from the past (Figure 41). A satire on the relative dearth in Britain in comparison to the supposed wealth of Napoleon's Consulate, the magician asks, "Are you satisfied Gentlemen?" An obese Englishman wonders about his undernourished descendent on the right, "*Is that my Grandson Jack? What a skeleton!!!*" while an emaciated Frenchman, exclaims excitedly, "*Ah mon Cousin, vat you eat de Beef & Plum Pudding!!!*" Their astonished descendents exclaim:

Media into the Twenty-First Century, 153. Furthermore, the connection between satire and the sublime was sardonically suggested by James Gillray, himself, with his mention of the 'Caricatura-Sublime' in the dedication of the aforementioned *WIERD SISTERS; MINISTERS OF DARKNESS; MINIONS OF THE MOON* to Fuseli. See *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination*, 33, 131.

“Bless me! why I am a mere Stump of a man to him!!!” and *“Diable, my Cousin look like de Frog & John Bull look like de Ox but Grace a Dieu times are Changed!!”* The satirical use of the phantasmagoria suggests that, if things do not change, the future will spell doom for Britain and prosperity for the French.

British and French relations would continue to be filtered through the satirical device of the phantasmagoria as it efficiently expressed how ill-considered actions of today may blight the safety of the nation tomorrow. For example, in *A New Phantasmagoria for John Bull!!* after George Moutard Woodward, John Bull sits on his island while Emperor Napoleon is working a magic lantern (Figure 42).¹⁷⁸ Two figures emerge: a beautiful woman wearing a gown embellished with Napoleon’s emblematic bees and her escort, a tricolour flag-waving French officer. The officer shouts:

Here we come Johnny - A Flag of Truce Johnny - something like a Piece! all deckd out in Bees, and stars and a crown [sic] on her head - Not such a patch’d up piece as the last.

John Bull replies:

You may be d-----d. and your piece too! - I suppose you thought I was off the watch - I tell you I’ll say nothing to you till I have consulted Brother Bruin and I hear him grouling teribly in the offing.

Referring to Napoleon’s offer of peace sent in a letter to King George III in January of 1805, Napoleon remarked on Britain’s imperial successes:

Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war?... To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a

¹⁷⁸ Napoleon’s exclamation, “Begar de brave Galanté Shew - for Jonny Bull”, may be in reference to the French origins of phantasmagoria.

secondary object ; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve?¹⁷⁹

In a deed of diplomatic duplicity, Napoleon wrote to the King of Spain on the same day, encouraging him to take military action against England. This event is reflected in the distance of *A New Phantasmagoria for John Bull!!*, in the brown bear which symbolises Spain waiting for a message from Napoleon. As these examples illustrate, the satirical apparatus of the phantasmagoria encapsulates a sinister sense of deceit.¹⁸⁰ The otherworldly quality of the spectral images expressed by Rowlandson in HINDOO INCANTATIONS A VIEW IN ELEPHANTA are conceivably more menacing for their sublime surroundings. Like the dark theatre Nicholson describes, the dark cave of Shiva at Elephanta is an eerie setting in which to witness the horrifying consequences of misspent power in India. The visual allusions made by Rowlandson combine the interest in artistic renderings of Indian views made popular by the Daniells and the prophetic, satirical visions of phantasmagorias with each medallion depicting a figure of future terror. In the VIEW AT CALCUTTA, people flee from the flames that engulf the buildings; a similar scene is provided for a VIEW AT BOMBAY. Below these views, Moira is being executed by decapitation in a VIEW AT TOWER HILL. In a VIEW AT THE

¹⁷⁹ Napoleon Bonaparte, "Letter from the Emperor Napoleon, to His Majesty the King of England, Dated 2d January, 1805, and Communicated to the Legislative Body of France on the 4th of February, 1805," in *The Annual Register, or, a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1805* (London: J. Wright, 1807), 615.

¹⁸⁰ In terms of a sinister quality, Walter Benjamin argued that nineteenth-century capitalist societies had a "ghostly objectivity". For example, a "phantasmagorical...relation between things" occurred when a commodity "ceases to be a product and to be ruled over by human beings...[and is] transformed into an idol, that, although the product of human hands, disposes over the human." As quoted in Margaret Cohen, "Benjamin's Phantasmagoria: The Arcades Project," in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. David S. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 208. These public spectacles coincide "with assent and submission" and foreshadows the way fascism uses industrial culture to "reproduce the sacred as simulacrum and simulation." Lutz Koepnick, *Walter Benjamin and the Aesthetics of Power* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 143-44.

WAR OFFICE, Lionel Smith is cast “out” of his position and in another VIEW AT BOMBAY, Moira hangs from a gallows, while a couple identified by George as possibly being Sir John and Lady Douglas are tried for perjury in the Delicate Investigation in the VIEW AT CHARING CROSS.¹⁸¹ According to the centre medallion, the Princess of Wales is now Queen and Moira’s ‘RETRIBUTION’ reverses all his efforts to advance Smith, protect Calcutta and Bombay, and investigate Her Royal Highness, Caroline.

In Jill H. Casid’s recent work, the author expanded on Anne McClintock’s metaphor of “the magic lantern of the mind”, arguing that to create imperial power, European metropolises relied “on technologies not merely of recording but of projection.”¹⁸² Rowlandson’s criticism utilises the same tools of projection and like Gillray’s parodic use of the *camera obscura*, deployed to express the “contested visions” of contemporary events in India, the use of the optical device of the phantasmagoria to deliver the message of Moira’s culpability for dreadful imminent events shows the role vision, indeed visions, played in warning viewers of the danger of Indian ambition.¹⁸³ The phantasmagoria is used once again in *The Grand Master*, and though not a satire directly implicating Moira, PHANTASMAGORIA A VIEW IN ELEPHANTA, shows further repercussions of militant ambition (Figure 43). Col. Lionel Smith is forced by a horned and winged demon to look at the consequences of his Vice as projected on a blank wall. The event taking place within the ghostly realm is obscure, but what is clear

¹⁸¹ George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 9, 648.

¹⁸² Jill H. Casid, "His Master's Obi' Machine Magic, Colonial Violence and Transculturation," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 534.

¹⁸³ Flood, "Correct Delineations and Promiscuous Outlines", 55.

is the state of “MISERY” the civilian audience member suffers due to his military neighbour’s “AVARICE”. According to Rowlandson, bellicosity in the service of territorial ambition in India is ruinous to the nation and the ‘transitional zone’ expressed by the phantasmagoria became a natural tool by which to express the danger inherent in the liminal figure of the nabob.

VII. Conclusion: Presage to a Progress

Combe prays in the ‘Invocation to Butler’ that the ‘champion of Qui Hi’ will succeed in his endeavour to bestow upon the nation a fearless satire directed at the ‘folly or vice’ of the Grand Master.¹⁸⁴ The episodes delivered by Rowlandson and variably supported or diluted by Combe are intended to reveal culpable agents, to identify their areas of error, and to influence opinion regarding their standing. Observing the many examples which preceded Rowlandson’s representation of Moira in *The Grand Master* does not simply demonstrate the artist’s discrete use of established, critical shorthand. Crucially, by implementing an artistic satirical tradition, Rowlandson deploys the entire tradition—a technique which rendered one image more powerful by recalling the many images that came before. Furthermore, Rowlandson’s reiteration of his warning to the metropole through repetition of the same message via multiple traditions reflects the gravity of Rowlandson’s critique.

In the chapters that follow, the representation of the nabob will be examined to reveal more issues that concerned critics of the colonial project of India. However, for the sake of argument, the aspirant nabob is portrayed in *The Grand Master* as a creature of misguided folly as opposed to the Grand Master,

¹⁸⁴ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, x.

here exposed as having pretensions to empire in India, as a precursor to disaster, as the ‘omenous’ shadow which threatens to eclipse the metropole, and as the figure which is held accountable for the nabob’s progress.

In identifying the destabilising visual language deployed by Rowlandson in a book which also utilises gentle, amusing images of anonymous errant nabobs, *The Grand Master* stands as an important marker in the trajectory from graphic satire to comic book illustration. Despite Tegg’s poor reputation, his products are not unlike a colossus, straddling two potential audiences and forming a moment of transition in the history of the illustrated book. Furthermore, the uncanny representation of a ‘British India’—simultaneously spectacle and hallucination—reflects a fantastic world of colonial imagining, terrifying, strange and calamitous to the metropole. Rowlandson provides necessary intervention—lightning, the light of God, sunlight, and the suggestion that, soon, the house lights will come up. The importance in revealing Lord Moira’s portrayal in *The Grand Master* as the presage to the nabob’s progress is the acknowledgment that the subject of the nabob’s emulative lack of restraint is not a product of alleged Eastern excess, but a member of the British ruling class.

CHAPTER 2

‘MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH’:
DRINK, DEBT AND IDLENESSI. Embodied Identity

“All such who aim at Merit’s fall,
 May Heav’n, in justice, curse them all!”
 So pious an ejaculation,
 Made for the good of Britain’s nation,
 Will, it is hop’d, be thought sincere—
 As such it is recorded here ;
 And there is very little doubt
 Our hero meant to be devout !¹⁸⁵

The creation of the nabob as a figurative character was an act of distancing between the rhetorical *terra firma* of the metropole and the “Asiatic adventurers[’]” realm of excess.¹⁸⁶ Allegedly a product of the East, the nabob performed the action of overstepping the prescribed socio-economic limit of his humble beginnings. In celebration of his freedom from ethical principles, the nabob committed intemperance in eating or drinking. He was guilty of an extravagant violation of decency, law, or morality through outrageous conduct and transgressed the limits of moderation by acquiring resources beyond the necessities of life (often without having the means to do so). Furthermore, when the figure of the nabob emerged in the 1760s, the British had already established a tradition of associating India with effortless fertility, casting it as a source of gain without toil and a place where men of action become idle, ultimately resulting in

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸⁶ *The Times*, February 28, 1787, 2.

“imperial boredom”.¹⁸⁷ Through drink, debt, and idleness, the nabob embodied excess.

The nabob had the ability to inhabit multiple contradictory spaces; however, he also had the ability to move between spaces. This ‘passage’ from an increasingly iconic and ideal metropole to the degenerate and confusing spaces of India would later find a home in *A Passage to India* (1926), another example of a work expressing resistance to empire.¹⁸⁸ Unlike E. M. Forster’s denouement, where the return to England heals those most afflicted with Eastern excess by a reassertion of the idyllic qualities of the metropole, in the time of the nabob the return home threatened to wreak destruction upon the homeland, epitomized by Lady Oldham’s declaration in Samuel Foote’s *The Nabob*: “With the wealth of the East, we have, too, imported the worst of its vices. What a horrid crew!”¹⁸⁹ Distancing between Europe and a realm of Eastern excess was even used in defence of the “arbitrary” and “despotic” rule by Warren Hastings who, according to Edmund Burke, was claiming “that actions in Asia do not bear the same moral

¹⁸⁷ Travelogues traced by Pramod K. Nayar illustrate that “enumeration and accumulation were used as tropes...to convey both profusion and excess” which were beyond measure or, indeed, accurate literary description. In *A New Account of the East Indies* (1727), for example, private trader Alexander Hamilton laments that “To mention all the particular species of goods that this rich country produces, is far beyond my skill.” As quoted in Pramod K. Nayar, “Marvelous Excesses: English Travel Writing and India, 1608-1727,” *Journal of British Studies* 44(2005): 220-21. Officially appointed historian Robert Orme also suggested that the mildness of climate, “productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours”. As quoted Robert in Guha Orme, J. P., ed. *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, (1782) 1974), 262. For a discussion about the imperial boredom suffered by Company clerks, see Jeffrey A. Auerbach, “Imperial Boredom,” *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (2005): 283-305.

¹⁸⁸ E.M.(Edward Morgan) Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1924).

¹⁸⁹ Act 1, scene 1 of Samuel Foote, “The Nabob: A Comedy in Three Acts (1772),” in *Plays by Samuel Foote and Arthur Murphy*, ed. George Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 88.

qualities which the same actions would bear in Europe.”¹⁹⁰ This argument paved the way for the concept of “geographical morality” which circulated through political spheres and suggested that climate and geography governed human society. Consequently, an Englishmen’s virtue quite naturally terminated once he crossed the line of the equinox.¹⁹¹

Despite the condemnation of the nabob on the grounds of embodying Eastern excess, Rowlandson complicated metropolitan attempts to dissociate with excess in *The Grand Master* by closing the gap between concepts of British restraint and Eastern excess. For example, we first glimpse Qui Hi doubled over his trunk in the shared cabin of the ship in A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL found between pages 16 and 17 in “Canto I” (Figure 44). His face is obscured by his arm as he struggles to ease the nausea to which his travelling companions have already succumbed. Rowlandson makes it plain that Qui Hi’s initial steps upon his progress results in immediate and unpleasant bodily responses. Significantly, Qui Hi has yet to leave the English Channel.

Once in India, Qui Hi quickly learns that the colonial project is fraught with bodily consequences. In MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, Rowlandson creates a primer of sorts, which unites key criticisms directed toward imperial agents who threaten to undermine national security by enabling weak points in the creation, the maintenance and the defence of British territory in India

¹⁹⁰ Geographical morality was challenged by Burke during Hastings’ impeachment, arguing instead that “the laws of morality are the same everywhere”. As quoted in William F. Byrne, “Colonialism and Categories in Burke: Multiculturalism, Universality, and Global Inequalities,” in *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (Boston, Massachusetts, 2008), 13.

¹⁹¹ Sen, “Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires”, 30.

(Figure 45).¹⁹² Qui Hi is semi-reclined, drinking alcohol, while the various debtors come to demand payment. As the embodiment of excess, the nabob is consumed by drink, is possessed by debt and is rendered useless by idleness, tropes that repeatedly appear in nabob-centred graphic satire of this period, despite efforts to reform the behaviour and reputation of Company servants.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, unlike isolated works which concentrate on individual actors who destabilize the national goal through drink, debt and idleness, the holistic view provided by Rowlandson through the structuring technique of the progress implicates the imperial project as the real source of national vulnerability. Qui Hi ceases to be a mere example of a nabob and instead becomes a synecdoche of the imperial project with an embodied identity.

The concept of embodied identity as a theoretical tool is indebted to scholars who investigate philosophical connections between materiality and subjecthood.¹⁹⁴ Key to the distancing qualities of the nabob are the debates of the body taken up by feminist intellectuals who unpack identities constructed or

¹⁹² The potentially damaging activities of individuals to ‘national’ interests were being explored the eighteenth century. In a similar argument, John Brewer claims there was an eighteenth-century perception that foreigners, the French especially, disseminated effeminacy under the guise of fashionable manners in an effort to drain the British of their patriotism. John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 83.

¹⁹³ In 1800, Lord Richard Wellesley (Governor General from 1798-1805) drafted a program of training to create “ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign”, sending a message that the “habitual indolence, dissipation, licentiousness and indulgence” of Company servants was no longer tolerable. As quoted in Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, ed. Sherry B. Ortner, Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Princeton Studies in Culture / Power / History (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 49.

¹⁹⁴ A good example is Michel Foucault’s argument that facets of identity are performed on the body. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991); ———, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006); ———, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London: Routledge 2007). Foucault’s tendency to view the body as a passive being is discussed in Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 5. Foucault’s work is also a cornerstone of Said’s work in identity in *Orientalism*.

construed through subjugation.¹⁹⁵ “The body,” concisely summarized by Michael A. Peters, “is a site of representation and inscription of power and its materiality is the space of symbolic value.”¹⁹⁶ Therefore, the intellectual conundrum caused by a woman’s physical ‘condition’ is one represented, inscribed and symbolised by her body. As Martin Crowley puts it:

Woman is caught in that notorious double bind where affirming her femaleness means aligning herself with an embodiment and materiality which, at least since the time of Plato, has been excluded from the ‘real’ existence of the subject because of the way it belongs to the realm of flux, of becoming, birth, death, and change.¹⁹⁷

The body is suspect; it is the site of disruptive desires that threaten to interrupt intellectual endeavours. In other words, the body is an obstacle to rational thought, indeed rational being, an idea attributed to René Descartes’ mind/body divide of *res cogitans* (thinking thing) and *res extensa* (corporal substance).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ This is a necessarily selected list, chosen for relevance to embodied identity. Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter. On the Discursive Limits of ‘Sex’* (London: Routledge, 1993); Elisabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*, ed. Teresa de Laurentis, *Theories of Representation and Difference* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994); bell hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman. Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: Southend Press, 1981); ———, “Postmodern Blackness,” in *Yearning. Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (Boston, 1991); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); ———, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjections* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider. Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, California: The Crossing Press, 1984); Susan Wendell, *The Rejected Body. Feminist Philosophical Refelctions on the Disabled Body* (London: Routledge, 1996). For an excellent summary of feminist theoretical engagement with the body, see Janet and Margrit Shildrick Price, ed. *Feminist Theory and the Body* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

¹⁹⁶ Michael A. Peters, “The Body Also Has a History: A Critical Aesthetics for Arts Education,” in *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education* (Springer Netherlands, 2007), 1167.

¹⁹⁷ See Martin Crowley, *Dying Words: The Last Moments of Writers and Philosophers*, vol. 194, *Faux Titre* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 200.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. Simon Blackburn, ed. “*Res Cogitans*”, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*. Oxford Reference Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.17 July 2009 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t98.e2702>>). This idea is also been traced to the dualistic metaphysics “is” and “is not” of Parmenides (c. 515-399 BCE). See Kathleen Earle Deborah Orr, Eileen Kahl, Linda Lopez McAlister, *Belief, Bodies, and Being: Feminist Reflections on Embodiment* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006).

Historians have identified Descartes' work in mind/body dualism as the foundation for eighteenth-century medical materialism and, though this notion is currently being challenged as a possible misinterpretation, Cartesian rationalist philosophy remains a significant influence to the epistemological aims of the Enlightenment and therefore relevant to a discussion of embodied identities of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁹ What is at stake for feminist theorists is the perception that the female body is "unpredictable, leaky and disruptive" making transcendence into the Cartesian realm of *res cogitans* impossible.²⁰⁰ I argue that the nabob's liminality gave him membership to the realm of flux that negatively aligned him with the embodied, material realm. Corporality has been pitted against rational man, exemplified as disembodied subjecthood.

In the context of colonial India, the body is a productive critical tool.²⁰¹ The significance of the nabob as an object/subject of historical investigation is therefore aided by Elizabeth Collingham's understanding of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', where the "values, attitudes and ideologies" of society are literally embodied.²⁰² More, Mary P. Sutphen's and Bridie Andrews' concern with "interwoven strands of multiple discourses and strategies" that create embodied identities are also relevant to the nabob as *The Grand Master* is clearly

¹⁹⁹ Catherine Wilson, "Descartes and the Corporeal Mind: Some Implications of the Regius Affair," in *Descartes' Natural Philosophy*, ed. Stephen Gaukroger, John Schuster, John Sutton (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 660. Indeed, the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau enabled 'enlightened' scholars to perpetuate patriarchal models of power, despite the rejection of theologically based justifications with his determination that "The sameness and the difference cannot but have an effect on mentality". See Deborah Orr, *Belief, Bodies, and Being*, 3.

²⁰⁰ Price, *Feminist Theory and the Body*, 2.

²⁰¹ For an excellent summary of the debates surrounding the body as critical tool in colonial contexts in India, see James H. Mills and Satadru Sen, ed. *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004). Also relevant to the body and art, see Peters, "The Body Also Has a History: A Critical Aesthetics for Arts Education."

²⁰² Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 3

one such discourse and the progress, one such strategy.²⁰³ In a rather reductive reading by Catherine Coombs in her discussion of Anglo-Indian clubs, embodied identity is “one’s physical behaviour”.²⁰⁴ I also seek to look at physical behaviours and their consequences as ‘identifying’ marks. However, the comparisons I make between isolated satires of nabob’s engaged in drink, debt and idleness and the progress of *Qui Hi* illustrates how Rowlandson effectively discriminated between individual bodies and the body politic.²⁰⁵

In the previous chapter, Rowlandson’s representation of Lord Moira was examined, revealing him to be the quintessence of nabob ambition—a bellicose aristocrat who degrades Britain through the devastation of India. In this chapter, the use of drink, debt and idleness will be interrogated as characteristics of excess, established as visual tropes to critically engage with empire and with histories of the body. Moments before boarding the ship, *Qui Hi* makes a ‘pious ejaculation’, cursing those who would interfere with merit. Combe is suggesting that *Qui Hi*’s declaration, ‘Made for the good of Britain’s nation’ is not merely foreshadowing, but self-reflexive and self-damning. Though ‘hop’d, be thought sincere’, subsequent representations of *Qui Hi* in damning situations materialize the intersections of anxiety Rowlandson wished to identify, forming junctions between the corporeal entity and ‘the nation in its corporate character’.

²⁰³ Mary P. Sutphen and Bridie Andrews, *Medicine and Colonial Identity* (London: Routledge, 2003), 4, 6.

²⁰⁴ Catherine Coombs, "The Anglo-Indian Club in Early Twentieth-Century Punjab: Indianisation as Confrontation in the Colonial Public Sphere" (Master’s thesis, University of Leeds, 2007), n. 20, 9.

²⁰⁵ I use ‘body politic’ here as defined in the OED as, “the nation in its corporate character; the state.” “Body Politic,” in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

II. Drink and Empire

Our youth to barracks must repair,
 For all the youngsters are sent there;
 He goes, and soon a jovial set
 Initiates him—a cadet.
 Gallons of arrack, lots of beer,
 In fact, the very best of cheer,
 ...
 The lad had not yet been in bed,
Loll shrab was running in his head,
 He simply thought, tho' in a garret,
 That he was only asking claret;²⁰⁶

An effeminization of the empire produced by excessive drinking marks the intersection of several anxieties present in the colonial project. Rowlandson takes up drink as a central theme in four prints of *The Grand Master*, giving the topic a sense of primacy through repetition: MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, QUI HI IN THE BOMBAY TAVERN, QUI HI AT BOBBERY HALL, and ALL ALIVE IN THE CHOCKEE (Figures 45-48).²⁰⁷ Work on the consumption of alcohol in the eighteenth century has until recently been dominated by medical historians interested in the theoretical principles of and practical approaches to the treatment of alcohol-related illnesses.²⁰⁸ The historical debate is therefore dominated by

²⁰⁶ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 47, 50.

²⁰⁷ Rowlandson may also have been referencing and perhaps even foreshadowing excessive drinking in A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL, as the association between sailors and alcohol was well established. For a discussion of the 'legendary' nature of drunken sailors from grog rations to the ability for sailors to hoard and conceal alcohol on board, see Noël Mostert, *The Line Upon a Wind: The Great War at Sea, 1793-1815* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 92-93 and Paul E. Kopperman, "'The Cheapest Pay': Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army," *The Journal of Military History* 60(July 1996): 449.

²⁰⁸ Gregory A. Austin, *Alcohol in Western Society from Antiquity to 1800: A Chronological History* (Santa Barbara, California and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1985); Joseph Hirsh, "Enlightened Eighteenth Century Views of the Alcohol Problem," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* iv, no. 2 (1949): 230-36; John Frederick Logan, "The Age of Intoxication," *Yale French Studies*, no. 50 Intoxication and Literature (1974): 81-94. Social historical and anthropological approaches have helped to widen the sources and significance of consumption studies. See Susanna and Robin Room Barrows, ed. *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*

insight on Thomas Trotter's disease-oriented approach to alcoholism, eighteenth-century technologies in distillation and subsequent 'gin mania', and the reform precursors to the temperance movements of the Victorian period and beyond. Meanwhile, Hogarth's *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* (1751) inhabit enduring roles as intersections of art and alcohol in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁹ Notably, some recent work has begun to emphasize perceptions of alcohol consumption as a security threat to the British imperial project.²¹⁰ Robin Walter McCarter's dissertation looks at the cost of drinking to maintaining an overseas empire in the West Indies.²¹¹ Paul E. Kopperman investigates the unwillingness of officers to confront alcohol abuse, despite the claim that drunkenness was destabilizing the health and discipline of the ranks.²¹² Furthermore, the Army Temperance Association has been cited as a nineteenth-century consequence to earlier tensions caused by excessive drinking in the military.²¹³

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Thomas M. Wilson, ed. *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005).

²⁰⁹ For seminal studies of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* see David Bindman, *Hogarth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981); Patrick Dillon, *Gin: The Much Lamented Death of Madam Geneva the Eighteenth Century Gin Craze* (Boston: Justin, Charles & Co, 2004); M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: University of London, 1951); Hallett, *Hogarth*; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, 3 vols., vol. 1-3 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991-1993). *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001). A recent display at the V&A also dealt with artistic engagements with alcohol consumption in *The Art of Drinking*, which ran from 26 September 2007 to 26 April 2009. Sophie Lee and Philippa Glanville, ed. *The Art of Drinking* (London: V&A Publications, 2007).

²¹⁰ Similar studies have also been conducted for the imperial histories of Russia, Africa and the Americas: Graham Dominy, "The Making of the Rough and the Respectable: The Imperial Garrison and the Wider Society in Colonial Natal," *South African Historical Journal* 37, no. 1 (1997): 48-65; Patricia Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka and Politics in Late Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Mark A. Vargas, "The Progressive Agent of Mischief: The Whiskey Ration and Temperance in the United States Army," *The Historian* 67 (2005): 199-216.

²¹¹ Robin Walter McCarter, "Johnny Newcome's Poison: Alcohol Use and Abuse in the British West Indies Garrison, 1792-1815" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2000).

²¹² Kopperman, "'The Cheapest Pay': Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army."

²¹³ David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People c. 1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), 111. Stephen Wood, "Temperance

From a perspective of pathology, the period between 1780 and 1820 has been marked as one of general improvement in the social conditions that encouraged drinking to excess.²¹⁴ Yet curiously, public concern over the “evils of excessive indulgence” experienced unprecedented highs.²¹⁵ Anya Taylor’s work has done much to ease this confusion by challenging omissions of “‘Romantic’ texts” written by doctors, scientists as well as poets, critics and novelists who perceived heavy drinking as a crisis.²¹⁶ I argue that *The Grand Master* is one of these texts. According to Rowlandson, drinking is a vital step in the nabob’s progress that bears repeating. Nevertheless, a discussion on alcohol and empire requires geographic specificity. For example, in America the alcohol debate is concerned with constructions of Native American drinking which were placed in opposition to the moderate colonizer in order to strengthen and replicate subjugated images of the Indian.²¹⁷ A comparison between the Native Indian and the nabob through the lens of an embodied identity productively indicates that

and Its Rewards in the British Army," in *The Victorian Soldier : Studies in the History of the British Army, 1816-1914*, ed. Amy Bridgman, Marion Harding, Ian Jones, Nigel Armstrong (London: National Army Museum, 1993), n.p..

²¹⁴This notion of a relatively stable period is the result of M.M. Glatt’s erasure of the period between 1750 and 1830 in a discussion of the three ‘waves’ English of alcoholism. M. M. Glatt, "The English Drink Problem through the Ages," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 70 (March 1977): 203-04.

²¹⁵ Logan, "The Age of Intoxication." 85.

²¹⁶ Taylor cites the “modern preoccupation with opium use” as a key reason for this erasure, even suggesting that “Romanticism is almost synonymous with opium dreams.” Anya Taylor, *Bacchus in Romantic England: Writers and Drink, 1780-1830*, ed. Marilyn Gaulland and Stephen Prickett, *Romanticism in Perspective: Texts, Cultures, Histories* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 27. This preoccupation persists, exemplified by the privileging of opium in a recent work on intoxication and empire. James H. Mills and Patricia Barton, ed. *Drugs and Empires: Essays in Modern Imperialism and Intoxication, C. 1500-C. 1930* (2007).

²¹⁷ Not only symbolic, alcohol was a concrete tool utilised by colonists to “invade and conquer” the social, physical, and cultural space of Indian people. Gilbert Quintero, "Making the Indian: Colonial Knowledge, Alcohol, and Native Americans," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 4 (2001): 58.

drinking to excess can be understood as a subjugated stance.²¹⁸ Therefore, the fear was that the British would diminish through intoxication.²¹⁹ Loss of control, dependence upon a substance, and subsequent illness—all physical characteristics of repeated inebriation—became metaphors for unstable sovereignty in India.²²⁰

In 1878, James Samuelson, founder and editor of the *Popular Science Review* and the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, published a monograph which endeavoured to trace the history of alcohol consumption. However, a secondary function of this work appears to be the use of history to underscore what the author considered the correct methods of exhibiting power.²²¹ For example, in a discussion of India he concludes that sobriety is a method by which to dominate:

Those who have read accounts of military life in India fifty or a hundred years back are aware that there has been a marked diminution in drunkenness amongst the English of late years, and it is to be hoped that the same causes which have led to a decided improvement in that respect amongst our middle class at home will likewise operate in India, and that our countrymen there may soon present that example of sobriety and dignity which should always characterise the dominant race.²²²

²¹⁸ Intemperate West Indian planters have also been subjects for graphic satirists. In the series entitled “Johnny Newcome in the Island of Jamaica”, *A WEST INDIAN SPORTSMAN* (1807) shows Johnny lazily shooting birds from a reclined position while large jugs of “Royal Punch”, “Sangaree”, “Brandy”, “Rum”, as well as a number of empty wine bottles, surround him (Figure 49).

²¹⁹ Piya Chatterjee, “An Empire of Drink: Gender, Labor and the Historical Economies of Alcohol,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16, no. 2 (June 2003): 185.

²²⁰ Alcohol continued to be an intersection of anxiety in the twentieth century, exemplified by Rudyard Kipling’s short story “The Mark of the Beast” (1929). In what has been described as Kipling’s “most forceful critiques of Empire” alcohol is the catalyst of the allegorical and violent dynamic between colonizer and colonized. The character Fleet drinks to excess and grinds a cigar into the forehead of a temple-statue of the Indian ape-god Hanuman. See Paul Battles, “‘The Mark of the Beast’: Rudyard Kipling’s Apocalyptic Vision of Empire,” *Studies in Short Fiction* 33(1996): 333-44.

²²¹ James Samuelson, *History of Drink: A Review, Social, Scientific, and Political* (London: Trubner & Co., 1878), 48. For a biographical sketch of Samuelson, see “The Visit of Mr. James Samuelson,” *The New York Times*, 9 August 1879.

²²² Military drunkenness was also complicated by class. According to Logan, the source of England’s reputation as a “pit of alcoholic iniquity” was earned by the lower classes and the sailors and dock labourers, in particular. Logan, “The Age of Intoxication.” 87. Roy Porter similarly points to class as the “real divide” between the *disease* of the elite and the *vice* of the

It is clear that Samuelson believed the soldiers of India behaved in a manner disproportionate to their power. The following section will explore the criticism paid to drinking nabobs in graphic satire and, though Victor Gatrell suggests that Rowlandson's treatment of alcohol is less satirical and "better understood as celebrations of the boozy conviviality that was as common to the engravers as it was to the great in the land", I argue that this was precisely Rowlandson's point.²²³ Mere participation in the activity of drinking to excess does not constitute a dilution of its satirical importance and its quotidian nature (even for the artist) further underscores the notion that the nabob's intemperance originated in Britain.²²⁴

Neatly summarized by Collingham, the "British experience of India was intensely physical".²²⁵ The griffin would find the heat and the local maladies challenging and, however counterproductive, alcohol was used as a coping method. For example, in a dagger at the end of "Canto II" Combe writes that "it is believed that drinking mahogany (a strong description of brandy Pauny) is the best preventive against the sun's heat. The remedy is in general repute in Bombay".²²⁶ Managing the heat through alcohol is also taken up in *A Bengal Soldier's Defence of a Hot Climate* (c.1800) by an unknown hand which depicts a sailor wiping the sweat from his forehead, exclaiming: "*Plague take such a*

poor. Porter, "The Drinking Man's Disease: The 'Pre-History' of Alcoholism in Georgian Britain," *British Journal of Addiction* 80 (1985): 393.

²²³ Victor Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (New York: Walker & Company, 2006), 88.

²²⁴ According to his obituary, William Combe was "remarkably abstemious, drinking nothing but water till the last few weeks of his life, when wine was recommended to him as a medicine." Urban, "Obituary--William Coombe, Esq.," 185.

²²⁵ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 1.

²²⁶ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 54.

Country. tis as hot as a battend Hold. A Man may Swab a whole watch & ne'er be the Drier. My main Top feels as Greasy as a Slush Bucket" (Figure 50). His compatriot soldier replies, "Come Come don't abuse a Country where you can get *Drunk for three farthings.*" A cursory glance at this image reveals the new arrival being reassured by a questionably wiser Anglo-Indian. Meanwhile an Indian man, his face darkened further by shadows, beckons the men from behind the *tatty*.²²⁷ The deeper implication of this invitation is that within moments of stepping foot on Indian soil the new arrival is encouraged into a life of vice by the inhabitants, both native and Anglo-Indian. Moreover, a malevolent cycle ensues: the insufferable climate of India precipitates discomfort; the newcomer's physical distress makes him vulnerable to vice; and corruption in India will be perpetuated by those who survive.

An earlier print by Rowlandson confuses the basic equation of Eastern excess. *A Bengal Remedy for the Bile* (1797) depicts a newcomer striving to fulfill the image of a nabob at leisure in India, comfortably smoking the "ubiquitous" *hookah*—a composition which took on conventional status in the portrait works of British artists in India such as Robert Home (1760-1842) and Arthur William Devis (1763-1822) and later emulated in print by Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845) (Figures 51-54).²²⁸ In Rowlandson's version of the nabob at leisure, the subject fails to achieve the ease his representational counterparts in portraiture

²²⁷ A screen made from roots of fragrant grasses. See Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors*, 218.

²²⁸For a discussion of the ubiquitous quality of hookah smoking amongst British men in India see Richard Leppert, "Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism: Images of British Subjects at Home in India," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 95. See also Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 98-100.

enjoy and instead, clutches his upset stomach. Whether the nabob is reacting to the smoke, rejecting too much *arrack*, the catch-all term for spirituous liquors of native manufacture in Eastern settings, or suffering from the common stomach complaints “jaundice, dysentery, diarrhoea, scurvy, dyspepsia, &c”, the cure is questionable at best.²²⁹ The other nabob, looking quite healthy in comparison, suggests ‘*Lol Shraub*’, or red wine to relieve his companion’s obvious discomfort. The Indian man in the composition again provides the pivotal catalyst for meaning. If bestowed with animation, I argue that the figure would be shaking his head at the nabob’s ridiculous approach to health care, challenging Piya Chatterjee’s comparison made between the “civil and restrained” drinking of the colonial and the “[d]isorderly bodies” of drinking native men.²³⁰ The beholders of this image are therefore not intended to be sympathetic to the suffering nabob; rather, Rowlandson is suggesting the nabob is culpable for his own illness. This illness does not, however, originate in India despite the *hookah*, the ever-present stomach complaints, or the native servant. In leaving Britain to seek an easy path to self-improvement, the nabob has instead found disease which, owing to excess, will be exacerbated by drink.

The notion of excess beginning not with India but with the would-be nabob is clearly laid out in *The Grand Master*. It begins with QUI HI IN THE BOMBAY TAVERN, found between pages 208 and 209 of “Canto VIII”. Qui Hi has just arrived in Bombay and by way of punctuating this milestone, orders a drink in a tavern where other British men assemble playing billiards or engaging in

²²⁹ William James Moore, *A Manual of the Diseases of India* (London: John Churchill, New Burlington Street, 1861), 79.

²³⁰ Chatterjee, “An Empire of Drink”, 185.

conversation. Qui Hi raises his glass, a gesture echoed by the statuette of Bacchus positioned on the adjacent table. Though the bottle is not yet empty, the landlord makes ready to recharge Qui Hi's glass by opening another bottle.²³¹ Meanwhile, a servant climbs the stairs to deliver Qui Hi's trunk to his room. The relatively civilized scene of Qui Hi enjoying a welcome drink degrades in QUI HI AT BOBBERY HALL where Rowlandson depicts a raucous drinking party in full swing.²³² Found between pages 230 and 231 of "Canto VIII", the chaotic scene shows Company soldiers heavily imbibing after the Bobbery Hunt, where Qui Hi was thrown from his horse in an ill-fated boast of equestrian skills: riding helmets and whips are strewn about, a crate of bottles rest in the foreground and one figure has fallen backwards in his chair (Figure 55).²³³ Qui Hi, who is "completely—elevated", is shown in profile on the right far side of the table, drinking deeply.²³⁴ This posture is echoed, indeed amplified, in ALL ALIVE IN THE CHOKEE, found between pages 236 and 237, where Qui Hi shares his incarceration in debtor's prison with two equally 'elevated' friends, his *beebee* and his son.²³⁵ Degraded further, Qui Hi attempts to treat the toxins of misfortune with "the antidote of—drinking", yet barred windows are a clear indication that things have not gone well.²³⁶ Furthermore, the undistinguished appearances of his cellmates express

²³¹ Wine, beer, *arrack*, "brandy pauny", alternatively spelled brandy *pawnee* (water), Madeira, and claret are mentioned throughout *The Grand Master*, illustrating the variety of alcoholic beverages on offer to the British in India.

²³² Bobbery refers to "a noise, a disturbance, a row". Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 101.

²³³ For a discussion of the use of the satirical appropriation of the equestrian figure in the representation of nabobs in graphic satire, see my "Rewritten and Reused".

²³⁴ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 230.

²³⁵ The "Chokee" refers to a customs house, a patrol station or, colloquially, a prison. See "Choky" in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 205. "*Beebee*", also spelled *bibi*, is a Hindustani name for a lady, but applied colloquially to Englishwomen of lower rank or to native mistresses. *Ibid.*, 78.

²³⁶ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 237.

the pervasive, even quotidian phenomena of intemperate behaviour in would-be nabobs.

Qui Hi's rapid descent from a quick drink at a tavern to total ruination and incarceration bears remarkable resemblance to Captain Thomas George Williamson's advice to prospective Company servants in *The East India Vade-Mecum*... (1810).²³⁷ In the section entitled "Taverns to be avoided, instructions and cautions regarding servants, women, &c.", Williamson not only urges forethought regarding drinking, but illustrates how crucial are the first few decisions made by a griffin:

The tavern-keeper, under the plausible pretext of aiding towards the completion of the youth's wishes, never fails to enquire whether the gentleman has any friends in town ? or even in the country? If affirmatively answered, 'mine host' feels himself tolerably secure of his money: but will probably assert, that the friend in town is out of the way, and will not be back for some days: should the gentleman be totally destitute of friends, then comes the rich harvest. Imposition following imposition, swell the bill; which, if appearances warrant forbearance, is kept back as long as possible, under the pleasing assurance of perfect confidence: but, in the end, a catalogue of items is produced, which never fails to alarm, if not to ruin, the unsuspecting victim! If, unhappily, the guest should so far lower himself as to associate with the ordinary company of the common drinking-room, he is irretrievably gone. Quarrels, riots, and inebriety, must follow; in all probability rendering him subject to the notice of the police.²³⁸

With regard to QUI HI IN THE BOMBAY TAVERN, the handbook even makes reference to the baggage which will follow the Company servant to his room "with the exception of such minutiae as may adhere to the fingers of the boat-

²³⁷ The publications by Williamson are excellent examples of how those who failed to make an enormous fortune in India managed to survive upon their return. Owain Edwards, "Captain Thomas Williamson of India," *Modern Asian Studies* 14, no. 4 (1980): 673-682.

²³⁸ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 165.

men, or of those who have the handling them on shore”.²³⁹ In light of these similarities, the manifest conclusion is that Williamson’s text was a source for Rowlandson’s compositions featuring Qui Hi. Significantly, Rowlandson used guidance published by the Company press to criticise the national goal of Indian sovereignty; therefore, a text which according to the author was written “to facilitate the *progress* of those young gentlemen” has also been utilised to generate a satirical *progress* outlining the degeneration these young men will experience and perpetuate in the quest for ill-gotten gains.²⁴⁰

Depictions of intemperate would-be nabobs enabled the metropole to distance itself from Eastern excess by portraying the agent of empire with a subjugated stance; however, alcohol was not the only method of dissociation. Troy Bickham’s work posits food as one of the most “prevalent symbols” of empire.²⁴¹ As such, distancing could equally be achieved through referencing Eastern culinary products.²⁴² For example, in a letter “To the Author of the Lounger”, John Homespun complains about the repercussions to entertaining following the arrival of nabobs in his neighbourhood:

...our barn-door fowls we used to say were so fat and well tasted, we now make aukward [sic] attempts, by garlic and pepper, to turn into the form of *Curries* and *Peelaws*; and the old October we were

²³⁹ Ibid., 164.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., v. Emphasis mine.

²⁴¹ Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past & Present* 198 (February 2008): 107.

²⁴² In an interesting contradiction, the phenomena of metropolitan ‘distancing’ of the nabob occurred simultaneously to the ‘appropriation’ of imperial products by the metropole, resulting in what James Walvin called the “British addiction to key tropical staples”. James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1600-1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), x. For culinary histories of the British in India, see also David Burton, *The Raj at Table: A Culinary History of the British in India* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993) and Elizabeth Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

wont to treat all our neighbours with, none of the family but myself will condescend to taste, since they drank Mr. Mushroom's India Madeira.²⁴³

Moreover, exotic smoking apparatus could similarly enable distancing. *Hookah* smoking was considered a “low habit”, subjecting the Anglo-Indian to further debasement by patriotic critics.²⁴⁴ As shown in Rowlandson's MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH and *A Bengal Remedy for the Bile*, the fussy activity of smoking a *hookah* required a servant to pack the tobacco, fan the flames and add more smoking material when required. *Hookahburdars*, specifically trained to start and maintain a good smoke, had been known to add thorn-apple and other altering substances to the pipe, resulting in unplanned delirium; therefore, a hookah smoker perilously placed himself at the mercy of an allegedly subjugated servant, producing a shift in power relations.²⁴⁵ Williamson warned his readers of the undermining qualities of smoking marihuana, which would result in “complete debility”:

The use of any preparation of the *ganjah*, or hemp plant, is attended with much opprobrium: like most intoxicating drugs and spirits, they, in the first instance, excite to gaiety, but ultimately leave their victim in the most deplorable statue of stupefaction; the recovery from which is attended with dreadful head-ache, ill temper, and hypochondria. Some *hookah-burdars* indulge freely in the use of musk, which never fails, after a while, to produce considerable derangement of the nerves[.]²⁴⁶

Though Indian food and smoking practices would have been clearly understood by the audience of *The Grand Master* as Eastern in origin, it is alcohol

²⁴³ *The Lounger*, no. 17 (1785): 162.

²⁴⁴ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 31.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31. Thorn apple is also called *Dattora* or *Datura*, and was used by thieves to disable their victims. Terence R. Blackburn, *Tales Form British India* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 2009), xi.

²⁴⁶ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 224.

that Rowlandson underscores in his satire. Rowlandson certainly invokes the Western tradition of drinking to excess with the depiction of the god of wine in QUI HI IN THE BOMBAY TAVERN; however, Rowlandson's use of Bacchus also implicates the West as the source of excess. According to classical mythology, Bacchus conquered India, an event Christian historian Paulus Orosius (c. 375-418 AD) considered crucial to his understanding of peaceful peoples who suffer under the yoke of empire:

Father Bacchus subdued India and drenched it with blood, filled it with carnage and violated it with lusts—even though the people of India never offended others, and were contented merely with the quiet lives of slaves.²⁴⁷

Furthermore, the tavern landlord was, according to Combe, a Scot: “Our host a rough spun child of nature,/ Evinc'd the Scot in ev'ry feature”.²⁴⁸ The connection between the Scots and the East India Company was a source of anxiety for English critics as trade in India provided an opportunity for those of Caledonian origins to rise to unprecedented levels of influence in London.²⁴⁹ Likewise, the rowdy party in ‘Bobbery Hall’ occurred following a hunt, a characteristically British social institution while debtors’ prison also occupies a significant place in British history.²⁵⁰ Though Rowlandson made use of an established, and nationalistic, trope of effeminacy through the representation of excessive drinking, he complicated the ready-made complaint by deploying signals which situated drinking in a Western tradition. Ironically, William Dalrymple has

²⁴⁷ As quoted in Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 231.

²⁴⁸ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 206.

²⁴⁹ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 326.

²⁵⁰ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon 1989), 10. Jay Cohen, “The History of Imprisonment for Debt and Its Relation to the Development of Discharge in Bankruptcy,” *The Journal of Legal History* 3, no. 2 (1982).

revealed a greater flexibility in both the assimilation and the transculturation of British men into Indian culture (and vice versa). However, as the nabob was a constructed character, reality seems less important than the anxieties the nabob represented.²⁵¹ The key to Rowlandson's concern, inspired by empire and fleshed out by Captain Thomas George Williamson, is efficiently summarized by Combe:

And now the natives often think
Our worship, is to eat and drink;
And take by force their homes and land,
In every place where we command ;²⁵²

III. Debt and Empire

The breakfast soon dispatch'd, they're off,
To borrow money from a shroff. †
At int'rest more than cent. Per cent.
The money only can be lent;
And strictly upon one condition,
"Master make pay when get commission. †"
The bond is sign'd, and now, with pleasure,
He counts *his rupees* at his leisure,
Never reflecting, he has made
A bond, *that never* can be paid.²⁵³

In Richard Price's 1783 description, nabobs were defined by their accumulation of ill-gotten gains, yet early nineteenth-century representations of nabobs in graphic satire point up a more objectionable reality. Debt accrued by nabobs

²⁵¹ For notions of British assimilation and transculturation see William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Penguin Books, 2002); ———, *Begums, Thugs and White Mughals: The Journals of Fanny Parkes* (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2002); ———, "Assimilation and Transculturation in Eighteenth-Century India: A Response to Pankaj Mishra" *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 3 (2005): 445-85. Simplistic racial division is also being addressed and challenged in the architectural history of Calcutta as "dual cities" comprised of "black" and "white" towns are debunked, revealing instead buildings heterogeneous in both use and population. Swati Chattopadhyay, "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits Of "White Town" In Colonial Calcutta," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (June 2000): 154-79.

²⁵² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 68.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 51-52. "† This is invariably the expression: but while they impose on their youthful debtor, they take care to bind on conditions that generally ruin him. "But, by-and-by, master will be great man, and then make pay. Suppose master die, I can't help."

threatened to undermine the colonial enterprise by subverting the dynamic of control from dominant to dominated. According to Julian Hoppit, “a new amorality” preoccupied critics of private, public and corporate credit: “Gambling, irresponsibility, extortion, usury, avarice and excessive ambition were all seen as intimately and inevitably connected to the extensive and intensive use of credit.”²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the intersection of anxiety Rowlandson emphasizes was not the moral turpitude, the financial mismanagement or the lack of resources debt implies; rather, it was the power debt afforded to a subjugated group through debt’s obligatory nature. The task of unpacking this intricate and ominous relationship articulated in Rowlandson’s progress has profited greatly from Margot C. Finn’s study of personal debt in modern England.²⁵⁵ In her investigation of the phenomenon she describes as endemic in the fiscal endeavours of the eighteenth century, Finn establishes two notions particularly salient to the study of the nabob—the view of debt as a type of misfortune and the obligatory nature of debt, played out with bodily consequences.²⁵⁶

To tease out the underpinnings of debt in the eighteenth-century English imagination, Finn probed representations of personal debt in influential novels and her findings indicate that debts were not “emblems of personal failure” but

²⁵⁴ Julian Hoppit, "Attitudes to Credit in Britain," *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (June 1990), 316.

²⁵⁵ Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁵⁶ In terms of the endemic nature of debt in the eighteenth century, economic historian B. L. Anderson also commented upon the “remarkable degree” to which debt permeated business. The “ubiquity of the book debt” revealed that a significant amount of funds was “permanently occupied in financing the mutual indebtedness of traders and producers.” B. L. Anderson, "Money and the Structure of Credit in the Eighteenth Century," *Business History* 12, no. 2 (1970): 96. Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 28. Also relevant is Mary Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy: Mediating Value in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

considered unfortunate results of the unavoidable variables of modern life.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, for novelists, debtor's prison became a socially acceptable institution of detention that could detain a character without permanent damage to his reputation.²⁵⁸ Although a relatively minor point in Finn's thesis, this conventional wisdom expands our view of the debt-ridden nabob from an example of personal failure to the wider implications his debt entails. For Finn, the fundamental component of the credit/debt contract is obligation; a dynamic she believes has not been adequately addressed in Adam Smith's classic cash nexus economic theories or Marxist paradigms of labour production. Rather, Finn sees obligatory gift exchange as the pragmatic and the philosophical bases for economic conceptualizations of credit and debt, relations which have been productively theorized in anthropological studies of pre-modern societies.²⁵⁹ Using the work of Marcel Mauss and, to a lesser extent James Carrier, Finn concludes that personal debt is essential to studies concerned with "economic

²⁵⁷ The principal example Finn uses is Part I of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) which reflects well the "centuries of Christian doctrine, literary and historical texts of this period". Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 28. Similarly, Julian Hoppit's work has addressed historical treatments of credit which ignore the responses of "non-economists" by concentrating on the "contemporary reactions (not theories) to the use and abuse of credit" in the eighteenth century. Hoppit, "Attitudes to Credit in Britain", 305-06. Furthermore, John Smail looks to decisions influenced by culture, or the attitudes, conceptions, expectations of economic actors to explain the variations in the sophisticated methods of how credit was used in the business of eighteenth-century English textiles. John Smail, "The Culture of Credit in Eighteenth-Century Commerce: The English Textile Industry," *Enterprise & Society* 4 (June 2003): 299-325.

²⁵⁸ Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 52.

²⁵⁹ Similarly, Natasha Eaton has engaged productively with theories of gift obligation in her work on the predominance of art in the colonial encounter, arguing that in early colonial India the gift created a form for transcultural negotiations. She asserts that while Warren Hastings attempted to deploy the exchange of portraits as a means to negotiate cultural difference, the portraits began to subvert indigenous gifting and artistic patronage, producing objects with "double presences". Natasha Eaton, "Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift, and Diplomacy in Colonial India, 1770-1800," *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 46, no. 4 (October 2004): 837.

exchange, social relations and the symbolic order” of the modern period.²⁶⁰ This conclusion helps the scope to move past the individual moral economy of debt in the nabob to centre on the embodied relationships indebted nabobs represent.

The principal relevance of Finn’s work to the progress of the nabob, therefore, is her use of Bourdieu’s interpretation of credit as the “exercise of gentle violence” and how it is “a way to possess, by creating people obliged to reciprocate.”²⁶¹ Furthermore, Finn asserts that credit relations repeatedly reveal their significance with “disparities of power in English society”.²⁶² I argue that these disparities of power were also demonstrated in a colonial context. Unlike the classic power structure of colonial agent over subjugated native (or non-British subject, as the case may be), Rowlandson’s progress shows the agency of dominated groups deployed through debt, resulting in the bodily possession of the professed powerful: through debt, the dominated dominated the dominator.

In taking up debt as an intersection of imperial anxiety, Rowlandson is reiterating an established trope of Company griffins who compromised opportunities for success through excess. For example, the 1797 print entitled *A Scene in the Writers Buildings in Calcutta* attributed to James Moffat (1786-1815), a Scot who worked out of Calcutta from 1789 to 1815, depicts a money lender with what appears to be a healthy stack of chits demanding payment from a

²⁶⁰ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1925), trans. W.D. Halls (New York: Routledge, 1990). James Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1995). Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 7.

²⁶¹ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 9. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1977) and “The Economy of Symbolic Goods” in *Practical Reason: on the Theory of Action* (Stanford, 1988).

²⁶² Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 10.

British man: “got bill—master’s name” (Figure 56).²⁶³ The ‘master’, being cooled by a *punkah* while his *hookahburdar* maintains his smoke, is unable to pay and sends the lender away: “no money—come next month.”²⁶⁴ Though principally a landscape artist and topographical engraver, Moffat supplemented his income and arguably his interest by producing satires which would be later worked up and sold in London. This satire was published by William Holland at No. 50 Oxford Street, however another adaptation exists. In 1813 Holland, now at 11 Cockspur Street and advertising “a number of East and West India Caricatures”, published a reversed version of *A Scene in the Writers buildings in Calcutta* demonstrating that interest in indebted nabobs endured sixteen years following the release of the first print (Figure 57). With roughly the same composition, the figures are slightly more defined. For example, the servants’ clothing is rendered with somewhat more emphasis on depth-producing shadows and highlights, the nabob’s hair is slightly fuller, and the artist has added a puff of *hookah* smoke to punctuate the nabob’s dialogue. Shared by both versions is the nabob’s cavalier comportment in the face of debt and the ratio of two to one, servants to nabob.

The dependence upon an army of servants, a standard complaint about nabobs, helped to create the insurmountable household expenses which lead to debt. Critics viewed the throng of domestic servants deemed essential as markers of excessive indulgence. Yet, in a fascinating validation of the nabob’s domestic

²⁶³ Though his satirical works are only vaguely mentioned, what little is known about James Moffat’s life is well outlined in de Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 249-53.

²⁶⁴ Rowlandson’s use of ‘master’ as opposed to the more specific ‘Qui Hi’ or ‘Lieutenant Newcome’ may suggest that indebtedness was ubiquitous, and might apply to the many ‘masters’ of India.

extravagance, Captain Williamson suggested that *not* to employ them would threaten Britain's precarious hold of India:

The number of servants, and the amount of their wages, forming so conspicuous an item in domestic economy, cannot fail to attract the attention,[...] Our situation has ever been critical; now is more so than ever; and we may be deprived of the opportunity of judging what would have resulted from the silent operations of succeeding ages, by some sudden burst of revolt...formented [sic] by the animosity of the native powers on our frontier, and by the intrigues of French emissaries.²⁶⁵

Returning to Rowlandson's primer, published three years after the second version of Moffat's *A Scene in the Writers buildings in Calcutta*, MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH clearly references the earlier treatments of the debt-ridden nabob in Qui Hi's similar seated position, inclusion of a *hookahburdar* and analogous dialogue concerned with Qui Hi's inability to pay the debts he has accumulated.²⁶⁶ Qui Hi, who has been promoted to Lieutenant, is surrounded by Indian "*shroffs*", defined in *The Grand Master* as "Money-lenders, who advance young men in the Company's service almost any amount, on exorbitant interest, which generally keeps them involved in debt all their lives."²⁶⁷ This uncomplimentary characterization of the *shroff* contradicts earlier understandings of the financial Anglo-Indian alliances; credit partnerships which Lakshmi Subramnian maintains were crucial to the success of the imperial project.²⁶⁸ The East India Company had used *banyans*, Hindu traders and merchants, and *shroffs*

²⁶⁵ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 179-82.

²⁶⁶ 'Masters bill longtime Owe plenty month gone not pay one rupie suppose not pay I make little trouble for Master'; 'I got illy bill masters Name'; 'Carneron Sahib bot Salam. Make plenty Complement. illy pay now. illy pay Next Month'; "himgee Bhicagee send Salam to Master".

²⁶⁷ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 51-52.

²⁶⁸ Lakshmi Subramnian, "Banias and the British: The Role of Indigenous Credit in the Process of Imperial Expansion in Western India in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 3 (1987): 473. See also Sheila Smith, "Fortune and Failure: The Survival of Family Firms in Eighteenth-Century India," *Business History* 35, no. 4 (1993).

to manage and finance trade in India since their arrival. However, in the late eighteenth century British administrators began to mistrust native entrepreneurs and endeavoured to create their own financing agencies.²⁶⁹ This *distancing* was, as senior officer Mr. Rickards in the Bengal administration expressed, to “free the mercantile body from losses and inconveniences suffered in the exchange and from the artifices of schroffs” [sic].²⁷⁰ In contrast to the ominous meaning found in *The Grand Master*, the *Hobson-Jobson* simply states that a *shroff*, alternately called *sarraf*, *sairafi*, *sairaf*, is a “money-changer, a banker”.²⁷¹ What is plain is that native agency in financial matters in India was suspect, exemplified by the defamation of the *banyan* by Edmund Burke on the third day of Hastings’ impeachment proceedings, 15 February 1788:

He is himself a domestic servant, and generally chosen out of that class of natives who by being habituated to misery and subjection can submit to any orders, and are fit for any of the basest services. Trained under oppression (it is the true education), they are fit to oppress others. They serve an apprenticeship of servitude, to qualify them for the trade of tyranny. They know all the devices, all the little frauds, all the artifices and contrivances, the whole panoply of the defensive armour by which ingenious slavery secures itself against the violence of power.... They have the best intelligence of what is done in England. The moment a Company servant arrives in India, and his English connexions are known to be powerful, some of that class of people immediately take possession of him as if he were their inheritance. ... The banyan, once in possession, employs his tyranny, not only over the native people of his country, but often over the master himself... From

²⁶⁹ For a description of the rural dynamic of banyans, see the section entitled “Moneylending” in Hugh Gray, “The Landed Gentry of the Telengana, Andhra Pradesh,” in *Elites in South Asia*, ed. Edmund and S.N. Mukherjee Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 120.

²⁷⁰ Subramnian uses ‘banian’ and ‘shroff’ interchangeably; however, there does seem to be enough of a distinction made by British men in India to require separate entries in the *Hobson-Jobson*. Mr. Rickards comment as quoted in Subramnian, “Banias and the British”, 473. For British mistrust of native “practices of bribery, privileges, and partial favors to traders”, see Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace*, ed. David Ludden, Critical Histories (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 110.

²⁷¹ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 831.

that moment forward it is not the Englishman, it is the black banyan that is the master.²⁷²

Like Burke's reference to the European's dependence upon *banyans*, would-be nabobs in India were not merely running up bills but, through obligation, empowering creditors to 'take possession' of them resulting in an example of what historian John Smail considers the connection between "economic practice and cultural identity".²⁷³ Thus, the nabob is identified as a man who, through debt, is possessed by the native. This possession is not simply metaphorical, but a material or concrete reality shown by Rowlandson in *ALL ALIVE IN THE CHOKEE* and further explained by Combe in the text:

But new misfortunes now attend him,
Without a soul that would befriend him ;
A fellow enters with a bill,
And bond, * which Qui Hi must fulfil ;
Immediately—without pretences—
Or undergo the consequences.

*This is too often the sad effects of young men getting into debt in India. The Parsees, and others, advance griffins cash, to any amount, on their bond, to pay them one hundred per cent. This engagement the unfortunate debtor has seldom and opportunity of performing ; and the consequence is, he cannot leave the country, even for the benefit of his health, and very often perishes in a jail.—Quiz.²⁷⁴

The once productive and now tainted financial association between the Company and Indian *shroffs* smacks of the defamation of Jews on the grounds of usurious dealings, despite the oft-overlooked element of choice in the relationship between borrower and lender. Jewish moneylenders and Indian *shroffs* were

²⁷² Edmund Burke, *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke (1788)*, vol. VII (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), 33-34.

²⁷³ Though Smail sees "honour" as the determining factor between credit and risk in late eighteenth-century concerns of the middling ranks, within this colonial context of nabobs and *shroffs*, the fulcrum is clearly obligation. John Smail, "Credit, Risk, and Honor in Eighteenth-Century Commerce," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (July 2005): 440.

²⁷⁴ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 98.

equally linked with the unsavoury repute of usury; yet in an interesting comparison, Horace Walpole explicitly brought together usury and nabobs.²⁷⁵ In 1776, Walpole opined that “Our Jews and usurers contrive to lounge at home, and commit as much rapine as Lord Clive!”²⁷⁶ Indeed, rapaciousness through debt was a key criticism of nabobs, exemplified by the activities of Sir Mathew Mite, a newly returned nabob in Foote’s *The Nabob*.²⁷⁷ Mite uses debt not only to wrest control of his neighbour Sir Thomas Oldham’s estate, but also to oblige his daughter Sophy to marry him though she loved another. Thus, Qui Hi’s fault lies in being a borrower as opposed to a lender for if he were a successful nabob, though considered rapacious and a role model for Jews, he would be a landowner and perhaps even a Lord.

Unlike Moffat’s satirical treatment of the nabob, which seems to express the “imperial simplicities” his Romantic Indian views are known for, in MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH Rowlandson muddies the simple scenario of a British man living beyond his means.²⁷⁸ Qui Hi is overwhelmed, his domestic space is suffused with native agency; much like MONEY LENDERS IN CALCUTTA! of 1800, also published by William Holland (Figure 58). Here a European man,

²⁷⁵ Subramnian, "Bantias and the British", 476.

²⁷⁶ As quoted in Hoppit, "Attitudes to Credit in Britain", 314.

²⁷⁷ Foote, "The Nabob: A Comedy in Three Acts (1772)." For an interesting discussion of Foote’s play, see Jyotsna G. Singh, "The English Nabobs: Eighteenth-Century Orientalism," in *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" Of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 52-78.

²⁷⁸ de Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 252. In terms of the ‘Miseries’, in 1806 James Beresford (1746-1840) published *The Miseries of Human Life or the Groans of Samuel Sensitive, and Timothy Testy*, a series of humorous “dialogues” that describe the “Miseries of the Country”, “Miseries of London”, “Miseries of Travelling”. According to Rix, the text was full of comic situations that were ready-made for Rowlandson. Brenda D. Rix, "Our Old Friend Rolly: Watercolours, Prints, and Book Illustrations by Thomas Rowlandson in the Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario," ed. Art Gallery of Ontario/Musée des Beaux-Arts de L'Ontario (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 80.

surrounded by examples of what Subramnian called “malicious Indian shroffs”, signs what are sure to be the steep conditions of a loan. Exorbitant interest rates were also taken up in 36PR CENT DISCOUNT AT CALCUTTA from 1811, also by Moffat and likely a companion piece for *Scene in a Writer’s Buildings Calcutta!* (Figure 59).²⁷⁹ Here Eurasian or Portuguese moneylenders, who likewise profited from naïve griffins via outrageous interest rates, are caricatured as malevolent, masked figures, indicating their tendency to dissimulate. They are controlled by rapaciousness, they inhabit dark spaces and they accumulate sacks of money and secured them in a strong box.

Subjecting oneself to insurmountable debt held by ambitious creditors was equated to a defeat by an enemy in all but name. The best example of this association is illustrated in Sudipta Sen’s analysis of the political position of the British in India in relation to the diminishing Mughal Empire in the early nineteenth century. The Emperor Shah Alam II was “financially beholden to the East India Company”, which enabled the British to bodily confine and control him and, by extension his empire, to crippling effect.²⁸⁰ Graphic satire depicting debt-ridden nabobs inverts the equation for power laid out by Sen, reflecting a British man controlled by a native *shroff* or otherwise non-British contingent. Nevertheless, rather than simply emulating the convention of debt-ridden nabobs by leaving the composition of MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH with a griffin besieged by *shroff*’s, Rowlandson makes a significant departure. In the far right, a British man in riding clothes occupies an open doorway adding his voice

²⁷⁹ Subramnian, “Baniyas and the British”, 473.

²⁸⁰ Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (London: Routledge, 2002), xi.

to the cacophony of requests for money: ‘I say Newcome let me have those two gold Mohurs I lent you. I want to buy gram for my horse.’²⁸¹ This outwardly casual appeal from a compatriot implicates other British men who open the door to the endemic indebtedness of the metropole, solidified by evidence that the majority of inmates in English prisons in the late eighteenth century were debtors.²⁸² Thus, native agency is not the sole issue being worked out in Rowlandson’s series: the encouragement by nefarious British men to engage in a lifestyle that required borrowing from a *shroff*, even to the point of ruination, is also advanced. Moreover, it is important to note that the nabob’s type of indebtedness is not simply the cost of doing business. Even Thomas Tegg had trouble discharging the debts he accumulated which would enable his business to grow, but in his case the calculated risk of borrowing would triumph for, in his own words “from this humble origin I, who am now one of the first booksellers in England, have risen.”²⁸³ Rather, unanswered obligation which tilts the balance of power from colonial ambition to native agency is suspect and therefore a source of imperial anxiety, particularly when British men are revealed to be the true villains in the drama, a dynamic Combe emphasizes in the text:

Alas ! too well he now perceives,
That his pretended friends are knaves ;
His *chits* * unanswer’d, or return’d,
And his appeals to friendship spurn’d
Those very characters, that lately,
Fleec’d the unhappy youth completely,
Would uninvited come to dine,

²⁸¹ A ‘gram’, also called ‘Bengal gram’, refers to a portion of chick peas used as food for horses.

²⁸² Paul H. Haagen, "Eighteenth-Century English Society and the Debt Law," in *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative Essays*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull (Oxford: Martin Robertson & Company, Ltd., 1983), 222-23.

²⁸³ Tegg, *Memoir of the Late Thomas Tegg*, 7, 18.

Borrow his cash, and drink his wine.—
 When fortune frowns, the mask is off,
 They at their friend's misfortunes scoff!²⁸⁴

Qui Hi's 'misfortunes' through debt have dire bodily consequences, as Rowlandson reveals in the succeeding image entitled LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT found between pages 242 and 243 (Figure 60). Still in the *Chokee*, Qui Hi is depicted on his deathbed, a scene reminiscent of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's ecstatic Baroque sculpture expressing the final throes of mortal life and the beginning of divine reception (Figure 61).²⁸⁵ Without the necessary funds to warrant more than an assistant (who holds up his hands in a gesture of futility), Qui Hi will soon suffer the ultimate bodily defeat, the reality of which inspires his *bebee* to weep over him while their young son plays nearby. The antithesis of Qui Hi's goals in India have been realised, a less than divine fate which will likely be perpetuated, symbolized by the onlooker visible through the barred window.

V. Idleness and Empire

“...we must have a care of any ridiculous postures with our Bodies.”²⁸⁶

The physical challenges involved in pursuing an Indian empire and the consequences these challenges have on the body (both corporeal and political) make the nabob a compelling, indeed useful, discursive figure. What is at stake in the intersections of anxiety Rowlandson examines are the identities of nabobs

²⁸⁴Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 99.

²⁸⁵ For an interesting discussion of deathbed sculpture in the Baroque period, see Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

²⁸⁶ Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility; or, the Maxims of Genteel Behaviour, ... Newly Done out of the Twelfth Edition in French; Containing among Other Additions, a Short Treatise of the Point of Honour* (London: Robert Clavell, and Jonathan Robinson; and Awnsham and John Churchill, 1703), 107.

constructed through activities which alter or imprison (and subsequently injure) the body as a symbolic entity. Through drink and debt, the British have diminished in control and been dominated by native agency, but a running theme of inactivity clearly points to another source of imperial apprehension. Idleness not only renders the body inactive but void of any real worth or significance.²⁸⁷

According to David Kunzle, in the period immediately following the Napoleonic wars caricaturists viewed officers of the armed services in two ways: “as idle fops and as impoverished heroes”.²⁸⁸ This binary is captured in THE UNHAPPY CONTRAST by an unknown hand where soldiers from the King’s Army and the East India Company compare their ‘rewards’ (Figure 62). Skinny, missing limbs and steps away from the King’s Bench prison, the Captain is barely subsisting on ‘half-pay’ and his ‘honour’ is being compared to a tattered ‘custom house oath’, a proverbial expression for “a Thing not to be regarded [sic]”.²⁸⁹ The status of the East India Company soldier is, in contrast, elevated by way of standing on and being surrounded by considerable ‘rewards’ (cups, saucers, chamber pots, fine military gun powder, tea, silks, muslins, napkins, shawls and bags of money).²⁹⁰ Military comparisons of this kind in fact predate the 1815 victory over the French and when set alongside *The Military Contrast*, an

²⁸⁷ For a discussion about colonists “succumbing to the luxurious, effeminizing indolence of that country”, see Sarah Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*, The Bucknell Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Bucknell University Press, 2003), 150.

²⁸⁸ Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip*, 388.

²⁸⁹ From William Whiston’s memoirs (1749-50), as quoted in Robert Craig Rupert Jarvis, *Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1967), xxiii.

²⁹⁰ The notion of respectable paucity was also explored in Henry Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling*, where in Harley wonders to Edwards, “When shall I see a commander return from India in the pride of honourable poverty? You describe the victories they have gained; they are sullied by the cause in which they fought: you enumerate the spoils of those victories; they are covered with the blood of the vanquished.” Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 102-03.

analogous composition published by Matthew Darly in 1773, the embodied identity of the nabob in *THE UNHAPPY CONTRAST* is underscored (Figure 63). This print compares what Martin Myrone called the “burly invalided veteran” who sacrificed his own body for the protection of his country, with a modern Macaroni soldier, a figure one contemporary critic called “delicate and contemptible” whose wig, neat clothing and oculus help him undermine the goal of national defence through a self-absorbed pursuit of fashion.²⁹¹ The viewer of the print has therefore been directed to look at the body in order to glean the comparative significance. *THE UNHAPPY CONTRAST*, depicting the rotund Company soldier in his ill-fitting waistcoat, shows an officer that is over fed and under exercised, a testament to the idleness of life for the British in India at the expense, not only of honour, but of national security.

Whether it was the condemnation of emasculating idleness among the Roman aristocracy, the association of idleness with the sin of ‘sloth’ by medieval moralists, or the modern associations between felony and idleness played out in criminal biography and satire, the western tradition of idleness as misdeed was well established when *The Grand Master* was published in 1816.²⁹² Indeed, Sarah Jordan’s recent work argues that British identity in the eighteenth century was not only formed in opposition to idleness, but that it justified imperial pursuits.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 113-14.

²⁹² Gregory M. Sadlek, *Idleness Working: The Discourse of Love's Labor from Ovid through Chaucer and Gower* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 8-9.

²⁹³ Rowlandson also implemented the comparison between the ‘Industry’ of Britannia and the ‘Idleness’ of a French Medusa in his 1792 *The Contrast* also discussed by Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness*, 137.

Based on this claim, the British earned the right to control both the land and its resources as they possessed the ‘industriousness’ to appropriately exploit them.²⁹⁴

The benchmark example of the contrast between “Industry and Idleness” in graphic satire is Hogarth’s twelve-part series of the same title which resonated with a society who were increasingly being identified by their accomplishments as opposed to their birthrights.²⁹⁵ Even Tegg was heralded in his obituary by his “unflagging industry” which enabled him to rise “from a low grade of life to a position of importance”.²⁹⁶ Although Jordan suggests that in a “profound contradiction” the ultimate goal of industry in the middling sorts was to achieve the idleness of the aristocracy, I argue that mere emulation of the ruling class was not the objective.²⁹⁷ Industry was a new paradigm that would eclipse existing power structures and result in men like Tegg, who “when self-raised to wealth, were found superior to the vulgar pride of riches, and were not ashamed to retain excellent memories for those who had been helpful to them in their low estate.”²⁹⁸

Examining the nabob’s imperial idleness illuminates emergent class identities and subsequent tensions, helping to trace Ann Laura Stoler’s “bourgeois sensibilities” in imperial histories and Mary Louise Pratt’s “discourses that legitimate bourgeois authority”.²⁹⁹ For example, evidence for emulative industriousness has been located in the mid-eighteenth century middle station

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 62,66.

²⁹⁶ Tegg, *Memoir of the Late Thomas Tegg*, 1

²⁹⁷ Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness*, 18.

²⁹⁸ Tegg, *Memoir of the Late Thomas Tegg*, 1.

²⁹⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 99. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 10.

imitation of their “betters” through tangible acts of conspicuous consumption.³⁰⁰ On the contrary, I believe J. A. Sharpe correctly argued that these new groups possessed a different ethic from the aristocracy distinguished by a less extravagant lifestyle and a keener understanding of the opportunities for economic gain.³⁰¹ This sentiment is echoed by Peter Earle who suggested that the middle classes were fashioning a new society for themselves, one that became the dominant national culture.³⁰² Industry was therefore an expression of middle station rank and not a method by which to transcend that position.³⁰³

Significant to the dominant national culture of industriousness, Geoffrey Cubitt posits that forming a national identity is not solely an exercise to “differentiate it from others” but to assemble it from “potentially recalcitrant materials”.³⁰⁴ In an embodied sense, through marked idleness, nabobs challenged British imperial entitlement based on industriousness, resulting in a disturbance in the imagined national character. Distancing the nabob from the metropole—by presenting him in satire as the antithesis of the ‘dominant national culture’ and emphasising his interstitial status by calling him ‘Anglo-Indian’, an ‘Asiatic

³⁰⁰ J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550-1760* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 181.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁰² Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 10. For a good example of how the emulative approach is being challenged in art historical work, see Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 84 (September 2002): 491-500.

³⁰³ John Barrell has similarly argued that Rowlandson's work represented a criticism of portrayals of industriousness. However, for Barrell the depictions of the rural poor in art (portrayals which express an ideological construct as opposed to a reality of the “dutiful poor”) were not openly challenged by Rowlandson, but comically poked at from his secure, institutionalised position. The basis for this argument is that there seems to be no evidence that Rowlandson's work caused discomfort. Nevertheless, I wonder if discomfort was not registered because his audience found agreement. John Barrell, "The Private Comedy of Thomas Rowlandson," *Art History* 6, no. 4 (1983): 426-27.

³⁰⁴ Geoffrey Cubitt, ed. *Imagining Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 6.

adventurer’, or indeed, a ‘nabob’—is a form of abjection. In *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson faces the nabob and by doing so, turns his gaze towards the metropole and reminds his nation of its state of being.

Qui Hi’s semi-reclined pose in MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, previously mentioned in reference to his arrogance in the face of overwhelming debt also efficiently indicates idleness. The posture was used in both versions of *A Scene in the Writers buildings in Calcutta* and ALL ALIVE IN THE CHOKEE and not only made uncomfortable associations with emerging stereotypes of the lazy, inactive Indian, but ran contra to guidelines of proper comportment, resuming the accusation already made by James Gillray in a 1783 engraving that nabobs were perplexed about protocol (Figure 64).³⁰⁵ In *The Nabob Rumbled, or A Lord Advocates Amusement*, the primary subject is Sir Thomas Rumbold, a man regarded as the typical nabob of tremendous and ill-gotten wealth. In the background, an elephant gallops across the pseudo-Indian landscape. Atop a huge saddle fashioned out of rupees sits a man who exclaims, ‘*I am off — I know good manners*’; behind him sits an Indian servant who adds, ‘*Me and Massa leave England He! He! He!*’ Money is, in the nabob’s view, equivalent to manners and having accumulated a large sack, he is now ready to return home to take his rightful place in society. Significantly, ‘politeness’ was originally a method by which to increase the inclusivity of the ruling class when outward markers of power became more available to other groups, creating what Lawrence Klein

³⁰⁵ For an interesting comparison between the archetypes of the lazy Indian and the “the more action-oriented, energetic, and enterprising Briton” which emerges in children’s fiction following the so-called Mutiny, see Supriya Goswami, “The Post-Mutiny Imperial Boy Hero: Bridging Cultural Divides in Sara Heanette Duncan’s the Story of Sonny Sahib,” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2009): 38-50.

described as “an oligarchical culture for a post-courtly and post-godly society”.³⁰⁶ Therefore, from the early eighteenth century, conflating money with manners was a common complaint concerning upstarts.

As the century wore on—and identity became not “an essence” as Klein put it “but rather a set of skills adapted to a range of environments”—adherence to physical courteousness became an extension of the paradigm of industriousness in those engaged in the “conscious campaign of self-improvement”.³⁰⁷ C. Dallett Hemphill’s recent work on bourgeois manners and the American Revolution suggests that “striving for manners was bound up with...striving for success” and the body was an important element of this success.³⁰⁸ For example, twenty-four year old parson and attorney John Adams (who would later become the first vice-president and second president of the United States of America) endeavoured to become master of his body and viewed this control as essential to establishing himself.³⁰⁹ By comparison, the nabob’s lack of physical mastery expressed through poor seated comportment, positions him as anathema to the burgeoning ideal of British society.

As early as 1737, Erasmus Jones encouraged good posture for men ‘of Manners’ when seated: “He must keep his Body straight upon his Chair, and not

³⁰⁶ Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness for Plebes: Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 362.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 377. C. Dallett Hemphill, "Manners and Class in the Revolutionary Era: A Transatlantic Comparison," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series LXIII, no. 2 (April 2006): 345.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

lay his Elbows upon the Table, like a Church Warden in a Parish-Vestry.”³¹⁰

Courtesy literature abounded in the eighteenth century, often with unabashedly French origins despite the perception that foreigners disseminated effeminacy under the guise of fashionable manners in an effort to drain the British of their patriotism.³¹¹ In *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Edmund Burke lamented that “France has always more or less influenced manners in England”.³¹²

Nevertheless, rules of decorum could be studied in a concrete way and therefore appealed to self-improvers. One such manual commanded that when seated one must “Sit upright upon your Chair; and never loiter in it, nor lean upon the Table.”³¹³ Another example directs the sitter to “Sit in a genteel and easy Posture, do not stretch out your Legs, nor loll: Put one Hand in the Bosom of your Waistcoat, and let the other fall easily upon your Knee.”³¹⁴ The rules of physical comportment in courtesy books corresponded well with industriousness but it also enabled the beholder of satire to discern challenges to propriety.

Despite its popularity, courtesy literature of this kind became a subject of criticism by the early nineteenth century as acquiring manners continued to be

³¹⁰ Erasmus Jones, *The Man of Manners: Or, Plebeian Polish'd. Being Plain and Familiar Rules for a Modest and Genteel Behaviour, on Most of the Ordinary Occasions of Life*, The Second Edition ed. (London: printed for J. Roberts; and sold by E. Withers; and J. Jolliffe, [c.1737]), 9.

³¹¹ Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 83.

³¹² Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), ed. Charles W. Eliot, vol. 24, The Harvard Classics (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909-14), 136.

³¹³ Mr. Lock and the Chevalier de Ramsay, *The Polite Academy, or School of Behaviour for Young Gentlemen and Ladies. Intended as a Foundation for Good Manners and Polite Address, in Masters and Misses* (London printed for R. Baldwin; and B. Collins, in Salisbury, 1762), 19. Similar sentiments are also repeated in Charles Vyse, "Directions for an Agreeable Behaviour and Polite Address," in *The New London Spelling-Book: Or, the Young Gentleman and Lady's Guide to the English Tongue. In Five Parts*. (London: G. Robinson, 1778). For an example of a work which advertises its French origins, see Courtin, *The Rules of Civility*.

³¹⁴ Ramsay, *The Polite Academy*, 22.

associated with the pursuit of self-interest.³¹⁵ For example, in a series of letters by Lord Chesterfield to his illegitimate son, Philip Stanhope, the author expressed that “A man of the world must, like a chameleon, be able to take every different hue, which is by no means a criminal or abject, but a necessary complaisance, for it relates only to manners, and not to morals” (1774).³¹⁶ In response, satirists began to take up texts like those written by Erasmus Jones’ directly as in Tegg’s and Rowlandson’s *Chesterfield Travestie; or, the School for Modern Manners* (1808) wherein Jones’ advice is contradicted, in some cases nearly word for word.³¹⁷

Manners were soon thought to be trivial and unworthy of correlation with sober moral thought and the courtesy manual of the eighteenth century was replaced by the etiquette book of the early nineteenth century—what Michael Curtin describes as “pallid and truncated version of the old courtesy book”.³¹⁸ Despite the differentiation between *courtesy* and *etiquette*, it seems to me that handbooks on manners survived because of their resonances with industry, notwithstanding claims of pretence. To return to Chesterfield, “Good manners

³¹⁵ Important studies dealing with the hypocrisy of politeness are Jenny Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness: Manners and Morals from Locke to Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Michael Curtin, “A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy,” *The Journal of Modern History* 57, no. 3 (September 1985): 396-423.

³¹⁶ As quoted in Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness*, 58.

³¹⁷ Thomas Rowlandson, *Chesterfield Travestie; or, the School for Modern Manners* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1808). Alison O’Byrne has identified a direct contradiction of Jones’ advice on walking in the city streets in *Chesterfield Travestie*: “if, whilst you were walking, you see any person of your acquaintance passing, be sure to bawl or hem after them, like a butcher out of a public-house window; and leave the person you are walking with to run after them.” *The Man of Manners*: “If, whilst we are walking, we see any Person of our Acquaintance, or their Servants passing, we are not to *Bawl* or *Hem* after them, like a Butcher out of a Tavern Window; nor must we leave the person we are walking with, to run after them.” Alison O’Byrne, “The Art of Walking in London: Representing Urban Pedestrianism in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Romanticism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 101, 107.

³¹⁸ Curtin, “A Question of Manners”, 396.

are, to particular societies, what good morals are to society in general; their cement and their security”.³¹⁹ Ignoring what was considered proper conduct was therefore tantamount to a rejection of societal goals.

A productive comparison with the images in Charles D’Oyly’s (1781-1845) *The European in India* (1813) shows how, in contrast, the industrious civil servant sits upright with his feet on the floor while studying native languages, conducting his business in his private office, attending to his morning toilet, passing a letter to a servant, and sitting down to dinner with his family (Figure 65). In an abrupt departure from the model image of a properly seated European man in India (so often repeated it would seem to be didactic), D’Oyly includes an image which shows the subject making a grave error in his affairs. Though the text suggests the “free and easy practice of putting the legs on the table” was a method to cope with the heat, closer inspection reveals more.³²⁰ IX GENTLEMAN WITH HIS SIRCAR, OR MONEY-SERVANT shows a man, a hookah pipe in his mouth and a hand on a bottle, with both feet on the table as he is confronted by his servant (Figure 66). The accompanying text provided by none other than Captain Thomas George Williamson explains the subject’s error:

It is devoutly to be hoped, that this very numerous and formidable gang of public and private dependers may speedily become extinct. To persons unacquainted with the customs of the natives of rank, and of the practices among Europeans some twenty years back, it

³¹⁹As quoted in Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness*, 73

³²⁰ Charles D’Oyly and Captain Thomas Williamson, *The European in India; from a Collection of Drawings, by Charles Doyley, Esq. Engraved by J.H. Clark and C. Dubourg; with a Preface and Copious Descriptions, by Captain Thomas Williamson; Accompanied with a Brief History of Ancient and Modern India, from the Earliest Periods of Antiquity to the Termination of the Late Mahratta War, by F.W. Blagdon, Esq.* (London: Edward Orme and Black, Parry and Company, Booksellers to the Hon. East India Company, 1813), n.p. (Section X).

might appear wonderful how such a race of miscreants obtained a footing among either.³²¹

The European has, in other words, employed a *sirkar* to manage his financial affairs and, like the *banyas* and *shroffs*, is now subject to “these locusts”.³²²

A reiteration of the poses found in both versions of the *A Scene in the Writers buildings in Calcutta*, the idle nabob is here deployed to immediately signal beholders to inappropriate behaviour on the part of the European. Further emphasized through contrast, the pose not only expresses a deficiency in decorum but portrays a subject who avoids his primary responsibilities in empire building by handing over power to native agency, thereby engaging in imperial idleness. Lest the entire work be tainted with the embodied identity of an idle nabob, an antidote is registered in the image immediately following. X. A GENTLEMAN WITH HIS HOOKAH-BURDAR, OR PIPE BEARER *portrays* a rear view of a seated European enjoying his smoke (Figure 67). On the table before him rests two glasses, one still full and the other likely containing water. Behind him stands a servant who is barely acknowledged and holds nothing in his sway but the bowl for his master’s hookah. This posture speaks of a man deservedly at his leisure

³²¹ Ibid., n.p. (Section IX).

³²² Ibid. Native agency through finance continued to be a source of anxiety, exemplified by the new and improved edition of Williamson’s *Vade Mecum* published in 1828, where the *sirkar* was defined as “a servant whose whole study is to handle money, whether receivable or payable; to confuse accounts, when adverse to his views; or to render them most expressively intelligible, when suitable to his purpose.” J. B. Gilchrist, *The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum; for the Public Functionary, Government Officer, Private Agent, Trader or Foreign Sojourner, in British India, and the Adjacent Parts of Asia, Immediately Connected with the Honourable the East India Company, Being a Digest of the Work of the Late Capt. Williamson, with Many Improvements and Additions; Embracing the Most Valuable Parts of Similar Publications on the Statistics, Literature, Official Duties, and Social Economy of Life and Conduct in That Interesting Quarter of the World* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, & Allen, Booksellers to the Hon. East India Company, Leadenhall Street, 1825), 105.

following important empire building, a composition similar to the poses found in the aforementioned portraits of Company servants.

By 1828 the idle nabob had achieved iconic status, demonstrated by the frontispiece of *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, also by D'Oyly, where the title character's inactive pose has graduated, indeed digressed, to deep sleep (Figure 68).³²³ The dichotomy identified in the eighteenth century between provincialism and urbanity may also provide the key to how "[m]anners identified individuals" between the colony and the metropole.³²⁴ This place-oriented approach resonates with the distancing of the nabob and, though class became more important as the nineteenth century progressed, the embodied identity of the colonial nabob was in direct conflict with the metropolitan ideal that increasingly took on the *appearance* of industry (even when there was evidence to the contrary). For example, Jeffrey Auerbach takes the issue of imperial idleness into the later nineteenth and early twentieth century.³²⁵ Concentrating on 'imperial boredom', Auerbach identified a gap between the dull realities experienced by the imperial civil service through "private confessions" and the thrilling adventure of conquest found in the British imagination as a result of "public propaganda".³²⁶ Indeed, a poem written by an India House clerk early in the nineteenth century provides an entertaining glimpse into imperial idleness:

From ten to eleven, ate a breakfast at seven;

³²³ A Civilian and an Officer On the Bengal Establishment, *Tom Raw, the Griffin: A Burlesque Poem, in Twelve Cantos: Illustrated by Twenty-Five Engravings, Descriptive of Adventures of a Cadet in the East India Company's Service, from the Period of His Quitting England to His Obtaining a Staff Situation in India* (London: J. Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, 1828).

³²⁴ For a discussion on how manners identified individuals, see Curtin, "A Question of Manners", 402.

³²⁵ Auerbach, "Imperial Boredom."

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

From eleven to noon, to begin 'twas too soon;
 From twelve to one, asked "What's to be done?"
 From one to two, found nothing to do;
 From two to three, began to forsee
 That from three to four would be a damned bore.³²⁷

Whether the boredom described above was the unfortunate result of an excessive number of servants, comically described in the engraving entitled *West India Luxury!!* (1808), wherein 'West India Nabobs' are similarly lampooned for doing nothing without the assistance of an army of slaves, or the tedium of imperial life was the consequence of neglecting imperial responsibilities so far from the metropole's correcting influence, the pose is not a posture one would associate with industry (Figure 69). As Auerbach's study shows, finding ways to disregard imperial idleness was not unique to the earlier colonial period, evidenced by the enduring image of nabobs who do nothing but sit with their feet up. Rowlandson's departure from this tradition is in the way he closes the gap between colony and metropole, denying credence to 'geographical morality' and revealing Britain to be the foundation for the nabob's idleness. In *Chesterfield Travestie*, Rowlandson's fold-out series presents four options for "Behaviour at Table". On the bottom, right hand corner the subject demonstrates how to "Loll on two chairs while making use of your toothpick" (Figure 70). Rather than being a distant figure of the bewildering spaces of the East, nabobs are instead portrayed by Rowlandson as a typical, indeed familiar, example of a British subject pilloried for improper posture when seated. Cast in this light, Qui Hi is not censured for taking on the arbitrary and despotic characteristics of an Indian prince, but for

³²⁷ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 283.

conducting his business in India by adopting a stance that challenged metropolitan bourgeois propriety.

V. Conclusion: Intersections of Anxiety

Bernard Cohn has made considerable efforts to trace the manner by which British systems of conduct in colonial India dissociated them from their Indian subjects, particularly those techniques which used trappings of the body to achieve this divide.³²⁸ Distancing therefore became a fruitful method of achieving and maintaining power in the imperial project. Examining the distancing of the nabob through his embodied identity represented in graphic satire reveals a sort of rehearsal for that significant cultural technique. From one of the earliest depictions of a nabob in Gillray's *COUNT ROUPEE: VIDE, HYDE PARK* which portrays a man who has been contaminated by India, resulting in deeply brown skin, nabobs had been distanced from the metropole (Figure 71).³²⁹ Repeated rhetoric identified the East as the source of the nabob's transgressions which were so virulent they threatened, not only the imperial mission, but to infect the West with vice, denigrating an increasingly idealized metropole.

In *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson implements existing, even conventional compositions of nabobs giving credence to James Sherry's characterisation of the artist as a "skilful opportunist"; however, closer scrutiny challenges his assumption that Rowlandson was not "a creator of new forms".³³⁰ Rowlandson's examinations of nabobs engaged in drink, debt and idleness not only reveal

³²⁸ In "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century", Cohn explores the role clothing played in establishing identities in aid of maintaining authority. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 106-62.

³²⁹ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 34.

³³⁰ Sherry, "Distance and Humor", 458.

nuanced approaches to these intersections of anxiety which threatened to undermine imperial progress, but illustrates how an innovative satirist could use familiar forms in a new and intensely self-reflexive manner. The significance of Rowlandson's work is that, though use of the progress enabled a more complex story to be told, once the image is isolated from its encompassing structure it can still, nonetheless, stand on its own as a self-conscious analysis of British excess in India. Certainly, by engaging with the nabob's embodied identity the Saidian identity binary is further complicated.³³¹ The nabob was neither an idealised Western body nor a stereotypically maligned Eastern body; yet, as the progress unfolds, the nabob's body is revealed not only to be a symbolic entity, but subject to the fallibility of living organisms. The repercussion of drink, debt and idleness on the body is illness. Though Qui Hi has managed the next to impossible feat of gaining permission to leave India to receive treatment for his illness, his exit has been denied as a legal writ has been issued in his name. Excessive drink, unpaid debts and idleness prevent Qui Hi's body from healing from what has been determined as Western excess played out in an Eastern setting. Combe's response to the images not only foreshadows what will come next for the nabob, but illustrates how effective Rowlandson's 'metropolitan gaze' really was in capturing the personal repercussions of a national excess:

That care, and often something worse,
 Cannot attend an ill-got purse;
 For always care and sad ennui,
 Attends on idle luxury:
 Do men like those feel no regret,
 When burthen'd with enormous debt?³³²

³³¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

³³² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 211.

CHAPTER 3

'LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTOR'S ASSISTANT': THE 'METROPOLITAN GAZE', IMPERIAL ILLNESS AND THE DYING NABOB

I. The Metropolitan Gaze

The old assistant call'd again,
 And found Qui Hi convuls'd with pain.
 His eyes were sunk within his head ;
 He lay, to all appearance, dead.³³³

The LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT is a network of unreturned gazes (Figure 60). Qui Hi is pale, prostrate and staring towards the ceiling in fever induced delirium and in the hope of divine intervention. At the foot of his cot the "old Mahometan" looks down upon his dying patient while his hands remain upturned in a gesture of helplessness. According to Combe, the assistant has been sent by the negligent doctor "To feel his pulse, and know if master/ Requir'd a dose of salts, or plaster".³³⁴ Qui Hi's young son, compositionally disconnected from his parents, "Amus'd himself with looking o'er,/ A bauble that his father wore".³³⁵ In the meantime, a man penetrates the dark interior of the prison cell with his voyeuristic gaze, observing the inhabitants with mysterious intent. Finally, in a tragic arrangement, beholders are prevented from returning the pleading gaze of Qui Hi's *bebee*, as "Goulaub, conceiving master dying,/ Poor soul ! was overcome with crying".³³⁶ This confused and disconnected criss-cross of unanswered looks between the motley subjects of the British Empire in India in the early nineteenth century evokes the significance of viewing, of being

³³³ Ibid., 242.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

viewed, and of not being able to see or be seen in a setting of colonial interest. At the core of this spectacle lies the conflict between British aspirations of sovereignty and a critic's disapproval of dominion in India.

Critical engagements with looking attempt to make plain forms of control achieved through techniques of observation. A decisive work was Michel Foucault's metaphoric appropriation of Utilitarian philosopher and prison reformer Jeremy Bentham's panopticon device, or observation house of 1791, where a hidden viewer surveys a confined and controlled subject.³³⁷ Disciplined surveillance, regarded as a reform in prisons and asylums, had wider and more disturbing implications for society. Foucault argued that through the institutionalization of *un régime panoptique* external constraints were replaced by internalized control, resulting in a carceral culture.³³⁸ In terms of deploying 'the gaze' to "order a science", Foucault's 'medical gaze'—which refers to the phenomena wherein the body is treated as an object of scrutiny by an authority of medical science, made so by specialised knowledge—illustrated how the clinic became an important site of visual domination.³³⁹ Also key to the way in which we understand the notion of the gaze is the psychoanalytic work of Jacques Lacan, invoked at first to help explicate the process whereby a subject enters into the symbolic order through the mirror stage, and then later referring to the

³³⁷ Anne Friedberg, "The Mobilized and Virtual Gaze in Modernity," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 397. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

³³⁸ For a discussion of what the "panoptic gaze" replaced in terms of modes of control, see Joel Whitebook, "Against Interiority: Foucault's Struggle with Psychoanalysis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, ed. Gary Gutting, *Cambridge Companions to Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 320.

³³⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London: Routledge, 2003), 108.

uncanny sense that the object of our gaze will look back upon us and remind us of our own lack, “our own nothingness”.³⁴⁰ These theoretical foundations concentrating on the power of looking (and being looked upon) facilitated feminist scholars to critique the voyeuristic and ever present ‘male gaze’, a structure that signified that the observer is superior to the object and a structure internalized by the object herself.³⁴¹ For Laura Mulvey in her seminal work on the ‘male gaze’ in film: “cinema builds the way she is to be looked at into the spectacle itself.”³⁴² Cornel West likewise saw value in concentrating on the theoretical implications of looking with his ‘normative gaze’ denoting an ideal derived from classical aesthetic values “from which to order and compare observations”, playing a vital role in the notion of white supremacy in modern discourse.³⁴³

Studies of colonialism have also been deepened from an investigation of how things and people are viewed, are presented for viewing, or not viewed at all.³⁴⁴ The ‘imperial gaze’ explored through Bernard Cohn’s investigative modalities, for example, shows how knowledge captured through viewing was processed into forms conducive to the British ambition to conquer Indian

³⁴⁰ Jaques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1978), 92.

³⁴¹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 11.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁴³ Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity (1982)* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 54.

³⁴⁴ In an interesting coalescence, Utilitarians like James Mill and others who were inspired by the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham were “well represented in the East India Company” and believed that “reforming Indian society” through civilising missions represented good government policy. Barbara Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1995), 79.

society.³⁴⁵ Anthropomorphized into Mary Louise Pratt's Victorian "seeing man" whose "imperial eyes passively look out and possess", the imperial gaze embodied the inequity between domination and subordination played out in the "contact zones".³⁴⁶ Indira Ghose's 'female gaze' expressed through women's travel literature in colonial India furthermore helps to point up the conflicting roles of women as "colonized by gender, but colonizers by race."³⁴⁷ Utilizing these theoretical underpinnings, David Arnold's 'travelling gaze' tackles the question of how far an object, like a landscape, can be subjected to disciplined surveillance, illustrating how very mobile 'the gaze' can be and still retain its controlling and punitive effect.³⁴⁸ Shared by these studies is the notion that through the filtering of the observed into recognizable forms, India was rendered manageable, a theme that repeatedly appears in studies on visual and artistic practice in India during the colonial period.³⁴⁹ For instance, in a discussion of

³⁴⁵ Though Cohn specifically references the "imperial gaze" in the section which deals with the surveillance investigative modality, an argument can be made that it was also deployed in the "observational/travel" and "survey" modalities. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 10.

³⁴⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 9, 4.

³⁴⁷ Indira Ghose, *The Power of the Female Gaze: Women Travellers in Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5.

³⁴⁸ David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze*, ed. Devon Pena and K. Sivaramakrishnan, *Culture, Place and Nature: Studies in Anthropology and Environment* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 29-30. For an interesting study which combines the "male gaze" with the "imperial gaze", a reaction to criticisms that white feminist film theorists have ignored issues of race, see E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (London: Routledge, 1997). Also helpful in determining the sociological factors involved in contemporary manifestations of the gaze in the visual nature of the tourist experience, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990). Deborah Cherry also engages in the "trauma of colonisation" through her investigations of the connections between art, socio-political history, sexual politics, critical theory and imperial history of the Victorian period in Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000).

³⁴⁹ The idea of rendering an unknown landscape (both physical and cultural) familiar owes a considerable debt to work which examines the gendering of physical terrain through allegorical representations of *terra incognita* as women or through conceptualizing land as "libidinally eroticized" in order to express both a right and an ability to conquer. See Annette Kolodny, *The*

William and Thomas Daniell's aquatints, Pal and Dehejia note that "one is presented with gray skies, so reminiscent of England", suggesting that while the subject matter was "novel and exotic" the product was familiar.³⁵⁰ Thus, the goal of what John Marx called "domesticating the Indian landscape" was partially achieved through aesthetic endeavours by artists like William Hodges and the Daniells and resulted in a "Picturesque Possession".³⁵¹ In a combination of Romantic sentiment and commercial parlance, Thomas Daniell heralded his enterprise as the heir of Enlightenment endeavours, characterizing his landscapes as both an intellectual contribution and a commodity import:

Since this new era of civilization, a liberal spirit of curiosity has prompted undertakings to which avarice lent no incentive, and

Lay of the Land: Metaphors as Experience and History in American Life and Letters (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 22. For the use of landscape to express a pictorial ideology of the dominant social class in the eighteenth century, see John Barrell, *The Dark Side of Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For the notion that landscape is a medium for the violence of imperial exploitation, see W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Though it falls outside the scope of this study, the 'global gaze', a Victorian dichotomy of imperial success and a pervasive sense of anxiety that it would all end badly, was superficially taken up in John M. Mackenzie, "Empire and the Global Gaze," in *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, ed. John M. Mackenzie (London: V&A Publications, 2001).

³⁵⁰ Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors*, 109. The success of the artistic appropriation of the Indian landscape can be noted well into the twentieth century. An exhibition advertisement for objects in the "The Indian Taste" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art discusses the spread of an Indian aesthetic through aquatints: "Most of them were simply topographical—more or less accurate reportage of native scenes. But the facts they dealt with were totally novel and wonderful." Carl J. Weinhardt, "The Indian Taste," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 16, no. 7 (1958): 210.

³⁵¹ de Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 181. See also Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786–1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980). And Giles H. R. Tillotson, "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780–1880," in *The Raj: India and the British 1600–1947*, ed. C.A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1990), 141–51; ———, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000). See also Jeffrey A. Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire," *The British Art Journal* V, no. 1 (2004): 47–54. See also the accompanying text from the 2004 National Maritime Museum exhibit of the same name. Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill, ed. *William Hodges 1744–1797: The Art of Exploration* (Greenwich and New Haven: Yale University Press for the National Maritime Museum, 2004).

fortune annexed no reward: associations have been formed, not for piracy, but humanity: science has had her adventures, and philanthropy her achievements: the shores of Asia have been invaded by a race of students with no rapacity but for lettered relics; by naturalists, whose cruelty extends not to one human inhabitant; by philosophers, ambitious only for the extirpation of error, and the diffusion of truth. It remains for the artist to claim his part in these guiltless spoliations, and to transport to Europe the picturesque beauties of these favoured regions.³⁵²

Geographical surveys and map making similarly converted concrete land into abstract form that could be collected and archived in official British institutions.³⁵³ Demographic stereotypes about India further reassured British readers that India could be controlled through categorization.³⁵⁴ Even the portrait work of British artists in India illustrates the increased emphasis of the difference between the Indians and the British as subjects increasingly took on visual markers of national or traditional poses and dress as opposed to the accurate reflections of liminal lives lived in transcultural states.³⁵⁵ The combination of questionably ‘guiltless’ picturesque landscapes, geographical surveys, and

³⁵² Thomas and William Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1810), 1-2. Also quoted in John Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze," *Novel* 32, no. 1 (Fall 1998): 56, and de Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 193.

³⁵³ Marx suggests an interesting temporal view of the imperial gaze, arguing that the picturesque and the survey “effectively divided Britain’s colonizing labor” as the picturesque held onto the past and the survey represented the present. Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze", 56, 61. See also Matthew H. Edney, "Bringing India to Hand: Mapping and Empire, Denying Space," in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. Felicity A. Nussbaum (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 65-78.

³⁵⁴ Though the universal quality of this idea of control through categorization is currently being challenged by investigating cautionary tales of imperial conquest by Romantic writer Walter Scott, the idea of categorization as a strategy for power advanced by Bernard Cohn is still relevant to this study of representation of colonial India and imperial Britain. Tara Ghoshal Wallace, "The Elephant's Foot and the British Mouth: Walter Scott on Imperial Rhetoric," *European Romantic Review* 13 (2002): 311-24. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*.

³⁵⁵ Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), 357. See also Chapter 4 of Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth Century British Painting* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), entitled “Accommodating India: Domestic Arrangements in Anglo-Indian Family Portraiture”, 110-138.

commissioned portraiture illustrates how the British endeavoured to represent India in recognizably British terms.³⁵⁶

What seems to be missing in the theoretical investigation of imperial looking is a backward glance. Anne Friedberg briefly touched on this deficiency in exploring “the subjectivity of the *observer*” in Foucault’s model.³⁵⁷ But even this attentiveness to the problems with Foucault’s premise suggests observers had a unified gaze. Recent studies have shown a resistance to the imperial gaze. Alexia Kosmider, for example, worked on photographs of Geronimo in late nineteenth-century world’s fairs and revealed how, by dressing in his American military uniform and by staying in military issue tents as opposed to ‘traditional’ Indian structures, Geronimo ‘refracted’ the imperial gaze by evoking the unromantic reality of imperialism.³⁵⁸ Kate Teltscher’s work also illustrates resistance to the imperial gaze by examining the viewing circumstances of the wives of Emperor Jehangir in India. These women showed dominance over early English diplomat, Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644) by observing him from behind veils, thereby making him conscious of his *own* foreignness.³⁵⁹ Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, Lloyd I. Rudolph and Mohan Singh Kanota have furthermore made available a work which turns the observational lens from the traditional object of imperial contemplation to the colonial ‘*others*’ in the diary of Amar Singh (1878-

³⁵⁶ Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze", 55.

³⁵⁷ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 20.

³⁵⁸ Alexia Kosmider, "Refracting the Imperial Gaze onto the Colonizers: Geronimo Poses for the Empire," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (December 2001): 318, 330-31.

³⁵⁹ Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India 1600-1800* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 42. Emphasis mine.

1942), a work which in essence ‘reverses’ the imperial gaze.³⁶⁰ Despite this exciting work, a *look* at the colonizers from a critical, metropolitan perspective has yet to be adequately theorized.³⁶¹ Assessing the theoretical needs of *The Grand Master*’s engagement with imperial illness therefore begins with locating the site from which the satire is deployed, followed by a more precise identification of Rowlandson’s subject.

The episodic quality of *The Grand Master*, the featuring of metaphoric landmarks of a nabob’s progress such as drink, debt and idleness, as well as the way Qui Hi moves through the physical spaces of India reads much like a travel narrative, a genre which had the capability of creating a predictable, even iconic journey for a domestic audience.³⁶² In Rowlandson’s progress, however, the gaze was not specifically trained on the Indian landscape or the Indian peoples by the British imperial agent. Rather, it is a British man’s experiences as he negotiates his way through the political, physical, social and psychological landscapes of India which are represented. So far, it has been established that according to Rowlandson, Lord Moira’s bellicosity and slavish loyalty to an unworthy prince was the model for nabob ambition in India. It has also been determined that for

³⁶⁰ Susanne Hoeber; Lloyd I. Rudolph; and Mohan Singh Kanota Rudolph, ed. *Reversing the Gaze: Amar Singh's Diary: A Colonial Subject's Narrative of Imperial India* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2002).

³⁶¹ If it were merely an engagement with the beholder, Jacques Lacan’s psychoanalytic work locating the gaze at the moment when “the object looks back” would indeed be helpful, as having the object return the gaze reminds the viewer of his lack (or that the symbolic order is divided from materiality only by a fragile border) resulting in a destabilisation of the subjectivity of the viewer. Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, 105. See also McGowan’s work which shows how Lacan’s object takes into consideration your presence as a spectator. Todd McGowan, "Looking for the Gaze: Lacanian Film Theory and Its Vicissitudes," *Cinema Journal* 42, no. 3 (2003): 28-29.

³⁶² The collaborative team of Rowlandson and Combe had experience satirizing this genre, combining it with the desire to pursue the aesthetic of the picturesque in the first of what would be a trilogy of books featuring Doctor Syntax. William Combe and Thomas Rowlandson, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax, in Search of the Picturesque : A Poem* (London: Ackermann, 1813).

Rowlandson, the embodied identity of the nabob was a synecdoche for an imperial project that could not be distanced from the metropole, despite attempts to do so. Significantly, criticism in *The Grand Master* does not derive from a subjugated stance (despite our imaginings of Rowlandson as a down-trodden, insolvent artist). As such, Rowlandson's subject is the metropole represented from the metropole, despite the distant settings.

Qui Hi is a nabob, a constructed archetypal figure who is acting out a formulaic narrative of imprudence and folly in India; therefore, the character has already, in a sense, internalized the way in which his audience views him. Furthermore, the events of Qui Hi's life are processed into a familiar form of the progress, thereby enabling audiences to recognize, appropriate and even predict his experiences. Rowlandson's departure from the genre of travel writing and from the 'imperial gaze' is that the disciplined surveillance he deploys is an inspection that occurs from within the capital that challenges the right of his subject to dominate outside of his country. Vital to note in this exercise of tracking gazes is the position of the beholder who views, yet is also being viewed through Rowlandson's perspective. Rowlandson, at once, invites his audiences to view the progress of the nabob, yet also implicates them as the source of Qui Hi's excesses. This form of gazing is counter-hegemonic, anti-imperialist, self-reflexive and metropolitan in both its source and its target. Rowlandson is unseen, yet views his subjects through his 'metropolitan gaze'.

The risk of offering the 'metropolitan gaze' as a method to grasp the significance of Rowlandson's critical perspective of empire is adding yet one

more gaze to track in an already gaze-concentrated discipline. Nevertheless, the value of taking the self-reflexive quality of graphic satire to a more intense theoretical level embodied in the ‘metropolitan gaze’ is to emphasize how resistance to empire occurred from *within* the so called hegemonic body as well as from *without*. This complicates the comprehensive nature of what Ranajit Guha termed the “hegemonic urge” expressed through “universality”, a method aspirant rulers implemented to present its interests as common interest.³⁶³ The hypothetical binaries of East/West, metropole/colony, Britain/India do not leave room for self-reflexive resistance. Furthermore, the gazes employed in colonial histories are monolithic in nature and, to some degree, depend on these binaries. In *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson obscured the goal of hegemony in India by presenting the reality of a resistant view in the metropole, while the subject of Rowlandson’s ‘metropolitan gaze’—the imperial project as embodied in the nabob—is represented as ill.

Illness suffered by agents of the colonial enterprise was a landmark experience which received close and consistent scrutiny from the metropole.³⁶⁴ The sources indicate a resounding lack of sympathy towards British men for their suffering, even while they furthered the goals of empire. This is puzzling for, at this time, most British citizens (Rowlandson included) would have had known

³⁶³ Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*.

³⁶⁴ *The Grand Master*, published in 1816 predated the 1817 cholera epidemic in India which would intensify metropolitan scrutiny of imperial illness and the anxiety it inspired.

someone who had been invalidated or had died as an effect of colonialism.³⁶⁵ As

Thomas De Quincey put it:

[E]verybody has an Indian uncle. Generally such a person is “rather yellow, rather yellow” (to quote Canning versus Lord Durham); that is the chief fault with his physics; but, as to his morals, he is universally a man of princely aspirations and habits. He is not always so orientally rich as he is reputed but he is always orientally munificent.³⁶⁶

Graphic satire is an important source for censure of imperial disease and many pieces suggested that the subject was responsible for his own illness. Reproaches of this type also appeared in paternalistically toned medical texts, newspapers and guides to India which endeavoured to curb the habits of Company men that led to disease: “those allurements to intoxication and pleasure”, one concerned resident of Diamond Point in the East Indies wrote, “...which neither sickness nor experiences will ever prevent our [men] from enjoying.”³⁶⁷ Fluxes, scurvies, fevers, intermittent fevers, bilious obstructions, rheumatism, bowel inflammation, bilious colics and venereal diseases plagued Company servants and, if the disease did not ultimately end their lives, treatments of bleeding, ipecacuanha, and camphor, often did little to ease misery.³⁶⁸ Tight corsets, meat dishes, Madeira and excessive dancing to London ditties were implicated in the

³⁶⁵ Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 14.

³⁶⁶ Thomas De Quincey, *The Collected Writings*, ed. David Masson (London: A & C Black Soho Square, 1897), 22.

³⁶⁷ "Extract of a Letter from Diamond Point, in the East Indies, Sept. 28, 1786," *World and Fashionable Advertiser*, Thursday, August 9, 1787.

³⁶⁸ Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India*. 101.

nabob's poor health in India, yet resistance to native customs of dealing with disease was oddly encouraged.³⁶⁹

Concurrent to the dearth of compassion and the attribution of blame was the emergence of a melancholic, even martyrial approach to Anglo-Indians whose ultimate sacrifice to empire would soon be represented in memorial sculpture in both Britain and India. This phenomenon certainly indicates the shift in self-conception of the British in India from what Barbara Groseclose terms "deferential visitor to lordly ruler".³⁷⁰ Yet, commemorative monuments also signify Anglo-Indian resistance to metropolitan intolerance to colonial disease and its effects, an intolerance which signified the "anxiety of empire".³⁷¹

Rowlandson, clearly not afraid to mix metaphors, addresses both approaches to the sick nabob in *The Grand Master*—the nabob culpable for his own illness and the Anglo-Indian who heroically perishes for the sake of empire. I argue that this combining of perspectives on imperial illness results from an emerging shift in the figurative utility of the nabob. Once vilified for driving up prices and infiltrating political spheres through ill-gotten wealth, nabobs were becoming convenient romantic figures that enabled writers to satisfy their audiences' Eastern curiosity in a domestic setting (not to mention the plot value of wealthy, available suitors for poor, unmarried protagonists). For example, Jane

³⁶⁹ Natasha Eaton, "Excess in the City?: The Consumption of Imported Prints in Colonial Calcutta, C. 1780-C.1795," *Journal of Material Culture* 8, no. 45 (2003): 52.

³⁷⁰ Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj*, 79.

³⁷¹ 'Anxiety' is used here in the inclusive sense suggested by Nigel Leask which refers to the breadth of reactions to the East, from apprehension to intense yearning, often represented as a fear of contagion. This is based on Sara Suleri's 'anxiety of empire' which similarly encompasses a range of behaviours speaking to an insecure sense of imperial desire. Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, 1.

Austen's Colonel Brandon from *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) was a character who was not harshly judged on the source of his wealth, but glorified as a romantic figure who gained valuable knowledge through Eastern adventures.³⁷² The character of Marianne unkindly suggested that Brandon's information was restricted to details about a hot climate and mosquitoes while Willoughby wondered if "his observations may have extended to the existence of nabobs, gold mohrs, and palanquins".³⁷³ Nevertheless, it is Elinor's august reason over reactive prejudice that proves more persuasive:

He has seen a great deal of the world; has been abroad, has read, and has a thinking mind. I have found him capable of giving me much information on various subjects; and he has always answered my inquiries with readiness of good-breeding and good nature.³⁷⁴

The protagonist in Matthew Gregory (Monk) Lewis's (1775-1818) 1799 play entitled *The East Indian*, similarly departs from the nabob stereotype.³⁷⁵ He is an unconventional yet kind-hearted man and, although fabulously wealthy, has gentlemanly manners. Like the kindly title character of *The East Indian*, Elinor was free to admire Brandon because, as evidenced by emerging medical discourse of the early nineteenth century, the boundaries of the British body were becoming increasingly fixed and consequently less vulnerable to virulent foreign

³⁷² Robert Travers sees this shift from the "marginal frontiersman of despotic tendencies" to the "respectable or even heroic imperial officer" occurring by 1800; however, as we can see from the dialogue between Marianne, Willoughby and Elinor, and the nabob's progress in *The Grand Master*, this shift is still being negotiated. Travers, "Death and the Nabob", 121.

³⁷³ Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility (1811)*, Wordsworth Classics (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1992), 34. For a discussion of the tension between the "darker story about [colonial] exploits" and the "outward show of civility" that coexist in the fictional nabob, see Anindyo Roy, *Civility and Empire: Literature and Culture in British India, 1822-1922*, Routledge Research in Postcolonial Literatures (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 12.

³⁷⁴ Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 33.

³⁷⁵ Juneja, "The Native and the Nabob", 184, M. G. (Matthew Gregory) Lewis, *The Life and Correspondence of M.G. Lewis: With Many Pieces in Prose and Verse Never before Published*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn, 1839).

influence.³⁷⁶ Colonial agents who got sick were beginning to be viewed as victims of tropical illness as opposed to figures who recklessly appropriated Eastern excesses and therefore deserved the illness that resulted. The notion of a liminal, self-interested figure who could take on the physical and psychological characteristics of the East was dying; thus, the nabob's British body was being invited back into the body of the metropole. As such, nabobs were able to shed the reputation of being carriers of Eastern corruption and became simply British men abroad.³⁷⁷ In *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*, Rowlandson pays tribute to the dying nabob, a figure who once embodied a diseased imperial project, but was quickly becoming a martyr of the British Empire.

II. Colonial/Medical Discourse

When *The Grand Master* was published, the debate surrounding the ability of the European body to cope with 'tropical' climates was comprised of two distinct views: the first advanced a belief that the body was adaptable to any situation while the second took a more cynical position, positing that the impact

³⁷⁶ For a full length study on the rise of "climactic determinism" which the author locates in the early moments of the nineteenth century, see Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The notion of defined, racial margins delineated by fixed boundaries of the body is also significant to the development of strategies for mental health in India. Waltraud Ernst, "Colonial Policies, Racial Politics and the Development of Psychiatric Institutions in Early Nineteenth-Century British India," in *Race, Science and Medicine, 1700-1960*, ed. Waltraud and Bernard Harris Ernst (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 81.

³⁷⁷ The notion of Eastern illnesses infiltrating the metropole was still being addressed in literature, exemplified by Eliza Fenwick's Gothic novel entitled *Secresy, or the Ruin on the Rock* of 1795; however, in this case it is an East Indian woman who travels to England in search of her son and dies of a fever that threatens to infect the British characters. For the author's use of the reactions to imperial illness to reveal the true nature of her characters, see Mercy Cannon, "Hygienic Motherhood: Domestic Medicine and Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 20, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 545-46.

of tropical illnesses could be minimized but never completely eliminated.³⁷⁸ A proponent of the first position, John Clarke (bap.1744-1805), surgeon of the Talbot Indiaman and author of the eight volume work, *Observations on the diseases in Long Voyages to hot Countries, and particularly on those which prevail in the East-Indies* (1773), argued that discipline and an attentiveness to excess were the key components for maintaining health in India.³⁷⁹ Disease, he wrote, was not an “inevitable evil” but “the consequence of inattention and mismanagement.”³⁸⁰ Similarly, Charles Curtis (1781-1807) insisted that immunity to illnesses enjoyed by indigenous Indians was directly related to diet and that “false bravado, and the exhibition of a generous contempt for what they reckon the luxurious and effeminate practices of the country” was the cause of European illness.³⁸¹ Challenging this approach, Royal Navy surgeon James Johnson (1775-1845) and author of *The Influence of Tropical Climates...* argued that the European body would “gradually degenerate”, not only in a physical sense, but morality would likewise disintegrate as the climate caused “apathy”.³⁸² He wrote:

³⁷⁸ For an excellent summary of this debate and the further widening of the gap between early colonial attempts to acclimatise and the distancing of the European body from the indigenous body which characterized Victorian approaches to colonial health, see Mark Harrison, “The Tender Frame of Man”: Disease, Climate, and Racial Difference in India and the West Indies, 1760-1860,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 70, no. 1 (1996): 79.

³⁷⁹ John Clark, *Observations on the Diseases in Long Voyages to Hot Countries: And Particularly on Those Which Prevail in the East Indies* (London: Printed for D. Wilson and G. Nicol, 1773).

³⁸⁰ As quoted in Harrison, “The Tender Frame of Man”, 75.

³⁸¹ Charles Curtis, *An Account of the Diseases of India: As They Appeared in the English Fleet, and in the Naval Hospital at Madras, in 1782-83; with Observations on Ulcers, and the Hospital Sores of That Country* (Edinburgh: W. Laing, 1807), xvi. Also quoted in Harrison, “The Tender Frame of Man”, 77.

³⁸² James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates, More Especially the Climate of India, on European Constitutions; the Principal Effects and Diseases Thereby Induced, Their Prevention or Removal, and the Means of Preserving Health in Hot Climates, Rendered Obvious to Europeans of Every Capacity. An Essay* (1813) (London: J. Callow, Medical Bookseller, 1815), 3-4, 479. Johnson was not the first to believe that in leaving the temperate climate, emigrants would somehow lose their character. Karen Ordahl Kupperman has located a similar debate in England in the sixteenth century where travellers feared that “in leaving England they might be leaving

“the tender frame of man, is incapable of sustaining that degree of exposure to the whole range of causes and effects incident to, or arising from vicissitude of climate (...).”³⁸³ Mark Harrison has argued that the cynical approach to European adaptation to the Indian climate was a result of increasingly demarcated racial boundaries and that acclimatisation undermined distinctions between “rulers and ruled”.³⁸⁴ This sceptical approach is efficiently captured in the character Althea’s description of “those climates where the soil, manured with blood, seems to produce only disease and death” in Charlotte Smith’s *Marchmont* (1796).³⁸⁵

Notably, representations of nabobs in graphic satire from this period do not reflect opposing discourses and instead imply that nabobs were simultaneously guilty of physical mismanagement and that prolonged exposure to India resulted in physical and moral pathology.³⁸⁶ It is not immediately clear why artists chose not to align themselves with a particular view, but it seems to me significant that efforts to exalt the European body over ‘other’ bodies are ignored in the satirical representations of the nabob, suggesting that the self-reflexive, indeed self-critical character of satire made these distinctions difficult.

Possibly the most succinct early example of how the treatment of sick nabobs in graphic satire bridged the divergent medical discourses is Gillray’s *The*

their Englishness also”. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Series* 41, no. 2 (April 1984): 215.

³⁸³ As quoted in Harrison, "The Tender Frame of Man", 80. Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 2

³⁸⁴ Harrison, "The Tender Frame of Man", 91.

³⁸⁵ Charlotte Turner Smith, *Marchmont: A Novel*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (London: Sampson Low, 1796), 58.

³⁸⁶ These two medical approaches to illness in India is represented by the 1799 creation of a fund by the Directors of the East India Company which supported employees in cases of “sickness, lameness, or blindness, provided such sickness, &c. has not been occasioned by improper conduct.” “East India House,” *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, Monday 2 September 1799. Advertisement also appeared in , *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, Monday, September 2, 1799 and *True Briton*, Thursday, September 5, 1799.

Nabob Rumbled or, A Lord Advocates Amusement (1783) mentioned briefly in the previous chapter (Figure 64). Here, Sir Thomas Rumbold (1736-1791) is depicted vomiting guineas into a large pot while being supported by his son. In the print, Captain William Richard Rumbold (1760-1786) worries for his father's wellbeing, as Rumbold's purging has apparently been going on for some time—the pot, embellished with a Scottish thistle, is nearly full: “*Ah! These dam'd Scotch Pills will kill poor Dad*”.³⁸⁷ Also figured is Lord Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland who is less concerned about the ultimate repercussions of poor health and, instead, concentrates on the monetary rewards of Rumbold's disease: “*I weel tak them to Lochabar and wash them in the Brook*”.

Sir Robert Clive's *aide-de-camp* at Plassey, Rumbold had learned about the opportunities to build a fortune in India early in life.³⁸⁸ His father made two fortune-building trips to India to repair the damage gambling had done to the Rumbold family finances and provided the connections which enabled his son to enter the Company as a writer in 1752. Rumbold ascended to the position of revenue collector in the Bengal civil service in the early 1760s and began to take advantage of the opportunities for private trade and ‘gifts’ from thankful *nawabs* assisted in their business by Company men. Following a tour of Bihar with Indian administrator Shitab Rai, for example, Rumbold was rewarded “in consideration of the additional trouble and attention he has as a Supravisor [sic] of

³⁸⁷ Likely the well-known Anderson's Scots Pills, a cathartic which had been produced from ca. 1635 until the early twentieth century. For other images that feature “Scotch Pills” see Kate and Nigel Tallis Arnold-Forster, *The Bruising Apothecary: Images of Pharmacy and Medicine in Caricature* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 1989).

³⁸⁸ Willem G. J. Kuiters, “Rumbold, Sir Thomas,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-07).

the Bahar collections".³⁸⁹ The gratuity was proffered as a reward for Rumbold's estimates for land taxes that could be collected in the eastern state. In deals like this, Rumbold accumulated a personal fortune worth between £200,000 and £300,000, a sum that by present standards would total between £24,184,000 and £36,276,000.³⁹⁰ Rumbold, in stereotypical nabob fashion, returned to England, bought a seat in parliament, a chair on the East India Company Board of Directors and commissioned a Palladian style house at Woodhall Park in Hertfordshire. Nevertheless, in order to secure his investments he had to return to India in a position of power. Rumbold's ambition was eventually satisfied and he became Governor of Madras in 1778. Subsequent successful military campaigns waged on behalf of the Company gave Rumbold his next ambition for "some mark of distinction from the Crown" and he was made a baronet in 1779.³⁹¹

All the same, Rumbold's arrogance in a political climate of reform would quickly cause him financial trouble and bring him political attention. Looking forward to a triumphant homecoming and to a recovery from poor health, Rumbold resigned his Company post and set out for England on 6 April 1781. Three months later, Hydar Ali, the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom of Mysore and his allies invaded the Carnatic region of southern India.³⁹² In his *Recollections and Reflections*, Member of the House of Commons, John Nicholls (c.1745-1832) neatly summarized the basis for the conflict:

³⁸⁹ As quoted in *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ Patsy Richards, "Inflation: The Value of the Pound 1750-2001," in *Economic Policy & Statistics Section* (London: House of Commons Library, 2002), 19.

³⁹¹ Kuiters, "Rumbold, Sir Thomas."

³⁹² *Ibid.*

Hyder Ali had refused to the Madras government, permission for their troops to pass over a part of his territory, for the purpose of putting Mohammed Ali in possession of this province. In defiance of this refusal, they marched their troops through his dominions. The invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, was the fatal consequence of this measure.³⁹³

The directors of the Company in London deliberated on these actions, adding to them Rumbold's alleged abandonment of his post (precipitated by ill-health).

Despite the fact that he had resigned his position before leaving India, the directors "passed a vote of dismission" on Rumbold.³⁹⁴ His behaviour was deemed legally actionable and Lord Henry Dundas moved for a bill of 'pains and penalties' which prohibited Rumbold from leaving England—bail was set at colossal £100,000. However, providing evidence of Rumbold's impropriety proved too difficult and the charges were soon dropped. Based on the reaction of the press, Rumbold's wealth was thought to have influenced the withdrawal of the charges:

What credit can be given to a former administration, for the part they acted in pursuing Sir Thomas Rumbold with every rigour, even to the stoppage of his receipts from the public funds, admitting him only to receive a certain stipend from his fortune ; yet, by a secret charm, Sir Thomas so proved his *innocence* to his judges, that without the trouble of investigating his conduct further, they pronounced him a *persecuted* man; and even Mr. Dundas and Mr. Burke were perfectly satisfied that the charges alleged against him were *false* and *malicious*.—*Credat Judas*.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ John Nicholls, *Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political: As Connected with Public Affairs, During the Reign of George III*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), 221.

³⁹⁴ Thomas Sir Rumbold, *A Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock from Sir Thomas Rumbold* (London: n.p., 1781), 4.

³⁹⁵ "Daily Register," *The Times*, September 7, 1785, 2. Signature line is a diminution of "Credat Judaeus Apella, non ego", which is derived from Horace and is translated as "Let the Jew Apella believe it; not I". Roughly, this means, "Tell it to someone who will believe it, not me."

Moreover, in an article regarding taxes on gloves in *The Times*, Dundas and Rumbold were implicated as a team of bandits. The writer suggested gloves would somehow impede their ability to steal:

Ministry will lose by the abolition ... of the present taxes—that on gloves for instance:—Mr. Dundas certainly never wears any. This custom took its rise about the time of Sir Thomas Rumbold. *Gloves* certainly confine the use of the *fingers*.³⁹⁶

Gillray's print makes direct reference to Dundas' legal charges in the "sureties", or bail bonds, shackled to Rumbold's ankles while the security bond is honoured through the product of Rumbold's agonistic heaves. In a significant compositional decision, Gillray sets this scene in India, though Rumbold was barred from leaving England. The palm trees that punctuate the horizon signal an exotic landscape, a setting confirmed by the aforementioned nabob riding his foreign mount atop a "roupees"-fashioned saddle. The simulated Indian locale frames Rumbold's abjection of a dubiously won fortune, indicating that Gillray implicated India as the source of Rumbold's illness, a disease of Eastern excess which even infected Rumbold's prosecutor with avarice. By representing Rumbold vomiting, Gillray was also clearly alluding to the very real physical challenges nabobs faced in India. Those who survived diseases would often have lingering and, in some cases, visible side effects of their weakened state in yellow skin, liver pain and biliousness.³⁹⁷ Macaulay's description of a nabob having 'an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart' bears repeating, for the representation of nabobs in late eighteenth-century literature

³⁹⁶ *The Times*, January 25, 1787, 2.

³⁹⁷ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 13.

similarly reveals the convention of associating nabobs with disease.³⁹⁸ A scene in Samuel Foote's *The Nabob*, for example, illustrates how returned nabobs became self-conscious about the observable effects of liver disease as hepatitis became synonymous with ill-gotten wealth:

MITE: (...) Well, Mrs Crocus, let us see what you have brought me. Your last bouquet was as big as a broom, with a tulip strutting up like a magistrate's mace, and, besides, made me look like a devil.

CROCUS: I hope your honour could find no fault with the flowers. It is true, the polyanthuses were a little pinched by the easterly winds, but for pip, colour, and eye, I defy the whole parish of Fulham to match them.

MITE: Perhaps not, but it's not the flowers, but the mixture, I blame. Why, here now, Mrs Crocus, one should think you were out of your senses, to cram in this clump of jonquils.

CROCUS: I thought your honour was fond of their smell.

MITE: Damn their smell! It is the colour I talk of. You know my complexion has been tinged by the East, and you bring me here a blaze of yellow, that gives me the jaundice. Look! Do you see here, what a fine figure I cut? You might as well have tied me to a bundle of sun-flowers.³⁹⁹

Rumbold's suffering in Gillray's print exemplifies symbolic references to contagion and disease created from the physical realities and the correlative assumptions which treated nabobs as characters morally and psychologically incapacitated by the East.⁴⁰⁰ Rumbold is rendered with his back to the beholder, shielding his face in shame while his son, who died shortly after this image was engraved, makes futile attempts at comfort. Rumbold is not simply suffering

³⁹⁸ For a discussion about the representation of nabobs as sick in literature, see Juneja, "The Native and the Nabob", 183-98.

³⁹⁹ Foote, "The Nabob: A Comedy in Three Acts (1772)", 95.

⁴⁰⁰ Juneja, "The Native and the Nabob", 184.

from the biliousness of an avoidable liver complaint, but is afflicted with a pathogen from over-exposure to India. Here combined is the nabob culpable for his own illness and suffering from contact with the contagions of the East.

The nabob's poor health is also represented in Rowlandson's *A Bengal's Remedy for the Bile* which uses colonial illness in India as a way to emphasize the British reluctance to appropriate indigenous techniques to mitigate symptoms of tropical disease.⁴⁰¹ Rowlandson's central figure has selectively adopted icons of the East with his curled-toed, Persian-styled shoes and *hookah*, but has stubbornly clung to his European-style suit which would do little to relieve the griffin from the heat or humidity. The striped breeches further identify him as a fop, echoing an earlier representation of a nabob in Matthew Darly's *THE ORIENTAL MACARONI* of 1773, who adopts Continental fashions but refuses to dress in a manner more conducive to health (Figure 72).⁴⁰²

Early British settlers in India had adopted the loose-fitting garments worn by Indians, a point that was defended and even celebrated by Company men who had firsthand knowledge of the challenging Indian climate. Sir Joshua Reynolds' neighbour and friend, Captain John Foote, for example, chose to commemorate his associations with the East by posing for his three-quarter length portrait of 1761 wearing an elaborate Indian costume of white, natural cotton embroidered with silks and flattened silver-gilt (Figure 73). The ensemble, which has

⁴⁰¹ Before 1800, British men frequently consulted local Indian physicians, in part because few European doctors were available, but also because of their acquaintance with local diseases. See David Arnold, "Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire," in *Imperial Medicine*, ed. David Arnold (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 11.

⁴⁰² The symbolic function of the European suit, worn to combat "cultural miscegenation" was so powerful that even when a British gentleman ate dinner alone at home, the suit was worn for the benefit of his servants. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 34.

survived, consists of a *jama*, or full-length surcoat with an accompanying *patka*, or waist sash embellished with intricate floral patterns and a deep, golden fringe.⁴⁰³ Captain Foote is magnificent, proudly wearing a shimmering white turban as he looks out beyond the viewers' plane.⁴⁰⁴ The artist's attention to surface detail and the subject's noble pose speaks volumes about Foote's affection for his Indian experience and although the painting suffered under a colour mixer's blunder, making a blue sky turn green, it was reputed to be one of Reynolds' favourite commissions.⁴⁰⁵ Significantly, the celebration of Indian experiences with native apparel faded as the convention of Indian dress became closely associated with the satirical response to the nabob, exemplified by the iconic representation of Warren Hastings during his Impeachment Trial wearing a similar costume topped by an enormous turban (Figure 8).

Despite the 'significant sneers' of the satirical associations, Captain Williamson defended the adoption of native customs by British men:

We, therefore, must coincide with the habits of the natives, to a certain extent, if we mean to retain health, or to acquire comfort. Such, indeed, should, in every country, be held in view: for, however absurd many practices may at first appear, it will ordinarily result that necessity was their parent. I do not mean to say that we should imitate, much less adopt, without discrimination, all we see; but it may be considered an axiom, that, by taking the general outline of indigenous customs for our guide, if we err, it will be on the safe side. Nothing can be more preposterous than the significant sneers of gentlemen on their first arrival in India; meaning, thereby, to ridicule, or to despise, what they consider effeminacy, or luxury.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ This costume, along with the portrait, is currently in the York City Art Gallery collection, York, United Kingdom.

⁴⁰⁴ David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), 654.

⁴⁰⁵ C.A. Bayly, ed. *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990), 110.

⁴⁰⁶ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 2.

Hookah smoking, inappropriate dress, and excessive consumption of alcohol to relieve symptoms of gastric upset show how behaviours of British men in India were identified as causes of disease, which was considered the chief obstacle to empire.⁴⁰⁷ When viewed in this embodied sense, it becomes clear that Gillray and Rowlandson argued that nabobs who neglected to take care of their health, also neglected the health of the empire.

All the same, there were pathogens that a British man could scarcely avoid. In MISERIES IN INDIA, found between pages 140 and 141 of “Canto V” of *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson takes leave from Qui Hi’s progress for a moment in order to address the environmental issues which plagued even the most well behaved imperial agent (Figure 74). A moustached British figure is chased from his marital bed by enormous biting insects. Despite the efforts of her servant, his bare-breasted wife—in what contemporaries could have described as a “Fuselian” or “Fusilesque” pose—has succumbed to the vicious swarm which has torn through her bed curtains, and swooned like a character in a gothic romance (Figure 75).⁴⁰⁸ This image addresses the “unmanageable” ailments Johnson believed one had little defence against, like “*Lichen tropicus*” or prickly heat, “a very troublesome visitor, which few Europeans escape”.⁴⁰⁹ The idea of India as a site of malevolence helps to distance the susceptible European body of the

⁴⁰⁷ Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease*, 8.

⁴⁰⁸ A discussion of Fuseli’s “fantastic representation” which I suggest Rowlandson’s image echoes is found in Martin Myrone, “Henry Fuseli and Gothic Spectacle,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2007): 292.

⁴⁰⁹ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates, More Especially the Climate of India, on European Constitutions; the Principal Effects and Diseases Thereby Induced, Their Prevention or Removal, and the Means of Preserving Health in Hot Climates, Rendered Obvious to Europeans of Every Capacity. An Essay* (1813). 25-26.

metropole from what were perceived as the unavoidable pathogens of the East, agents of disease to which indigenous bodies were immune. Therefore, Rowlandson's hitherto unknown character in *The Grand Master*, who madly scratches his knee, illustrates that these 'miseries' could (and likely will) affect any European body in India regardless of one's behaviour.

In a bizarre irony, the sharpened distinctions between races created by disease not only illustrated the shift in perception that humans were, above all, biological beings as opposed to social creatures, but it also helped to create the conviction that Europeans were somehow superior to their Indian subjects.⁴¹⁰ Further explained by David Arnold, the establishment of 'tropical medicine' as a discipline made credible the concept of a "primitive and dangerous environment in contradistinction to an increasingly safe and sanitised temperate world."⁴¹¹ Hence, susceptibility to tropical diseases was spun to justify European pre-eminence. As discussed in Chapter 2, Rowlandson's *A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL* portrays vomiting nabobs, but complicates emergent notions of a superior British body by invoking the miseries an imperial agent will experience long before a diagnosis of 'tropical disease' makes sense. Moreover, a comparison between the reclined figures in *A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL* and *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT* exposes a resonance that cannot be ignored (Figure 44). A passenger on the bottom bunk is being used as a vomit pail for a fellow traveller in the hammock above. The recumbent pose foreshadows Qui Hi's final throes. In both cases Rowlandson challenges the increasingly fixed boundaries of racial

⁴¹⁰ Harrison, "The Tender Frame of Man", 91.

⁴¹¹ Arnold, "Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire", 7.

distinctions justified through tropical disease with his ‘metropolitan gaze’, a criticism that would continue in representations of nabobs in graphic satire into the 1820s. For instance, in *HOT QUARTERS FOR THE TENTH! OR A CURIOSITY FOR INDIA*, which may have been engraved by Charles Williams (1776?-1830) for John Fairburn’s firm in 1824, criticism of supposed British physical superiority is mediated by a comical portrayal of an overdressed officer of the Tenth Hussars, who tiptoes over India, both to minimize his contact with the land and protect his feet from the hot earth (Figure 76).⁴¹² He exclaims:

What an infernal climate to send a Gentleman to— demme it is calculated for nothing but Monkeys and Salamanders—every thing confounded flat—Women black as the Devil—and nothing but vild [sic] Indians and Colonists to associate with—Tenth dont like it!— I think I have got the d—nd liver complaint already.

Although the artist makes a direct correlation between the native man climbing a tree and the monkey he follows in the right background, the majority of the image stands as a counter narrative to emerging ideas of British physical pre-eminence. In response to the appearance of the officer, the native inhabitants of India (quite rightly) look fearfully upon the ‘wild man from the Woods’ while the Anglo-Indian contingent sees the British soldier as a novelty worth adding to a menagerie. Meanwhile, the Hussar, whose spurs and bowed legs show he is not accustomed to being off a horse, views his surroundings as an equivalent to hell.

⁴¹² The Tenth Hussars, which fought in the Peninsula theatre in the Napoleonic wars, did not serve in India as such, but in 1814 some officers of the 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons (Hussars) were transferred to cavalry regiments in India. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*. Vol. 10, 421.

Significantly, the landmark experience for the Hussar is the ‘d—nd liver complaint’, hepatitis described by Johnson as the “endemic of India”.⁴¹³

A useful source at this point is Charles E. Rosenberg’s work on how disease is ‘framed’ in a particular socio-historical moment.⁴¹⁴ He writes that “disease definitions and hypothetical etiologies can serve as tools of social control, as labels for deviance, and as a rationale for the legitimation of status relationships.”⁴¹⁵ In this sense, the Hussar is attempting to emphasize his status over the natives (‘Indians and Colonists’) by calling attention to his once pristine health, now tainted by tropical disease. Interestingly, he is not a liminal figure like the nabob but retains his British body in order to represent the military goals of the metropole as opposed to the Company. This attempt at physical dissociation with colonial India is nevertheless thwarted by the artist in the emphasis he lays upon the officer being a silly figure, signified by a sartorial excess that even confuses the monkey who searches the Hussar’s headdress for a coconut.⁴¹⁶ The Hussar is the true subject of this satire, thus exposing two intriguing possibilities. The first is, like Rowlandson, other satirists were beginning to shift their attention away from the Company-derived nabob as the source of colonial folly and direct it towards the officious British soldier or civil

⁴¹³ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 251.

⁴¹⁴ Charles E. Rosenberg and Janet Lynne Golden, ed. *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xv-xvi. Also interesting, though less pertinent to this period, is Sander Gilman’s notion of how diseased people are viewed and the subsequent boundaries which are drawn between the healthy and the ill, “in an attempt to control the disorder and to distance ourselves from inevitable death”. Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to Aids* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 3.

⁴¹⁶ The emphasis on the Hussar’s uniform may also indicate a criticism of Napoleonic propaganda which used the military uniform to signal a controlled body, bound and protected from threats of Oriental effeminization, a theme which was subsequently satirized in caricatures of Napoleon. See Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Rumor, Contagion, and Colonization in Gros's Plague-Stricken of Jaffa (1804)," *Representations* 51(Summer 1995): 15-18.

servant who imagines himself to be, at once, superior to and at risk from Indians. The second possibility is that this image was intended for an audience of Anglo-Indians, fed up with being the target of imperial anxiety. In either case, illness suffered by the British body in India provided a justification for British men to withdraw from contact with any but the most unavoidable members of Indian society. Scholars of architecture looked to the neoclassicism of British neighbourhoods in Calcutta, for example, to emphasize the divisions between the so-called “black and white towns” while medical historians look at the “native reservoirs” of disease—the “bazaars, townships, slums and coolie lines”—to show motivation for withdrawal.⁴¹⁷ Whether it is attacking the physical pre-eminence of the British officer or an Anglo-Indian retaliation for imperial anxiety, what these two scenarios share is that the British were beginning to sense the consequences of having to think of Indians and Anglo-Indians as fellow British subjects. From an art historical perspective, this is a point that Rowlandson made quite efficiently through the juxtaposition of sick nabobs in *A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL* and *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*. Rowlandson replicated the figure of the reclined, suffering nabob—situating the first in such close proximity to the metropole and the second, firmly in the colony—so as to identify the source of imperial illness and to render futile metropolitan attempts at dissociation.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ Swati Chattopadhyay has argued convincingly that the reality of these seemingly distinct spheres of the city had considerably blurred borders on the ground, though conceptual divisions still held sway. Chattopadhyay, “Blurring Boundaries: The Limits Of “White Town” In Colonial Calcutta.” 154. See also Arnold, “Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire”, 8.

⁴¹⁸ One could argue that the English Channel is a liminal space and therefore set apart from the metropole, however, Rowlandson’s project challenged the location of the periphery establishing

Qui Hi's progress, from vigour and vitality to disease and death, was reproduced in *ADVENTURES OF THE TENTH!*, a streamlined, single-paged print created by J. Lewis Marks (1769?-1832) and published by E. King in 1824 (Figure 77). Likely inspired by *The Grand Master*, this print outlines a series of experiences comprising one version of the formulaic 'adventures', or progress, of a nabob. Disgraced in Ireland by unspecified transgressions, an officer of the Tenth Hussars is driven into the sea with his regiment where they board a ship to India. Once there, he adopts the posture and trappings of the Anglo-Indian: chair tilted back, feet on the table, the officer smokes a *hookah*. Immediately following his arrival, 'Symptoms of the Liver' shows the jaundiced, withered officer responding to his reflection: "*How wonderfully my fine Complexion is changed. I'm most infernally yellow I declare.*" 'The Last Scene' follows the officer's progress to the conclusion predicted by his young Indian servant: '*massa make die*'. In this print, the Hussar is no longer the representative European body claiming superiority over the inhabitants of India as was the case in *HOT QUARTERS FOR THE TENTH! OR A CURIOSITY FOR INDIA*. Here he is a criminal—charged with being "Untouched by European Wars"—whose sentence is set in motion by the metropole, symbolised by John Bull. India is being portrayed as a site of malevolence, a handy method of execution which can be deployed by a brutal metropole. What is vital to note is that Rowlandson's message—that imperial illness begins in Britain—has been retained. Disposing of the Tenth Hussars begins with domestic sea sickness that '*the climate of India will soon*

that the imperial project remains part of the metropolitan realm and, thus, encompasses the periphery.

finish ...'. Therefore, the malevolence hitherto associated with "the intemperature" of a tropical climate, springs from the "pure air" of the metropole.⁴¹⁹

In a climate where new arrivals rarely survived more than two monsoons, it is curious that the British would risk acquiring an empire fraught with discomfort in a setting where fatal illness loomed large.⁴²⁰ Characterised by a correspondent as a situation that "really calls aloud on humanity for redress", colonists lived in a condition of perpetual epidemiological crisis.⁴²¹ Illness therefore became a marker of the Anglo-Indian experience which often visually set them apart from their compatriots, a condition explained by Rev. William Tennant in his *Indian Recreations* (1803):

A sallow and livid complexion is so universal in Bengal, that when you behold a face of the roseate hue, you can pronounce that its owner is newly arrived, nearly with as much certainty as if you heard that part of his history from his own mouth. Even in the ordinary health of persons not supposed to be materially injured by the climate, they are capable of little exertion or fatigue; in the hot season of hardly any at all.⁴²²

Nevertheless, as Rowlandson reminds his audiences, illness could just as well have occurred in the metropole but, at home, one did not have the opportunity to

⁴¹⁹ James Lind, *An Essay on Diseases Incidental to Europeans in Hot Climates. With the Method of Preventing Their Fatal Consequences* (London: printed for J. Murray, 1792), 80.

⁴²⁰ Arnold suggests that the investment of lives made abandonment of empire in India unthinkable, providing another motivation for enduring in India. David Arnold, "Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 26, no. 4 (December 2004): 343.

⁴²¹ "Extract of a Letter from Diamond Point, in the East Indies, Sept. 28, 1786." Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease*, 9.

⁴²² Rev. William Tennant, *Indian Recreations: Consisting Chiefly of Strictures of the Domestic and Rural Economy of the Mahomedans & Hindoos*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (London: Printed by C. Stewart, 1803), 73.

“shake the pagoda tree”.⁴²³ As nineteenth-century distinctions between European and Indian bodies became more entrenched in structures of power, a reassertion of the metropole through quick institutionalisation in an appropriate asylum or a hasty return to Britain before white superiority could be questioned became methods for battling physical and psychological contagions of the East. This was a technique Sir Thomas Rumbold nearly got right but for his timing.⁴²⁴

Rowlandson’s depiction of Lord Moira squeezing the coconut in the frontispiece of *The Grand Master* is brought to mind where viewers are presented both with the lure of India and the subsequent and seemingly inevitable fall entailed by a tropical climate. Of immense significance to the representation of the nabob, with the physical and moral superiority claimed by medical discourse came the reconciliation of the British body of the nabob with the British body politic. An abjected, dissociated nabob would soon be replaced by a more sympathetic version of the Anglo-Indian, memorialised for his sacrifice to the goal of imperial authority in India, though forever lost to disease and death.

III. Melancholic Memorials to Imperial Martyrs

No monument points out the spot,
Where Qui Hi’s body’s left to rot.
But, reader, know that Qui Hi’s spirit,
Another body does inherit.⁴²⁵

⁴²³“Pagoda-tree: a mythical tree humorously supposed to produce *pagodas*, in this sense gold or silver coins formerly current in southern India; the expression *shake the pagoda-tree* meant to make a fortune in India under the East India Company.” “Pagoda,” in *A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, *Oxford Reference Online*, ed. Elizabeth Knowles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). This phrase is also used by Arnold, “Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire”, 9. The “Pagoda Lodge” was the name of the fictional family of the “Rapines”, returned nabobs from India, illustrating how pagoda was also used satirically. Mrs. Rice, *The Nabob: A Moral Tale* (London: Printed for J. Harris, 1807), 16.

⁴²⁴ Arnold, “Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire”, 8.

⁴²⁵ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 252.

Rowlandson's treatment of imperial illness complicated notions of Eastern excess by presenting a metropolitan origin to *tropical* disease. Nevertheless, A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL also recognized another form of imperial illness which inspired compassion from a cynical metropole accustomed to condemning the nabob for avarice, ill-gotten prosperity and socio-political ambition. Separated from his homeland with gloomy prospects for his very survival, Qui Hi is shown doubled over his trunk in profound sadness. The fiction of the nabob and the reality of the Anglo-Indian was becoming increasingly apparent to metropolitan critics. As the following discussion will reveal, Qui Hi's initial step upon his progress captured in A SCENE IN THE CHANNEL, illustrates the intensely personal and melancholic nature of the colonial project in India, a mission fraught with the reality of impending death in the service of commerce. In the mid-eighteenth century, civil Company servants died at a rate of 44 percent.⁴²⁶ By 1800, the average annual mortality rate for Europeans in Calcutta was 164.21 when the total population hovered at 5,000.⁴²⁷ Despite these improvements, Qui Hi's depression was valid as the mortality rate for British soldiers remained staggeringly high, requiring a steady supply of new recruits to maintain the Company's desired ratios of British officers to Indian soldiers.⁴²⁸ LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT realises Qui Hi's fear of permanent separation from his homeland, an

⁴²⁶ P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 219.

⁴²⁷ Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India*, 126-27.

⁴²⁸ Travers, "Death and the Nabob", 109-10. The percentage of civilian Company servants who died in India decreased from over 60 per cent for the first half of the eighteenth century to 44 per cent for those appointed between 1767 and 1765. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century*, 219.

image that represents metropolitan resistance to empire despite empire becoming *fait accompli*.

Post-colonial scholarship has productively examined methods by which subjected groups have resisted empire by intervening in hegemonic, colonial discourses through aesthetic practice.⁴²⁹ Yet examples of resistance to empire which derive from within the dominant, metropolitan centre are often not acknowledged as significant artistic practice or recognized as critical tools of self-reflection. A major exception is David V. Erdman's influential work on William Blake's (1757-1827) anti-war sentiments regarding 'The Great War for the Empire' which, more accurately, reflected a majority who viewed the King's economic embargos in America as arbitrary power.⁴³⁰ Notable is Erdman's positioning of graphic satire as a source of historical truth wherein imperial resistance is unearthed from anachronistic pro-imperial rhetoric. The majority of

⁴²⁹ One example is Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko MacLeod's examination of the 'inversion' of Orientalism by the 'Other'. They argue that the colonial discourse was 'available' to all interested parties and was reflected in aesthetic production which dealt with self-representation, expressions of cultural identities, political resistance and, significantly, influenced British culture more than previously thought. Julie F. Codell and Diane Sachko MacLeod, ed. *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (London: Ashgate 1998). Another example of resistance to colonial representations is Stuart Hall's work on Caribbean cinema where identity is considered as a positioning to be recognized and not an essence to be unearthed. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Elleke Boehmer furthermore considers the political and cultural exchanges between anti-imperialist leaders which took place in the late nineteenth century, challenging conventional understandings of resistance through the binary of a European colonial centre and a resistant periphery. She argues that a relevant, intertextual dynamic was at play between writers, suggesting that resistance can more accurately be located "between peripheries". Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the National, and the Postcolonial, 1890-1920: Resistance in Interaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.

⁴³⁰ David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet against Empire (a Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times)*, 3rd ed., Dover Books on History, Political and Social Science (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

prints which engaged with this issue portrayed England as a corrupt realm led by an mulish tyrant while America was represented as a land of virtue and liberty.⁴³¹ Rowlandson's criticism could therefore be framed within the confusion caused by the combined events of a supposedly secure, and clearly desired North American empire ending in defeat while an unplanned empire in India was burgeoning without clearly defined, or agreed upon, objectives.⁴³²

A fine example of how image and text in *The Grand Master* can reveal different ideas regarding the imperial condition in India, Combe's lament over the lack of notice paid to Qui Hi's death by the absence of a monument does not reflect the reality of colonial death in this period. Commissioned by families, fellow soldiers, congregations, the East India Company and even Indian royalty, monuments to departed Anglo-Indians occupied India.⁴³³ Indeed, British death monuments resourcefully turned an imperial liability of high mortality into a method to project British power onto the physical and political landscapes of

⁴³¹ Ibid., 4-6. For an excellent work which traces the anti-imperialist tradition in poetry from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, also inspired by Erdman's acknowledgment of metropolitan resistance to empire, see Karen O'Brien, "Poetry against Empire: Milton to Shelley," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 117 (2002): 269-96.

⁴³² For an assessment of the problems associated with the shift in the British empire in mid century as the empire failed in America, but *succeeded* in Asia, see P. J. Marshall, *'A Free Though Conquering People': Eighteenth-Century Britain and Its Empire* (London: Ashgate, 2003).

⁴³³ Post-colonial melancholy has also been productively investigated to help explain post-war challenges to British identity formed through imperialism. For a discussion about the "unresolved mourning" for its dominant position in world affairs and the challenges to notions of intrinsic superiority, see Alastair Davies and Alan Sinfield, *British Culture of the Postwar: An Introduction to Literature and Society, 1945-1999* (London: Routledge, 2000), 3. This "sullen English resentment and the seemingly permanent postwar crisis of national identity" is also discussed in Roger Luckhurst, "Literary London: Post-, Ex-, Trans-, Neo-?," *English Studies in Canada* 31, no. 2-3 (June/September 2005): 295. For an intriguing look at how post-colonial melancholy is interrogated in science fiction, see Rob Latham, "Biotic Invasions: Ecological Imperialism in New Wave Science Fiction," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 37, no. 2 (July 2007): 103-19.

India, giving the British a history in India that was both visible and sacred.⁴³⁴ In terms of imperial rhetoric, the function of death monuments was also to conceal “the evidence of mortal frailty”, as Matthew Craske put it, in order to divert attention from risky reality of the colonial project in India.⁴³⁵ Nevertheless, crucial to the understanding of imperial illness in this period is the conflation of disease with death by contemporary commentators, exemplified by the often quoted observations of Lucretia West, wife of Chief Justice of the King’s court, Sir Edward West:

I know not when I have been so shocked as I was last evening to have Mrs. Newnham’s death announced to me. She took Tiffen here last Thursday, had an attack of fever that night, expired last evening. Here people die one day, and are buried the next. Their furniture sold the third, and they are forgotten on the fourth.... Oh Lord! preserve my husband to me.⁴³⁶

It was not merely the rate, but the speed at which sick nabobs died which astonished the British both in India and at home. For example, one Company servant commented that “We have known instances of dining with a gentleman [at midday] and being invited to his burial before suppertime”.⁴³⁷ Moreover, West’s journal follows up on the death of her dinner guest with a single line, reading

⁴³⁴ Travers, "Death and the Nabob", 83-85. For the continuation of the strategy of sacred history as a justification of rule into the twentieth century, see Thomas R. Metcalf, "Monuments and Memorials: Lord Curzon's Creation of a Past for the Raj," in *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 153.

⁴³⁵ Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770*, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 4.

⁴³⁶ Frederic Dawtrey Drewitt, *Bombay in the Days of George IV: Memoirs of Sir Edward West, Chief Justice of the King's Court During Its Conflict with the East India Company, with Hitherto Unpublished Documents* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1907), 78. Excerpts also quoted in Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 1 and Margot C. Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, C. 1780-1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 1 (2006): 208.

⁴³⁷ As quoted in Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, 315.

“Mrs. Newnham’s English maid died last evening.”⁴³⁸ It is therefore not surprising to learn that following a monsoon season, British survivors would hold thanksgiving banquets to celebrate their endurance and that, two years after recording her thoughts on Anglo-Indian death in her journal, Lucretia West and her husband died of fever.⁴³⁹ The nabob, who returns to Britain with the spoils of bellicose activity thinly disguised as commercial undertakings, has been revealed to be an overblown fiction. The reality is that British men and women who ventured to India rarely returned.

The concept of a mournful, imperial melancholy has subsequently emerged as useful focus for unpacking imperial anxieties and analysing the construction of imperial identities.⁴⁴⁰ In *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*, Rowlandson illustrates his knowledge of the late Anglo-Indian, remembered by ritual and memorial sculpture, and evokes these visual conventions to cast his ‘metropolitan gaze’ on the increasingly martyrlly representations of the results of imperial illness.⁴⁴¹ Although it began as a public

⁴³⁸ Drewitt, *Bombay in the Days of George IV*, 78.

⁴³⁹ Maxine L. Berg, “West, Sir Edward (*bap.* 1782, *d.* 1828),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29079> (accessed December 5, 2009).

⁴⁴⁰ A great example which concentrates on the melancholic characteristics of imperial Spanish culture is Roger Bartra, “Arabs, Jews, and the Enigma of Spanish Imperial Melancholy,” *Discourse* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 64-72. For discussions which centre on British imperial melancholy, see John Kucich, *Imperial Masochism: British Fiction, Fantasy, and Social Class* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 4-17. See also the chapter entitled “Mourning and Melancholia” from Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 122-48. Arnold’s recent work on the identification of India with death is an important source though, despite the title, its evidence situates its focus firmly in the mid-century. Arnold, “Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856”.

⁴⁴¹ Matthew Craske has commented on the comparisons and the cooperation between graphic satire and monumental sculpture in the mid eighteenth century, arguing that satirists subverted the goal of commemorating the worthy by aggrandizing the subject in “inverse proportion to his moral authority.” Although I agree with him in principle, as the following discussion will show, I suggest that close scrutiny of Rowlandson’s satirical representation of commemorative sculpture

relations tool used by the East India Company to gain public support for their fiscal-military ventures, or to commemorate events which justified Company interference in the politics of India, memorial sculpture was soon adopted by individuals in Britain and India who began to view the East India Company, personally and nationalistically, as part of “our Indian possessions”.⁴⁴² Echoing this duality, the profound sadness of losing Company servants was articulated in a manner that was at once public and deeply personal.

Rowlandson’s portrayal of Qui Hi’s final moment bears remarkable resemblance to ecstatic deathbed sculpture found in Baroque treatments of memorial art. Nonetheless, this was neither the sole, nor the most proximate artistic source from which Rowlandson drew. The theme of death in the service of empire was a subset of English neoclassical history painting in the late eighteenth century and provided a Romantic, heroic archetype from which to model Qui Hi’s final appearance in *The Grand Master*.⁴⁴³ The chief goal of history painting in the late eighteenth century was to inspire the beholder’s

directs beholders quite sympathetically to the subject’s worthiness as a human being, despite flawed goals, decisions and outcomes in an ill-advised colonial project. In other words, satire had the flexibility to subvert the goals of subversion. Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, 25.
⁴⁴² In terms of the more public monuments, an example is the original Black Hole of Calcutta memorial, a monument erected by John Holwell for those Englishmen who died in while imprisoned by Siraj-ud-Daula, Nawab of Bengal in June of 1756. This event served as a justification for Robert Clive’s collusion with Mir Jafar, who joined forces at Plassey in 1757 and defeated the Nawab. For a discussion of this, and other public memorials, see Rebecca M. Brown, “Inscribing Colonial Monumentality: A Case Study of the 1763 Patna Massacre Memorial,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 1 (February 2006): 91-113. Great Britain Parliament, “House of Lords, Friday July, 16, the Earl of Lauderdale’s Protest against the Second Reading of the East India Company’s Charter Bill,” in *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time* (London: T.C. Hansard, 1813), 1220.

⁴⁴³ Links between melancholy and Romanticism have been made in a recent study which considers key issues of commodity culture and the sense of metaphoric (or indeed, literal) orphanhood. Although this discussion would have been all the richer by including a chapter on empire, it is still a relevant source for early nineteenth-century conceptions of melancholy. Guinn Batten, *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

noblest senses through the identification with an ideal subject. In his *Discourses*, a series of lectures delivered at the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds posited that the subject be in “some eminent instance of heroic action or heroic suffering... which powerfully strikes upon the public sympathy.”⁴⁴⁴ Death in the service of empire struck a poignant balance between the heroic and the tragic.

Benjamin West’s innovative employment of *Pietà* iconography to portray the valiant demise of a contemporary military hero in *The Death of General Wolfe* (1771)—exhibited at the Royal Academy the year before Rowlandson was admitted in 1772 and reproduced into the tens of thousands with engravings by John Hall in 1775 and William Woollet in 1776—would have been an important source for Rowlandson’s satirical take on imperial death (Figure 78).⁴⁴⁵ This “sacred parody” depicts a key moment in the Seven Years War—Wolfe expiring just as the imperial victory at the Battle of Quebec (1759) is achieved, implying that the sacrifice of his life made empire possible.⁴⁴⁶ Repurposed by John Singleton Copley, *The Death of Major Peirson, 6 January 1781* (1783) similarly centres around the sacrificial death of a contemporary military subject at the

⁴⁴⁴ Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourses (1769-1790)*, ed. Edward Gilpin Johnson (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1891), 100.

⁴⁴⁵ *Pietà* (pity) or Lamentation themes, devotional images representing the moment Christ is removed from the cross and is mourned by his mother, the Virgin Mary, frequently appeared in European painting and sculpture throughout from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Barbara Watts, "Pietà," in *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*.

⁴⁴⁶ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 130. For a cultural history of the significance of General Wolfe as the heroic symbol of British nationalism, see Alan McNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). A minor digression, Reynolds attempted to dissuade West from exhibiting this work as the contemporary scene ran contra to academic principles which espoused that subjects of the grand style derive from a deeper point in history and should not be too familiar. Notwithstanding his investment in academic rules, Reynolds was persuaded that West’s painting artfully balanced the grand style with a contemporary subject. Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 2 (October 1938): 116.

moment of imperial victory, this time over French troops at the Channel island of Jersey (Figure 79). Closely modelled after West's work, Robert Home's *The Death of Colonel Moorhouse at the Storming of the Pettah Gate of Bangalore* (1793) brings *Pietà* iconography to the context of colonial India (Figure 80).⁴⁴⁷ The painting depicts a pivotal moment in the Third Mysore War (1790-92) when Joseph Moorhouse was mortally wounded leading the assault that forced the enemy, Hydar Ali's son Tipu Sultan, back to his fortress at Seringapatam. Viewers were invited to identify with Moorhouse's bodily sacrifice, fully knowing that shortly after his death peace treaties were signed.⁴⁴⁸ In terms of the propagandistic function of this genre, the geographical foreignness of the subject's death indicates that imperial conflicts benefit the metropole without negative effect on the domestic front.⁴⁴⁹

Images from *The Grand Master* certainly illustrate satirical appropriations of the objectives and the methods of history painting, but Rowlandson's tribute to the dying nabob in *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT* critically engages with the artistic medium that extended the goals of history painting into the third

⁴⁴⁷ For an interesting discussion of art and 'intercoloniality' see Barbara Groseclose, "Death, Glory, Empire: Art," in *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, ed. Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (London: Ashgate, 1998), 189-201. Thirty years after completing *The Death of General Wolfe*, West reprised *Pietà* iconography in *The Death of Nelson* (1806), which portrayed the hero's demise on the deck of the *Victory* following the Battle of Trafalgar (1805) after sustaining a gunshot wound from a French sniper (Figure 81). An excellent example of neoclassical idealisation, Lord Nelson in fact died below decks.

⁴⁴⁸ "The Death of Colonel Moorhouse at the Storming of the Pettah Gate of Bangalore, 7 March 1791," (National Army Museum). An unfinished work by Johann Zoffany (1733-1810) entitled *The Death of Captain James Cook, 14 February 1779* also illustrates the interest in contemporary figures dying in distant and potentially colonial settings. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Greenwich Hospital Collection.

⁴⁴⁹ Philip Shaw, "Dead Soldiers: Suffering in British Military Art, 1783-1789," *Romanticism* 11, no. 1 (2005): 56-57. Early twentieth-century scholar Edgar Wind also discussed distant glory in West's work as a way to develop "a style of mitigated realism" which was simultaneously "actual and remote", creating an intermediary position from which artists could launch challenges to the academic hierarchy. Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting", 117.

dimension, a medium which was increasingly implemented “to celebrate British heroes”.⁴⁵⁰ In the spirit of a *Pietà*, Rowlandson depicts Qui Hi as a recumbent, funerary monument mourned by a maternal, grieving *bebee* in his own sacrificial offering to empire.⁴⁵¹ The material products of colonial death, created in Britain and sent to India, dominated the Indian landscape as funerary monuments became pervasive and in some cases overpowering architectural features of Anglo-Indian life.⁴⁵²

Nov. 1.[1809]—Returning last night from my evening’s drive, I passed the English burying-ground for the first time. There are many acres covered so thick with columns, urns, and obelisks, that there scarcely seems to be room for another ; it is like a city of the dead ; it extends on both sides of the road, and you see nothing beyond it ; and the greater number of those buried here are under five-and-twenty years of age! It is a painful reflection, yet one that forces itself upon the mind, to consider the number of young men cut off in the first two or three years residence in this climate. How many, accustomed in every trifling illness to the tender solicitude of parents, of brothers, and of sisters have died here alone, and been mourned by strangers! I do not know why, but it seems more sad to die in a foreign land than at home; and it is a superstition common to all, to wish their ashes to mingle with their native soil.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰I refer here to *THE MODERN PHAETON OR THE HUGELY IN DANGER AND MORE INCANTATIONS OR A JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR* which appropriate classical and biblical narratives and made a parody of the noble ideas these accounts were meant to convey. For a discussion of the dynamic between history painting and graphic satire, see Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, 28. As quoted in Sydney Smith, "Art. XIII.--Lectures on Sculpture. By John Flaxman, Esq. R.A. 8vo. London. 1829," in *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal: For October 1829-January 1830* (Edinburgh: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830), 232.

⁴⁵¹Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England*, 130. The inclusion of Goulaub's grief shows another example of *exempla virtutis* as a mourning widow in a monument represents the eighteenth-century British "ideal female conduct in response to grievous loss". David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1995), 35.

⁴⁵²There were over 170 civic monuments which had been exported from British workshops between 1800 and 1940; however, though significant, the number of personal monuments commissioned is as yet unknown. Mary Ann Steggles, *Statues of the Raj* (London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, 2000), 1.

⁴⁵³Maria (Lady Callcott) Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India (1812)*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh and London: Printed by George Ramsay and Company, For Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh and Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1813), 141.

Maria Graham, Lady Callcott's (1785-1842) observations set down in her *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812) points up two important issues regarding the deaths of would-be nabobs in India.⁴⁵⁴ Her endeavour, which on the face of it leaves the "thorny walk of politics or commercial speculation" to other writers, expresses a view that Empire in India was built upon the sacrifice of the lives of young men who had been cut off from their native soil in more than a physical sense.⁴⁵⁵ Secondly, despite these sacrifices, India remained a foreign land where young, British men died alone.⁴⁵⁶ Melancholic, martyrial portrayals of the inhabitants of the 'English burying-ground' would become the new perspective from which to view the Anglo-Indian. Nevertheless, in *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*, Rowlandson's 'metropolitan gaze' questioned the value of *exemplum virtutis* for Empire and suggested that death in distant settings would directly impact the metropole, despite remote heroic imaginings.⁴⁵⁷

A focus which would benefit from more scholarly attention, British memorial sculpture in India has inherent, physical challenges to the business of historical interpretation.⁴⁵⁸ Unlike portable artistic works from the colonial period

⁴⁵⁴ Evidently quite popular, Lady Callcott followed up *Journal of a Residence* with *Letters on India* the following year in order to satisfy "the curiosity concerning our oriental possessions". *Letters on India* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814), 1.

⁴⁵⁵ Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812), vi.

⁴⁵⁶ Though it falls outside the scope of this study, Alfred Neumeyer's suggestion of a connection between West's dying Wolfe and the *Dying Gaul* should be explored for imperial connotations. Alfred Neumeyer, "The Early Historical Paintings of Benjamin West" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 73, no. 427 (October 1938): 162-65.

⁴⁵⁷ For a discussion of artistic works representing examples of virtues in neoclassicism, see Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 50-106.

⁴⁵⁸ Along with Travers, the following authors represent the core of monumental sculpture studies in British colonial India: Brown, "Inscribing Colonial Monumentality: A Case Study of the 1763 Patna Massacre Memorial."; Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858*; ———, "Death,

which have been amassed and protected in British collections, sculpture's powerful symbolic function and its relationship with its physical context has often compromised its survival in post-colonial settings, a situation which inspired the creation of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA).⁴⁵⁹ Begun in 1976, the BACSA's mission is to care for derelict colonial cemeteries, abandoned due to the ambivalent meanings these heritage sites convey.⁴⁶⁰ Performing a double function of colonial ideology and personal bereavement *in situ*, colonial funerary sculpture was also an important commodity for British sculptors. Although there were many artists who were commissioned to produce memorials for domestic and Indian markets—Thomas Banks (1735-1805), William Tyler (*d* 1801), John Bacon the Elder (1740-1799), John Charles Rossi (1762-1839), Charles Manning (1776–1812), Charles Peart (1759–1798), Richard Westmacott (1775-1856), and later in the century, John Graham Lough (1798-1876), Francis Chantrey (1781 - 1841) and Henry Weekes (1807-1877), to name but a few—it is the funerary monuments of John Bacon the Younger (1777-1859) and John Flaxman (1755-1826) which exemplify the commercial, artistic, religious, and ideological significance of imperial memorial sculpture in the late

Glory, Empire: Art."; Joan Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); Mary Ann Steggle, "Evangelical Philosophy as Manifest in 18th Century British Sculpture Commissioned for Madras, South India Complete with Listings and Epitaphs" (Master's diss., University of Manitoba, 1990); Steggle, *Statues of the Raj*.

⁴⁵⁹ For a discussion of the motivations for conserving colonial-era European graveyards in India and how the members of the BACSA contributed to "Raj nostalgia" in the late twentieth century, see Elizabeth Buettner, "Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India," *History & Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006): 5-42.

⁴⁶⁰ The Park Street cemetery in the heart of the financial district in Calcutta, for example, is what Ashish Chadha calls a "monument of double death – the decaying remains of its inmates, and its own death, as it lies forgotten by both the present and the past." Ashish Chadha, "Ambivalent Heritage: Between Affect and Ideology in a Colonial Cemetery," *Journal of Material Culture* 11, no. 3 (2006): 339.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶¹ Their themes include praise for a subject's acquisition of Asian knowledge, positioning the British as the caretakers of an ancient culture going to ruin; the subject's contribution to protecting the empire from enemies; the subject's use of vast wealth gained in India for philanthropic purposes; and the subject's objective to improve India, be it spiritually or through European knowledge.⁴⁶² Their works, in other words, were image management tools executed to recast the Anglo-Indian as a national hero. An interrogation of the themes explored by Bacon and Flaxman for Indian monuments illustrates Rowlandson's awareness of emerging trends to portray imperial agents as melancholic figures who sacrifice themselves for the greater good. As the following discussion will illustrate, Flaxman's and Bacon's work may also have provided the source material for Rowlandson's tribute to the dying nabob in *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*.

The concept of noble sacrifice for imperial strength signals a shift in motivation from commercial gain to a more long-term interest explained by Groseclose as a "deeply felt urge...to 'improve' the colonized in the colonizer's image".⁴⁶³ This urge, also expressed through Christian conversion projects, would help create the view that working for the East India Company equated to providing service to God and to country. With respect to serving God through empire, the first attempt by British evangelicals to initiate a civilizing programme for moral and religious progress in India occurred during the East India

⁴⁶¹ Hereafter I will refer to Bacon the Younger simply as Bacon, as I will not be mentioning his father.

⁴⁶² Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, 305-16.

⁴⁶³ Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj*, 77.

Company's 1793 Charter renewal. Though supported by prominent members of the Clapham Sect, including William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and Thomas Babington (1758-1837), the initiative failed.⁴⁶⁴ A key reason for its dismissal, cited in a letter to *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* by Rev. Frederick Christian Swartz (1726-1798), a German Protestant missionary who spent nearly fifty years working in India, was the notion that "men of high cast would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors".⁴⁶⁵ Many believed that to force the issue would lead to an Indian rebellion which had the potential consequence of British expulsion from India.⁴⁶⁶ Efforts to grant missionary access to Company ships and holdings resumed in earnest in 1805, marked by the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India* by an East India Company chaplain in Calcutta, Rev. Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815).⁴⁶⁷ The Evangelicals were successful and the "pious clause" was included in the Company's Charter of 1813.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁴ This group of liberal and moderate reformers played an important role in the formation of the Church Missionary Society which was founded 1799 and the Bible Society, founded in 1804. Ironically, on 11 November 1793 John Thomas and William Carey representatives of the *Baptist Missionary Society* landed in Calcutta.

⁴⁶⁵ Rev. C. F. Swartz, *Defence of Missions in India by the Late Venerable Mr. Swartz* (London: The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge Report, 1795), 2.

⁴⁶⁶ For a discussion of Company fears of conversion projects, see E. Daniel Potts, "British Missionary Archives and the Asian Historian," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 24, no. 4 (August 1965): 645-50.

⁴⁶⁷ Rev. Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India; Both as the Means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion among Our Own Countrymen; and as a Foundation for the Ultimate Civilization of the Natives (1805)*, Second ed. (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1811). Karen Chancey, "The Star in the East: The Controversy over Christian Missions to India, 1805-1813," *The Historian* 60, no. 3 (1998): 507. Michael Mann and Harald Fischer-Tiné, "'Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress': Britain's Ideology of a 'Moral and Material Progress' in India. An Introductory Essay," in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 7.

⁴⁶⁸ Dorothy F. Lane, "'One Power, One Mind': Religious Diversity and British Dominion in India," *Literature & Theology* 19, no. 3 (2005): vii.

Public British opposition to conversion projects did not end once the Act was passed and pamphlet debates subsided. For example, Rowlandson's criticism of religious interference in India in *The Grand Master* came in the form of MISSIONARY INFLUENCE OR HOW TO MAKE CONVERTS (Figure 82), LABOUR IN VAIN OR HIS REVERENCE CONFOUNDED (Figure 83) and JOHN BULL CONVERTING THE INDIANS (Figure 84). These images reflect the artist's belief in the absurdity of having one Christian sect represent all of Christianity; that conversion was a violent endeavour that would injure the natives; and that missionaries were no more than rogues who wished to profit from innocent Indians.⁴⁶⁹ Rowlandson, in other words, questioned British spiritual and emotional involvement in India and satirised the increasingly condescending tenor of British colonial discourse which involved the improvement of India, a process launched by imperial agents who often died in staggering numbers.

Bacon and Flaxman both took up the theme of a benevolent, Christian presence in India in their work. Whether deliberate or coincidental, both artists received commissions for relief sculpture commemorating the Rev. Frederick Christian Swartz.⁴⁷⁰ Furthermore, both sculptors expressed these commissions through a death bed scene. Flaxman's patron was the Raja of Tanjore who as a young boy had been placed in Swartz's care:

Honourable Sirs,—I have requested of your missionaries to write to you, their superiors and friends and to apply to you in my name

⁴⁶⁹ For a more in depth discussion of Rowlandson's reaction to Christian missions in India in *The Grand Master*, see my, "Graphic Satire, Hudibrastics and 'Missionary Influence': *The Grand Master; or, the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan* by Thomas Rowlandson and William Combe, 1816," *The British Art Journal* VIII, no. 3 (2008): 39-46.

⁴⁷⁰ Several different spellings are in historical and current use, therefore, for the sake of continuity, I have selected 'Swartz' for my text and used square brackets to signal instances when I have replaced an alternate spelling.

for a monument of marble to be erected in their church, which is my capital and residency, to perpetuate the memory of the late Father [Swartz], and to manifest the great esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him, as my father and friend, the protector and guardian of my youth. I beg, therefore, to apply to you myself, and to request that you will order, on my account, such a monument as may be fixed to the pillar which is next the pulpit in which he preached. May you, Sirs, ever be enabled to send this country such missionaries as are like the late Mr. [Swartz]. I am, Honourable Sirs, yours,
[Sarabhoji] Raja, Tanjore, May 28, 1801.⁴⁷¹

The product, installed at Little Fort Church, Tanjore, is a tender portrayal of Sarabhoji Raja and his attendants receiving a blessing from the dying Swartz, a scene witnessed by a fellow missionary and a tightly sculpted group of his “infant flock” who cleave to each other through the sad event (Figure 85).⁴⁷² Completed in 1805, Flaxman’s funerary monument is the only known work of this kind containing a portrait of an identified Indian, a portrayal Sarabhoji Raja must have found agreeable as Flaxman enjoyed another commission for a “noble statue” for the Raja’s audience halls.⁴⁷³ Indeed, Flaxman frequently declared the pleasure he gained from his Indian works “not only in pecuniary concerns, but in the handsome manner his employers expressed their entire approbation of all he

⁴⁷¹As quoted in Rev. E.W. Grinfield, *Sketches of the Danish Mission on the Coast of Coromandel* (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1831), 131.

⁴⁷² Thomas B. Wait, "Review of Buchanana's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India," in *The Christian Observer, Conducted by Members of the Established Church for the Year 1813, from the London Edition* (New York: Whiting & Watson, 1814), 719.

⁴⁷³ Groseclose suggests that the dominant position of the Raja may reflect a political motivation for the commission, suggesting that the true subject is in fact the Raja’s graciousness. The Raja may also have intended to pay tribute to an important figure of his youth who provided him with an education that was highly valued. For example, in 1801, the Raja established a number of schools which provided an Indian alternative to foreign, Christian missionary schools. The *Navavidykdalds'dld* provided instruction in European science delivered in English and one of the modern Indian languages in use in the Raja’s kingdom of Tanjore (Tamil, Marathi, Persian and Hindustani). Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj*, 92. Indira Viswanathan Peterson, "The Cabinet of King Serfoji of Tanjore: A European Collection in Early Nineteenth-Century India," *Journal of the History of Collections* 11, no. 1 (1999): 84. The Archdeacon of Madras, Thomas Robinson, described the contents of the Raja’s apartments in *The Last Days of Bishop Heber*. As quoted in Peterson, "The Cabinet of King Serfoji of Tanjore", 74.

did.”⁴⁷⁴ It would be remiss, however, to ignore Flaxman’s personal, spiritual motivations in the examination of this sculpture.⁴⁷⁵ Known for his piety, Flaxman had spent seven years in Rome examining, among other things, Church sculpture.⁴⁷⁶ Though he condemned Baroque art for its “flying folds” and “vulgar limbs” he made a study of Baroque tombs with “the eye of a sculptor and of a Christian”.⁴⁷⁷ According to his contemporary, Allan Cunningham, an art historian and a clerk of the works of Sir Francis Chantrey, Flaxman “directed his studies to this great purpose ...and all [was] intended for the furtherance of devotion.”⁴⁷⁸ The result of his studies and of this Indian commission is a work in an “elevated” neoclassical style which embodies the mournful approach to European death in colonial settings, a visual strategy which would influence the British colonial identity throughout the nineteenth century.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁴ As quoted in John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture: As Delivered before the President and Members of the Royal Academy (1838)* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1865), 12. For other East India Company commissions, see David Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755-1826: Sculptor, Illustrator, Designer* (New York: Studio Vista, Cassell Ltd., 1979), 129.

⁴⁷⁵ Flaxman had even been satirised by George Cruikshank for his religious fundamentalism in THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY (1812), where he is portrayed pontificating from the Holy Bible while others discuss a ‘curious relique of Antiquity’ (Figure 86).

⁴⁷⁶ Flaxman’s drawings are currently in the Tate Collection, London, many of which illustrate study sketches for funerary monuments. See *Album of Drawings, Mainly by Flaxman* (T08461; T10178-T10241; T11663-T11669).

⁴⁷⁷ As quoted in Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830 (1964)* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 341. Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters and Sculptors*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (New York: J & J Harper, 1831), 255. Flaxman made sketches of Michelangelo’s *Piéta* in the Duomo from two different angles. Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755-1826*, 39.

⁴⁷⁸ Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters and Sculptors*, 255.

⁴⁷⁹ For a discussion of Flaxman’s ambition to sculpt in an ‘elevated style’, see David Bindman, “Flaxman: Art and Commerce,” in *John Flaxman*, ed. David Bindman (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 25. For an analysis on the delineation of the melancholic sentiments between Romantic and Victorian poetry, see David G. Riede, “Victorian Melancholy,” in *Allegories of One’s Own Mind: Melancholy in Victorian Poetry* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 1-16. This sculpture would also benefit from a comparison with *The Death of General Wolfe* in the inclusion of a native person to punctuate the foreign settings; however, this comparison is beyond the scope of my project.

The East India Company's commission for a monument to Swartz from Bacon for St. Mary's Church, Madras, India closely resembled Flaxman's basic composition, but departed with the inclusion of a cross-bearing angel who floats above the scene symbolising the Christian afterlife (Figure 87). A core, twentieth century scholarly work on British sculpture frankly described Bacon as a sculptor with "little originality"; yet, despite this, Bacon received many commissions which ranged from small, relief tablets to complex groups with many figures.⁴⁸⁰ Evidently Bacon's large workshop was prepared to produce the "semi-digested neoclassicism" the patron sought.⁴⁸¹ The details of the way in which the Company wished this particular monument to be staged are significant to unpacking the symbolic value of memorial sculpture in India in this period:

By our extra ship, the Union, you will receive a marble monument, executed by Mr. Bacon, under our direction, to the memory of the Rev. C. F. [Swartz], as the most appropriate testimony of the deep sense we entertain of his transcendant [sic] merit, and of his unwearied and disinterested labours in the cause of religion and piety, &c. We desire also that the native inhabitants, by whom he was so justly revered, may be permitted and encouraged to view this monument, and that translations be made of the inscription into the country languages ; and copies be sent to Tanjore, and the other districts in which Mr. [Swartz] occasionally resided."⁴⁸²

This excerpt of a letter addressed to the government of Madras by the Company Court of Directors certainly expresses respect for the subject, but the Company may have had other objectives; namely, to appear supportive of missionary activity in India as the initiative for Christian conversion gained momentum in the metropole and to invite 'the native inhabitants' to publicly mourn a European man

⁴⁸⁰ Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830*, 313.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² Grinfield, *Sketches of the Danish Mission on the Coast of Coromandel*, 130.

in the colony who was being memorialised by an artistic work which resonated permanence.⁴⁸³

In order to situate Rowlandson's satirical take on the Anglo-Indian remembered through a deathbed scene, the inclusion of an angel in Bacon's work is significant. It recalls an earlier work by Flaxman, exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1802, which memorialised Julia Annabella, Lady Shuckburgh-Evelyn, of Warwickshire (Figure 88).⁴⁸⁴ In this marble monument, Flaxman portrays Lady Shuckburgh in her final throes, her husband and child weeping over her, while an angel of death, her arm raised with divine power, waits to deliver her to the afterlife. In *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*, Rowlandson parodies the *sacred parodies* made by Bacon and Flaxman.⁴⁸⁵ Qui Hi gasps his last breaths, mourned over by his Indian companion while his son, a product of an increasingly taboo Anglo-Indian alliance, signals another loss due to empire—the loss of familial comfort eked out between native groups and European colonists in far off settings. Crucial to note, the part of the angel in Rowlandson's drama is being played by an Indian medical man, whose hands are raised, not in heavenly power, but in imperial futility leaving us to question Qui Hi's—indeed, the empire's—chance of an afterlife. The answer is provided by Combe: 'But,

⁴⁸³ Like Flaxman, Bacon executed many monuments for Indian settings and, at his death, was working on a Group for India containing an enormous statue of the Marquis Cornwallis. Richard Cecil, *Memoirs of John Bacon, Esq. R.A. With Reflections Drawn from a Review of His Moral and Religious Character* (London: F. and C. Rivington, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1801), 19.

⁴⁸⁴ Julia Annabella, Lady Shuckburgh-Evelyn was the daughter and sole heir of James Evelyn of Feldbridge, Surrey, and the second wife of Sir George Shuckburgh, 6th Bart., F.R.S., who took the name of Shuckburgh-Evelyn on the death of his father-in-law in 1793. For this work's exhibition history, see Margaret Whinney and Rubert Gunnis, *The Collection of Models by John Flaxman R.A. At University College London: A Catalogue and Introduction* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1967), 20-21.

⁴⁸⁵ For a discussion of the classical sources for this work, the Meleager sarcophagus in the Albani collection, see Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755-1826: Sculptor, Illustrator, Designer*, 148.

reader, know that Qui Hi's spirit,/Another body does inherit', which is suggestive of Hindu reincarnation, but is twisted to represent the seemingly endless malevolent cycle of British human sacrifice upon the altar of imperial gain.

Rowlandson challenges the metropolitan creation of an imperial martyr and the more attention paid to *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT*, the less it appears like a satire and the more it takes on the image of a sad truth—a young, British man, pushed to the periphery of his society for pursuing the goals of industry is taken ill and left to die in a liminal state without hope of reconciliation with the metropole. Even so, hope is found in *QUI HI'S LAST MARCH TO PADREE BURROWS'S GO DOWN*, the title of which refers to Rev. Arnold Burrows, caretaker of the Christian cemetery in Bombay, and a 'godown', or a warehouse or a store for goods in India (Figure 89). Found between pages 250 and 251 in the final "Canto", a drummer leads the funeral procession comprised of a military escort, a bullock-driven hearse and a palanquin carrying Goulaub and her son towards the steps of the burying ground where Qui Hi will be memorialised as a martyr to imperial dominion.⁴⁸⁶ Metropolitan acknowledgement of the ominous imperial realities faced by would-be nabobs and the subsequent pity it inspired expressed through artistic practice, challenged the notion of a metropolitan periphery and resulted in a hyper-nationalistic paradigm which brought the nabob back into the fold.⁴⁸⁷ According to Graham, the "national prejudices" became even stronger within India when, despite the

⁴⁸⁶ Samuel T. Sheppard, *Bombay Place Names and Street Names: An Excursion into the by-Ways of the History of Bombay City* (Bombay: The Times Press, 1917), 40.

⁴⁸⁷ Travers also argues that sacrificial death went far to "contest the derogatory image of the nabob". Travers, "Death and the Nabob", 108-09.

“mixture of nations”, every “Briton appears to pride himself on being outrageously a John Bull”.⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, satire engaging with imperial melancholy productively transformed into memorials to imperial sacrifice would persist. In the final episode of *ADVENTURES OF THE TENTH*, the epitaph reads: ‘The Liver nip’d them in their bloom / And monkeys mourn around their tomb’ (Figure 90). In other words, young men continued to die in the pursuit and the maintenance of an Indian empire; and, unless India became truly British, Anglo-Indians would continue to die in a foreign land as opposed to an extension of their native soil.

III. Conclusion: The End of Qui Hi’s Progress

As the nineteenth century wore on, conceptual boundaries of the British body became increasingly fixed and consequently less vulnerable to virulent foreign influence, yet illness remained a landmark experience for Anglo-Indians throughout the twentieth century.⁴⁸⁹ A sympathetic, metropolitan response can therefore be marked as a step on the trajectory of the Anglo-Indian, from the self-interested nabob to the servant of God and Empire. Rowlandson’s goal to interrogate precisely where alleged Eastern excess begins also reveals the moment where it ends—no longer susceptible to Eastern excess, Qui Hi expires, a fallen

⁴⁸⁸ Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India*, 139. Using Said’s premise, the emergence of a national identity through confrontation with the ‘Other’ has been productively studied by Linda Colley who argues that Great Britain emerged as an “artificial nation” as a result of wars and imperial conquest which enabled participants to concentrate on what they had in common. Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,” *Journal of British Studies* 31(October 1992): 315-16. Also relevant are ———, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1992); ———, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002).

⁴⁸⁹ An excellent example is the story of Mary Lennox, an orphan whose parents died in a cholera epidemic and was sent to Misselthwait Manor in Yorkshire to find health, happiness and an escape from the “self-absorbed” way of life she had begun in India: “Her hair was yellow, and her face was yellow because she had been born in India and had always been ill in one way or another.” Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden (1911)* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1981), 8, 1.

hero. Death, in other words, cleanses Qui Hi's British body from sin, thus representing the imperial agent as a Christ-like figure upon which compatriots can pour their grief and their gratitude. Indeed, as proof of the success of this cleansing, twentieth century historian Hilton Brown wondered "at the courage that carried men – and the devotion that carried their wives – to the East of those lethal days".⁴⁹⁰

Despite the invitation for the nabob to return to the metropolitan body, melancholy separation from Britain would endure, exemplified by an excerpt of a poem entitled *The Revel*, attributed to Bartholomew Dowling (1823-1863), written in India while a plague decimated British residents and troops:

Cut off from the land that bore us,
Betray'd by the land we find,
When the brightest are gone before us,
And the dullest are most behind,--
Stand ! stand ! to your glasses ! –steady !
'Tis all we have left to prize !
One cup to the dead already ;
Hurrah for the next that dies!⁴⁹¹

Rowlandson's own 'painful reflection' was that imperial illness did not simply exist in the colonial setting, nor was it incorporated into the body politic by those rare few who returned. Rather, Qui Hi's death directly challenged the metropolitan periphery for, despite attempts to make the nabob a domestic symbol of foreign ills, he was a British body lured by the promise of wealth and position

⁴⁹⁰ As quoted in Theon Wilkinson, *Two Monsoons* (London: Duckworth, 1976), 6.

⁴⁹¹ The poem was set to music by Alfred Domett (1811-1887) and became a drinking song for British aviators in World War I mess halls. It was featured in the movie, *Dawn Patrol* (1938) starring David Niven and Errol Flynn. For a discussion of its use as a drinking song, see John Doran, *Table Traits, with Something on Them*, 3rd ed. (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), 300.

in Britain, and instead, cruelly used as fodder for a metropole with designs for an Eastern empire.

In an article that engages directly with the subtlety of Rowlandson's comical, yet critical artistic practice, John Barrell advances that Rowlandson's messages must have come from an "institutionalized" and "secure" perspective as there seems to be no evidence of uncomfortable contemporary reactions to his work.⁴⁹² I would further suggest that the absence of a defensive reaction to Rowlandson's satire may in fact reflect agreement, as evidenced by the collective sympathy bestowed upon the Anglo-Indian. Despite a strong tradition of publically censuring the nabob, this compassion signifies that Rowlandson's 'metropolitan gaze' may have, in fact, captured and articulated shared opinions, suggesting that beholders were more comfortable with self-critique than previously understood. Just as post-Victorian scholars termed Rowlandson's work 'illustrations', despite a production method that began with the image, the post-Victorian scholar (accustomed to, and perhaps still subject to, imperial rhetoric) would find it difficult to accept a self-critical spirit existing so harmoniously in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century graphic satire that an association with radicalism was unnecessary.

The legacy of the nabob, sick in body and in heart, is found in the later nineteenth century as the notion of imperial loss became so entrenched in British colonial identity that a 'proleptic nostalgia' has been identified in aesthetic

⁴⁹² Barrell, "The Private Comedy of Thomas Rowlandson", 426.

production, an anticipatory sadness for the future collapse of the Empire.⁴⁹³

Rowlandson's warning to Lord Moira of doom and disaster has, instead, been visited upon Qui Hi. Exposure to British excess resulted in fatal illness, which attacked Qui Hi's body and psyche, thus ending his progress. All that remains is to see what Qui Hi left behind.

⁴⁹³ Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 51. Duncan Bell, "From Ancient to Modern in Victorian Imperial Thought," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 3 (2006): 749. O'Brien, "Poetry against Empire", 282-83.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT QUI HI LEFT BEHIND: HOMOSOCIAL COLONIALISM AND THE INAPPROPRIATENESS OF WOMEN IN INDIA

I. Homosocial Colonialism

1 Pair Silk Mosquito Curtains.
 1 Pair Muslin ditto.
 1 small Thermomiter. [*sic*]
 1 Quilted Looce Banyan Coat [*sic*].
 6 pairs Long Drawers.
 1 Red Silk Coat with Wastcoat [*sic*].
 2 Blue Silk Coats with Wastcoats.
 A Cow and a Calf.
 His Wines included:—
 22 dozen Port.
 11 dozen Madeira.
 1 dozen Claret, 21 Bottles of Hock, 9 Bottles Shrub, 6
 Bottles Arrack,
 4 Bottles Brandy, 1 dozen Bottles Cape Wine, 2 Bottles Vinegar,
 1 Cask of Rum.
 1 Philtering Stone. [*sic*].⁴⁹⁴

The probate record for James Bonwhich (died 30 August 1774) illustrates the deceptively minor material legacy of a British life extinguished in India in the eighteenth century. The items listed certainly speak to the physical challenges Company servants faced in order to ‘shake the pagoda tree’ with devices to measure the temperature and filter water, clothing designed to suit a hot climate, as well as the many forms of alcohol Anglo-Indians used to cope with the illnesses they suffered.⁴⁹⁵ In similar understatement, the hat, the rifle, the pair of boots, the unknown contents of two chests and the unidentified object of the son’s attention depicted in *LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT* likewise mislead

⁴⁹⁴From the “Inventory of James Bonwhich, deceased 30 August 1774”, *Bengal Inventories*, XIV, as quoted in Spear, *The Nabobs*, 183.

⁴⁹⁵Finn’s discussion of probate auctions advertised in newspapers in India was particularly helpful in understanding the unstable social position occupied by colonists, compounded by their often fleeting presence in India. Finn, “Colonial Gifts”, 208.

beholders of the image to conclude that scant possessions are all Qui Hi will leave behind when he succumbs to his illness (Figure 60).

In QUI HI'S LAST MARCH TO PADREE BURROWS'S GO DOWN, Rowlandson depicts Goulaub and her son as Qui Hi's true legacy, quite literally travelling in the wake of his ill-fated progress (Figure 89). By addressing who Qui Hi left behind, the various and the problematic frames within which women were placed in early colonial India are exposed. Criticism regarding sexual vice, consortship with *adventurous* European women and interracial, domestic liaisons with native women illustrate that, from a metropolitan perspective, no appropriate relationship existed between women and Anglo-Indian men in India in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁹⁶ Unlike white settler colonies like Australia, the Americas, Canada and New Zealand where invading groups became a majority and, in the process, displaced and/or marginalised indigenous populations, India was a colony of occupation formed predominantly in what appeared to have been 'homosocial colonialism' comprised of the civil and military wings of the East

⁴⁹⁶ I am hesitant to use the term 'marriage' to describe these domestic partnerships. Although both formal and informal marriages existed between British men and European women/British men and Indian women, it is beyond the scope of this project to trace the degree of legality in these relationships. What is important to me is that these relationships formed the basis of domestic life in India for British men. Therefore, for the sake of clarity, I use 'consortship'. For a more refined sense of domestic relationships in India, see Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*, ed. C.A. Bayly, vol. 13, Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). A useful discussion of the inadequacies of these terms can also be found in Lionel Caplan, *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Postcolonial World* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 2. It is also important to note that in the early nineteenth century, appropriate relationships were also being explored, rejected, constructed and defined in Indian society as response to colonial power and the social, economic and legal implications of being a gendered body within a subject group. See Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learned When Men Gave Them Advice* (Toronto and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004). Mytheli Sreenivas, *Wives, Widows, and Concubines: The Conjugal Family Ideal in Colonial India* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008).

India Company.⁴⁹⁷ Succinctly put by John Tosh, the “popular image of the empire eliminated women almost entirely”.⁴⁹⁸ As a result, women in India were regarded as objects of excess through hazardous sexual vice, wasteful domestic superfluity, and conjugal arrangements incongruous with projections of a liberal imperial project. Nevertheless, the structure of homosocial colonialism does not merely reflect an ideal construct of an efficient imperial project, unburdened with complications that arise from the implications of sexual excess and domesticity, but it also connotes the interdependent identity struggles between British and Indian men, struggles that took place in a ‘zone’ determined by the ever shifting categorizations of women.⁴⁹⁹ This chapter engages with the debates that enabled the negotiation of British masculine identities through the inappropriateness of women in India. My contribution to key groundwork laid by previous scholars is found in the concentration on Rowlandson’s criticism of national, masculine identities constructed in the colonial theatre and justified through conflict with allegedly Eastern excess.

⁴⁹⁷ For a discussion of settler colonies, see Bill and Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin Ashcroft, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (1989), 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 131. Homosocial colonialism is discussed in Revathi Krishnaswamy, "The Economy of Colonial Desire," in *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, ed. Rachel Adams and David Savran (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 292-317.

⁴⁹⁸ John Tosh, "Imperial Masculinity and the Flight from Domesticity in Britain 1880-1914," in *Gender and Colonialism*, ed. Timothy P. Foley et al. (Galway, Ireland: Galway University Press, 1995), 73.

⁴⁹⁹ In her examination of ideal manhood in French Neoclassicism, Abigail Solomon-Godeau engages with aesthetics that reflect homosocial “body politics”. The apparent preoccupation with “perfect male bodies” refers both to a “defensive aggrandizement of masculinity and the concomitant acknowledgement of its vulnerability—the threats that assail it both materially and psychically”, suggesting that the significance of gendered notions of political power (the association of femininity with the corruption of the *ancien régime*, for example) are not only expressed but negotiated through aesthetics. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 97.

The current historical debate regarding the establishment of British identity through constructs of ideal masculinity in colonial India concentrates on the binary between the “manly Englishman” and the “effeminate Bengali *babu*”.⁵⁰⁰ These constructs echo and are in some degree enabled by an earlier juxtaposition provided by Scottish thinker and Enlightenment historian Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), which compared a gentle native to a barbarous European:

The sun, it seems, which ripens the pine-apple and the tamarind, inspires a degree of mildness than can even assuage the rigours of despotical government: and such is the effect of a gentle and pacific disposition in the natives of the East, that no conquest, no irruption [sic] of barbarians, terminates, as they did among the stubborn natives of Europe, by a total destruction of what the love of ease and of pleasure had produced (1767).⁵⁰¹

Ferguson’s contrast would be modified in the late eighteenth century and utilised for the goal of colonial conquest. As Mrinalini Sinha has observed, colonial masculinity exploited opposing categories between the manly Briton and the mild Indian amidst significant change in imperial social formation.⁵⁰² Likewise, Joseph Sramek’s investigation of tiger hunting illustrates how the British sportsman was pitted against what Captain Thomas Williamson called the “weak timid *Bengallee*”.⁵⁰³ James H. Warren similarly discusses how authoritative

⁵⁰⁰ Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

⁵⁰¹ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 111.

⁵⁰² Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 3.

⁵⁰³ Joseph Sramek, "Face Him Like a Briton!: Tiger Hunting, Imperialism and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875," *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 669. Captain Thomas Williamson, *Oriental Field Sports: Being a Complete, Detailed, and Accurate Description of the Wild Sports of the East* (London: Edward Orme, 1807), 185. To see how sport and masculinity continued to be cooperatively negotiated and institutionalized through big game hunting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see J. A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, "Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized: The Shikar Club," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 9 (August 2008): 1218-42.

masculinity was constructed through archetypal figures placed in opposition to the colonized, a category which included nature, heathens and women.⁵⁰⁴

Significantly, the working definition of masculinity, as a gendered construct of a man's "social being" that "links him to other men", also implies the possibility that masculinity can divide him from other men.⁵⁰⁵ Closer scrutiny of the representation of nabobs in graphic satire illustrates how the ideal of contrived, even imaginary homosocial colonialism in India was complicated by the reality and the complexity of Anglo-Indian relationships with women.⁵⁰⁶ Nevertheless, until an appropriate conjugal paradigm could be conceived of and enforced, the liminal quality of the nabob enabled the metropole to engage with the seemingly irreconcilable conflict between women and the colonial project in India without implicating the metropole.⁵⁰⁷

Imperial anxiety regarding India had been an established critical stance in the metropole since the mid eighteenth century. Distancing was, furthermore, a conventional strategy for dealing with criticism of the imperial project. For example, when three party trades, king-making and territorial acquisition enabled the East India Company to become what amounted to commercial imperialists supported by a military force that would rival the standing army of Britain,

⁵⁰⁴ James H. Warren, "Contesting Colonial Masculinity/Constituting Imperial Authority: Ceylon in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Public Debate," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (December 2004): 45.

⁵⁰⁵ Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 1 (1999): 48.

⁵⁰⁶ Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 5.

⁵⁰⁷ This dichotomy between women and empire has also been identified by Anne McClintock who suggested that empire in the Victorian period was established through "a domesticity without women". She describes this process as one wherein "animals, women and colonized peoples were...inducted through the domestic progress narrative into a hierarchical relation to white men" through commodity spectacle. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 32-34.

Company Directors in London attempted to distance themselves from Company actors in India: “We don’t want conquest and power;” the Secretary told the House of Commons, “it is commercial interest only we look for.”⁵⁰⁸ The Company’s public denial of hegemony in India was questioned by Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) in his work *The Wealth of Nations* (1776):

But a company of merchants are, it seems, incapable of considering themselves as sovereigns, even after they have become such. Trade, or buying in order to sell again, they still consider as their principal business, and by a strange absurdity regard the character of the sovereign as but an appendix to that of the merchant, as something which ought to be made subservient to it, or by means of which they may be enabled to buy cheaper in India, and thereby to sell with a better profit in Europe.⁵⁰⁹

This commercial empire in India, according to Ferguson, had the potential of toppling not only the East India Company, but Britain itself: “Hence the ruinous progress of empire; and hence free nations, under the shew of acquiring dominion, suffer themselves, in the end, to be yoked with the slaves they had conquered [sic].”⁵¹⁰ The significance of the nabob is therefore found in his utility as a method by which to engage with debates surrounding imperialism which threatened national identity without acknowledging British accountability.

Although Rowlandson clearly comprehended and even participated in casting the nabob as an offender of socio-sexual excess in the colonial Indian drama, in *The Grand Master* the artist repeatedly represented women as pivotal,

⁵⁰⁸ H.V. Bowen, “400 Years of the East India Company,” *History Today* 50, no. 7 (2000): 47. Robert James’s evidence, as quoted in Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, 17.

⁵⁰⁹ Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (1776) (London: Everyman's Library 1991), 133-34.

⁵¹⁰ Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), 61.

sympathetic characters who reminded the central figures (indeed, viewers of the series) that a greater issue was at stake in India. As previous chapters have established, Rowlandson resisted attempts by the metropole to distance itself from the East by addressing examples of so-called Eastern excess in the progress of the nabob and finding metropolitan sources for his behaviour. In the case of women in *The Grand Master*, each potential relationship—prostitute, British consort, Indian consort—is addressed with care. Through the use and the manipulation of artistic conventions, Rowlandson suggested that the inappropriate character in India was in fact the British man. This investigation of the Regency period’s administrative policies regarding women in India reveals a much earlier appearance of Victorian fears that ‘mongrelisation’ of the white race would lead to the fall of the empire.⁵¹¹

II. ‘Vicious and Immoral Connexions’ in the ‘Progress of Duplicity’

Here *serious* characters resort,
 And quit domestic broils, for sport,
 And in some sooty *fair* one’s arms,
 Forget sweet matrimony’s charms.
Padrees in holy orders plac’d,
 May *very often* here be trac’d;
Hypocrisy thinks it no task,
 Here to strip off its Quaker-mask;
 E’en missionaries, holy men!
 Go here *converting* now and then.⁵¹²
 Our hero, (if *if the youth could draw*)[sic],
 Had sketch’d the faces that he saw;
 And thus the world might clearly see,

⁵¹¹ For a study which deals with the late nineteenth century, see Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (1986), 2nd ed., Comparative Ethnic and Race Relations Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For the connenctions between metropolitan British women and women “in the emergent British empire, see “England’s Other Women” in Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 1-21.

⁵¹² Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 216.

The progress of duplicity.
 Disgusted by the late discovery,
 And almost sick beyond recovery,
 Qui Hi Determin'd to retreat,
 Nor for his new found friends would wait;
 But to his tent he slyly creeps,
 Gets into bed, and soundly sleeps.⁵¹³

In *PAYS A NOCTURNAL VISIT TO DUNGAREE*, found between pages 214 and 215 of “Canto VIII”, Rowlandson depicts the small village of Dangidi by moonlight (Figure 91). A convenient distance from Bombay, the small brothels are shown turning a swift business from the red and blue coat-clad clientele.⁵¹⁴ While some British soldiers and sailors have already coupled up with their choice of companion for the evening—or tripled up, as in the case of the man entertaining two women in the oxcart—other British men negotiate with Indian pimps or point to potential escorts in the distance. Meanwhile, while their masters are otherwise engaged, two Indian palanquin carriers take the opportunity to have a chat. The overall scene is one of amiable and mutually beneficial trade, yet two artistic decisions complicate the picture’s agreeable nature. The first is Rowlandson’s choice to structure the scene as if viewed from a distance, resulting in a loose grainy quality that makes the figures’ individual characteristics and expressions impossible to discern. The result is that the figures take on a generic quality, identified only by their military uniforms or by their gowns. Secondly, a dark cross-like structure, emphasised through its contrast with the bright exterior of the house it stands before, destabilizes the scene by simultaneously suggesting the

⁵¹³ Ibid., 216.

⁵¹⁴ The *Hobson-Jobson* has ‘Dungaree’ as “a kind of coarse and inferior cotton cloth” when compared to Indian calico, which may also reference the growing animus towards brothel prostitutes of the Dangidi district. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 330-31.

violence of a village whipping post and a dichotomous Christian presence. The central drama is a dishevelled white man, his shirt open nearly to the waist, who clings to an open doorway presumably for a breath of fresh air. Though Combe's text above denies Qui Hi's participation in the 'progress of duplicity', I argue that the centrality of the figure betrays Rowlandson's vague rendering and Combe's claim of 'our hero's' innocence. The explanation for Qui Hi's sartorial disarray is suggested by the appearance of a courtesan in an adjacent house who signals that she is open for business by displaying herself in a similar doorway. Qui Hi has, it seems, accepted a comparable invitation and sexual excess, achieved through retaining native prostitutes, is thereby identified as a step in the nabob's progress.⁵¹⁵

Sexual excess was earmarked as a disease of the nabob in the 1770s and 1780s as one strategy to support the anti-Company campaign during Warren Hastings' Impeachment Trial. This provided an opportunity for metropolitan critics to castigate figures like Hastings and Clive for their ill-gotten financial gains, allegedly achieved through cruelty towards natives.⁵¹⁶ Edmund Burke repeatedly implemented the trope of sexual conquest of the native to represent territorial acquisition, casting himself as the defender of honour against Hastings charged with, among other things, "cruelties unheard of and Devastations almost

⁵¹⁵ The notion that sex with native women was somehow part of the Anglo-Indian experience is supported by the by sixteen year old cadet Edward Sellon's recollection of his arrival in India: "I now commenced a regular course of fucking with native women". As quoted in James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 207.

⁵¹⁶ As quoted in Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, 60-64. Daniel J. O'Quinn, "The Long Minuet as Danced at Coromandel: Character and the Colonial Translation of Class Anxiety in Marian Starke's the Sword of Peace," *British Women Playwrights around 1800* (2000), http://www.etang.umontreal.ca/bwp1800/essays/oquinn_sword.html.

without a name” in a competition for authority over a feminized India.⁵¹⁷ Clive was similarly represented as a sexual libertine whose appetite for prostitutes, pederasty and actresses was represented in *The Life of Robert, Lord Clive, Baron Plassey* (1775) by Charles Carracioli who claimed to be “the Master of the Grammar School at Arundel” and, until shortly before the book was published, “totally unacquainted with the English tongue”.⁵¹⁸ *The Intrigues of a Nabob, or Bengal the Fittest Soil for the Growth of Lust, Injustice, and Dishonesty* (1780), likewise accuses Company leadership in India of abuses of power played out through sexual corruption, a theme repeated in Mariana Starke’s comedic play *The Sword of Peace; or, A Voyage of Love* (1788) which follows the corrupt character ‘Resident’, who uses his political power to do away with a sexual rival.⁵¹⁹ Rowlandson himself took up the theme of insatiable Company servants in *The Death of Tippoo or Besieging the Haram!!!* (1799), which depicts the total

⁵¹⁷ As quoted in Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, 62. For the notion of a feminized India, see Nicole Reynolds, "Phebe Gibbes, Edmund Burke, and the Trials of Empire," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 20, no. 20 (Winter 2007-2008): 153. Reynolds also argues that Burke’s sexual rhetoric did not go unchallenged, as evidenced by the novel *Hartly House* (1789) by Phebe Gibbes, an author who demonstrated interest in topical issues through the plots of her novels. According to Reynolds, *Hartly House* suggested that to place the blame for the Company’s abusive practices in India solely upon Hastings was simplistic.

⁵¹⁸ Referred to by one correspondent as “the worst book that was ever published” and one that “Lord Clive’s family would have done well in buying up”, Carracioli’s work, published as a “bookseller’s compilation”, is an example of how sexual excess was implemented in the anti-Company pamphlet debates. K., "Caraccioli's Life of Lord Clive [Sic]," *Notes and Queries*, no. 7 (1849): 108. William Durrant Cooper, "Caraccioli--Author of Life of Lord Clive," *Notes and Queries*, no. 8 (1849): 120-21. Charles Caraccioli, *The Life of Robert Lord Clive, Baron Plassey [Microform] Wherein Are Impartially Delineated His Military Talents in the Field; His Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, During the Two Last Wars in the East Indies, ... With Anecdotes of His Private Life, and the Particular Circumstances of His Death. Also a Narrative of All the Last Transactions in India* (London: T. Bell, 1775). Though scepticism is cautioned, a discussion of sexuality and conquest is also found in Allen T. Edwardes, *The Rape of India: A Biography of Lord Clive and a Sexual History of the Conquest of Hindustan* (New York: Julian Press, 1966).

⁵¹⁹ Henry Frederick Thompson, *Intrigues of a Nabob: Or, Bengal the Fittest Soil for the Growth of Lust, Injustice and Dishonesty. Dedicated to the Hon. The Court of Directors of the East India Company* ([London?]: Printed for the Author, 1780). Mariana Starke, *The Sword of Peace; or, a Voyage of Love; a Comedy in Five Acts. First Performed at the Theatre Royal in the Hay Market, on Saturday, August the 9th, 1788* (London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1788).

breakdown of social decorum and military discipline as British officers rape Indian women in the harem of Sultan Fateh Ali Tippu following his defeat in the Third Anglo-Mysore War (Figure 92).⁵²⁰ One soldier shouts, “*Cheer up my girls we’ll supply his place well*” while another hollers, “*Harrah my Honey now for the Black Joke*”, which, according to John S. Farmer’s and W. E. Henley’s *Slang and its Analogues Past and Present* (1890), referred to a woman’s pudenda.⁵²¹ A key criticism of the nabob was his emulation of the East’s unchecked masculine power expressed through keeping a harem where women were segregated slaves used for sexual exploitation.⁵²² Nevertheless, *The Death of Tippoo or Besieging the Haram!!!* also engages with the previously discussed animus towards the military in India who were perceived to be enjoying an easy life in comparison to their North American and European comrades (Figure 62).⁵²³ Major Innes Munro (d.1827), army officer and writer, remarked acerbically that during the Second Anglo-Mysore War a British officer needed “baggage bullocks, a cook, a main manservant, twenty coolies, entertainment, a barber, a washerman, tents, tables, chairs, china, wine, liquor, food, linen, up to twenty-four suits of clothes, gin, and,

⁵²⁰ Thomas Rowlandson also produced other representations of prostitutes as well as a significant body of pornographic work. See Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (London: Ashgate, 2004) and Bradford K. Mudge, “Romanticism, Materialism, and the Origins of Modern Pornography,” *Romanticism on the Net* 23 (August 2001).

⁵²¹ As quoted in Edgar V. Roberts, “More About ‘Joke,’” *American Speech* 38, no. 2 (1963): 151.

⁵²² The advertisement of a recent exhibit at the Tate Britain entitled “The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting, 4 June – 31 August 2008” suggested that the harem was the “defining symbol of the Orient for Western Europeans”. See exhibition catalog by Nicholas Tromans, ed. *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁵²³ For a discussion of the animus towards British soldiers in India in reference to Linda Colley’s reading of *The Death of Tippoo or Besieging a Haram!!!*, see Randolph G. S. Cooper, “Reviews,” *Modern Asian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2005): 494.

of course, tea.”⁵²⁴ To view this siege upon a group of unarmed, indolent harem women as a military victory (a questionable triumph when the dominant position of the bare-breasted Indian woman in the bottom, left corner is considered) enabled the metropole to further distance itself from Anglo-Indians accused of abandoning true British military prowess for Indian adventure through sexual excess. The creation, the maintenance and the defence of British territory became inextricably linked to the deeds of military heroes; thus, heroic masculinity helped to define and reinforce the imperial identities that would, in the nineteenth century, develop into a monolithic, patriotic British national identity which was characterised by a readiness to fight and die for “Queen, Country and Empire”.⁵²⁵

Despite their lazy repute, the armed forces were a vital component of the Company’s “civil-military hybrid”.⁵²⁶ Protecting the army became a fundamental imperative of empire building in India and, reminiscent of the issues with drink, debt and idleness, personal behaviours became issues of imperial security. Furthermore, Directors in London were concerned that writers entrusted with the daily operations of the Company compromised British security through sexual dissipation and financial recklessness. In terms of reform, Governor-General Wellesley established Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 to provide direction and supervision for teenage Company writers whose “studies, morals, manners, expenses and conduct [were] no longer subject to any regulation,

⁵²⁴ As quoted in ———, “Culture, Combat, and Colonialism in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century India,” *The International History review* 27, no. 3 (September 2005): 541.

⁵²⁵ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-2.

⁵²⁶ Cooper, “Culture, Combat, and Colonialism in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century India”, 542.

restraint, or guidance”, qualities, it was imagined, offered by the metropole.⁵²⁷ This paternalistic approach to the Company’s personnel was not only an attempt to temper young men’s reckless spending, which was often in pursuit of status symbols like scores of servants or expensive Indian concubines kept in smart garden houses on the edge of town. The approach was also an effort to remove avoidable illness contracted through intercourse with so-called Indian prostitutes as an obstacle to imperialism, echoing James Johnson’s opinion that the “removal of religious and moral restraint—the temptations to vice—the facility of the means, and the force of example, are the real causes of this ‘bias to pleasure’”.⁵²⁸

As Rowlandson’s progress of the nabob demonstrates, the consequence of the pursuit of pleasure in India was illness and death. As such, medical men, missionaries and administrators attempted to eradicate the threat of venereal disease, not merely to satisfy the growing emphasis on Christian morality in India, but to address the practical, financial repercussions sexual excess had on the military.⁵²⁹ In a convincing recent study, Erica Wald argued that the establishment’s failure to control venereal disease enabled the British to create a criminalised characterisation of relationships with native women, whereby the ‘brothel prostitute’ threatened to weaken British control in India through sex-related disease, an expense to colonialism that persisted well into the nineteenth

⁵²⁷ As quoted in Sumanta Banerjee, *Under the Raj: Prostitution in Colonial Bengal* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 47.

⁵²⁸ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 479.

⁵²⁹ For a study which argues that ideas of religion and secularity, developed in relation to gender and race, were crucial to imagining national culture in both Britain and India, see Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 3.

century.⁵³⁰ The humiliating discovery, for example, that one in four European soldiers were infected with a venereal disease—syphilis, gonorrhoea, and a range of undiagnosed penile lesions—helped to usher in the Contagious Diseases Act of 1864, which required registration and periodic examination of prostitutes in all cantonment towns in India.⁵³¹ Despite this Act, venereal disease endured and, according to a British official,

[The] number of days spent last year [1876] in the Calcutta General Hospital alone, by Europeans and a few Eurasians, on account of venereal disease, was 9,808. The cost of this to the hospital principally was rupees sixteen thousand one hundreds and sixty-four, this is men, whose other diseases were owing to or aggravated by, this same cause.⁵³²

Crucially, the notion that men could simply avoid having sex with prostitutes in India did not emerge as a viable strategy for avoiding venereal disease.⁵³³ Though

⁵³⁰ Erica Wald, "From Begums and Bibis to Abandoned Females and Idle Women: Sexual Relationships, Venereal Disease and the Redefinition of Prostitution in Early Nineteenth-Century India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46, no. 1 (2009): 5-6. For a discussion of the Anglo-Indian judiciary, which helped to shape the legal conceptions of temple dancing girls in the nineteenth century, see Kunal M. Parker, "'A Corporation of Superior Prostitutes' Anglo-Indian Legal Conceptions of Temple Dancing Girls, 1800-1914," *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 3 (July 1998).

⁵³¹ Veena Talwar Oldenburg, "Lifestyle as Resistance: The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow, India," *Feminist Studies* 16, no. 2. Speaking for Others/Speaking for Self: Women of Color (Summer 1990): 260. For a discussion of the types of diseases, see Douglas M. Peers, "Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805-1860," *Medical History* 42(1998). Peers also makes an important point that administrators in India saw the issues of venereal disease and intemperance as inextricably linked "social diseases", intimately bounded with the notion of military discipline which encompassed, among other qualities, morality and character. ———, "Imperial Vice: Sex, Drink and the Health of British Troops in North Indian Cantonments, 1800-1858," in *Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers C. 1700-1964*, ed. David Killingray and David Omissi, *Studies in Imperialism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press), 25-26.

⁵³² As quoted in Banerjee, *Under the Raj*, 56. For discussions of later nineteenth century approaches to venereal disease in colonial India, see Philippa Levine, "Rereading the 1890s: Venereal Disease As "Constitutional Crisis" In Britain and British India," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (August 1996): 585-612; ———, "Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, no. 4 (April 1994): 579-602; ———, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁵³³ Peers, "Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805-1860", 138.

Johnson suggested “a taste for some of the more refined and elegant species of literature...[to dispel] ennui, the moth of mind and body”, constructions of masculine British identities set against effeminate Indians made administrators reluctant to interfere with what they considered healthy expressions of heterosexuality.⁵³⁴ Therefore, the target of the campaign against venereal disease became the recently defined ‘prostitute’.

Even so, prostitution was clearly not an exclusively Eastern phenomenon. Johnson goes so far as to suggest that a comparison with the “*beau monde* at home” would show that “we shall not have much reason to congratulate ourselves on the great physical continence resulting from our gloomy skies”.⁵³⁵ Captain Thomas Williamson similarly observed that “the ladies in that quarter...keep pace with *the most enlightened* of our own population!”⁵³⁶ Nevertheless, it is the *consequences* of sexual excess in India that outstrip the “licentious indulgences” of the metropole for, as Johnson strongly cautions, “I can assure my reader, that he will find, probably when it is too late, how much more dangerous and destructive they are than in Europe!”⁵³⁷ As the following examination demonstrates, the dangerous and destructive forces of sexual excess in India were not limited to the effects upon the body and the purse, but threatened British hegemony in India by challenging the distinctions between ruler and ruled.

Although recent scholarship has pointed to the importance of specificity when examining debates surrounding prostitution in early nineteenth-century

⁵³⁴ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 478-479.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 478.

⁵³⁶ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 425.

⁵³⁷ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 552.

India—a group that would soon consist of temple dancers, educated courtesans, concubines and bazaar and cantonment sex workers as well as some domestic servants—representations of nabobs in graphic satire very much deal with the generalisations that enabled critics to simplify issues, simplifications supported by contemporary expert opinion.⁵³⁸ For example, in an effort to explain how courtesans held a valued position in Indian society, Williamson instead concretizes caste stereotypes through charged terms like ‘abomination’, ‘impure’, and ‘hereditary’:

In every part of India the profession of a prostitute is devoid of that stigma annexed to it in Europe : persons following it are protected by law in certain privileges, and their persons are far from being held in abomination, such as we should suppose must be generated towards so impure a character among the moralists of the East. This is entirely owing to the profession being hereditary, the same as other sects, and not promiscuous, or arising from vicious propensities, as we see daily the case among us.⁵³⁹

These generalisations encouraged the separation of the manly Briton and the weak Indian by the creation of moral distinctions. However, although discussions regarding prostitution in the early colonial period suggest that venereal disease was a potentially crippling situation in India, masculinity—as expressed through heterosexual activity—was evidently a higher priority. This priority reveals a puzzling dichotomy, for the expression of masculinity through sex with prostitutes challenged emerging notions of conducting British rule in India through a rubric of morality which conveniently, though contradictorily, served as both an objective and a justification for rule. By basing British dominion in India

⁵³⁸ Erica Wald, "Defining Prostitution and Redefining Women's Roles: The Colonial State and Society in Early 19th Century India," *History Compass* 7, no. 6 (2009): 1470.

⁵³⁹ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 423.

“upon solid principles of State morality”, as Burke suggested in 1788, in opposition to both the arbitrary power of previous Muslim regimes and the morally flexible native, the metropole was provided with a method to restrict behaviours that threatened British authority in India whilst creating a secure national identity that would help maintain their objectives.⁵⁴⁰

Constructions of “morally-informed British manliness” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been productively explored by, among others, Linda Colley, Catherine Hall, David Kucha, John M. Mackenzie, John Tosh and James Walvin.⁵⁴¹ More specifically, the impact of masculinity on the administration of India by the British has been closely observed by Mrinalini Sinha and Joseph Srameck. Whereas Sinha’s project deals primarily with the late nineteenth-century ability of the British to defuse threats to rule through the absence of overt challenges to the category of the “effeminate Bengalis”, Sramrek argued that the major threat during the early colonial period (1780-1857) was

⁵⁴⁰ This notion of manly virtue would eventually coalesce into the Victorian “muscular Christianity” supported by institutions such as the Salvation Army, the Young Men’s Christian Association, and Lord Baden Powell’s Boy Scouts which encouraged sporting activities framed in militaristic organizations that “contain, capture, restrain and discipline masculinity”. Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 98.

⁵⁴¹ Joseph Sramek, “A Moral Empire? Anxieties About Masculinity and Colonial Governance in Company India, Ca. 1780-1857” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2007). 19. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*; Catherine Hall, “Competing Masculinities: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the Case of Governor Eyre,” in *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 255-95. David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002). John M. Mackenzie, “The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 176-98. John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999). James Walvin, “Symbols of Moral Superiority: Slavery, Sport and the Changing World Order, 1800-1940,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 242-60.

whether Company agents could be depended on to govern India responsibly.⁵⁴² I argue that Rowlandson's inclusion of a visit to an Indian prostitute in the progress of the nabob reveals yet another administrative issue; namely, how can one claim a moral high ground, and rule through that distinction, when one shares a lineage?

Ironically, despite the *noblesse oblige* claimed by the British on the grounds of morality, domestic arrangements with Indian women were more threatening than the "vicious and immoral connexions with Native females" Johnson claimed would "speedily sap the foundation of principles imbibed in early youth, and involve a train of consequences, not seldom embarrassing, if not embittering every subsequent period of life".⁵⁴³ Prostitution is therefore not at odds with homosocial colonialism; quite the opposite, patronizing prostitutes relieved British men of responsibility for the products of miscegenation.⁵⁴⁴ Delegitimizing domestic arrangements between Anglo-Indians and Indians and providing state-maintained prostitution gave the British additional controls over the bodies of their subjects and helped to maintain the distinctions that were ever more being made between ruler and subject. According to Rowlandson, however, this was a doomed endeavour. As the nabob embodied the imperial project, a venture fraught with extreme bodily consequences, the anxiety over what the

⁵⁴² Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Sramek, "A Moral Empire? Anxieties About Masculinity and Colonial Governance in Company India, Ca. 1780-1857".

⁵⁴³ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 478-479.

⁵⁴⁴ For my argument, a considerable debt is owed to Ann Laura Stoler who suggested that the categories of "colonizer" and "colonized" were secured through sexual control. Ann Laura Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia," in *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy*, ed. Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela Di Leonardo (New York: Routledge, 1997), 14. Tosh's acknowledgement of eighteenth-century tensions "between manliness as enjoyment and manliness as abstinence" is also helpful in addressing the seemingly contradictory notion of morality through heterosexual behaviour with prostitutes. John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop* 38 (1994): 182.

nabob would leave behind created an incongruous blend of sexually articulated masculinity and state morality.

In light of these issues, the dichotomous cross simultaneously suggesting violence and Christian morality and the ubiquitous treatment of British-patronized prostitution in *PAYS A NOCTURNAL VISIT TO DUNGAREE* begins to make more sense. The motivation for Combe's erasure of Qui Hi's participation in sexual excess in Dangidi is also more comprehensible. Rowlandson illustrates that the binaries implemented in the construction of national identities, both as a rationalization for sexual excess and as a justification for rule, led to an unhappy end. In a further irony, the sanction of sexual excess through state-monitored prostitution curbed the ostensibly 'unchecked masculinity' of the nabob; thus, criminalizing relationships with Indian women pulls the Anglo-Indian man from the periphery, back into British society. It is important to note that Qui Hi's illness could very well have been caused or complicated by a venereal disease. Nevertheless, in true Rowlandson form, if these issues proved to be too much for the beholders of *PAYS A NOCTURNAL VISIT TO DUNGAREE*, artistic relief is provided by drawing the eye above the rooftops to rest on clearly rendered exotic palms and a pleasant night sky. According to Combe, despite the domestic contentment British men may have found in India, "...certain ladies, sans a name,/ All female reputation shame;/ And though their characters and lives,/ Can never credit them as wives".⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁵ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 208.

III. 'Female Adventurers'

In 1810 there were roughly 250 European women living in India, a number that would grow to 42,000 by the start of the twentieth century when bringing one's wife or marrying a European woman on-site became ideal structures of conjugality for Anglo-Indians.⁵⁴⁶ Once unflatteringly referred to as women of the "Fishing Fleet", European women were discouraged from coming to India in great numbers in the eighteenth century as their presence might upset the relationships with Indian rulers and, by extension, trade.⁵⁴⁷ "Female adventurers" were pilloried in graphic satire as unsavoury commodity imports, exemplified by *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES* from 1786 by James Gillray (Figure 93).⁵⁴⁸ On a dock in Calcutta, a foppish auctioneer oversees the inspection of a new cargo of British women by a throng of potential customers. Mary Dorothy George and Draper Hill argued that the crowd consisted of both British and Indian men.⁵⁴⁹ In this instance, this analysis seems plausible but Rowlandson reworked the image for Tegg's *Caricature Warehouse*

⁵⁴⁶ Alison Blunt, "Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 24, no. 4 (1999): 428. The trajectory for Anglo-Indian women from *adventurers* to sanctioned empire builders was certainly not smooth. According to Alison Blunt, the representation of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, also referred to as the Indian Mutiny, was "embodied by the fate of British women and the defilement of their bodies and their homes". ———, "Embodying War: British Women and Domestic Defilement in the Indian 'Mutiny', 1857-8," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26, no. 3 (2000): 403. Furthermore, though marriage to British women seems to be a neat solution, Mary Procida's work posits that the ambivalence towards women in India persisted as evidenced by the disparity between how Anglo-Indian women viewed themselves as agents of empire and how they were viewed by the empire. In the 1881 Census, for example, Anglo-Indian women claimed their husband's occupations as their own, demonstrating the perception that their work was an extension of their husband's. This was "corrected" with the term "housewife", illustrating that "officially, there was no place for wives in the Raj". Mary A. Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 31.

⁵⁴⁷ Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors*, 23.

⁵⁴⁸ Tennant, *Indian Recreations*, 72.

⁵⁴⁹ George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 169.

in 1811 (Figure 94). The majority of the composition remains largely true to Gillray's original work; however, the abundance of pink faces in Rowlandson's rendition renders George and Hill's conclusions suspect. I argue that the figures Rowlandson reworked are, in reality, nabobs. This position is supported by the lack of contrast between the skin tones of prospective customers in the print, a lack of distinction made even more powerful when compared to the diminutive, dark-skinned servant holding an umbrella over a central figure. As argued by Beth Fowkes Tobin, "cultural cross-dressing" was an indication of the Briton's ability to "master the alien and the exotic".⁵⁵⁰ By altering the image, Rowlandson emphasised the novelty of Anglo-Indians feebly clothed in Indian attire, evidenced by their unkempt, incongruous appearance. It is clear that these nabobs have failed to cross-dress with success but, more importantly, Rowlandson's alteration of the image also suggests that a competition for English women between native men and Anglo-Indians had become taboo.

In the early colonial period, the Company adopted a Portuguese custom of recruiting a supply of women for their possessions in the East. Guaranteed their "Diet" for a year in India, but given no dowries, it was thought that the women's morals would quickly deteriorate in the face of poverty, yet candidates still embarked for India.⁵⁵¹ Gillray's *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES* may have been the inspiration for an article in *The Times* commenting upon the influx of hopeful women intending to improve their fortunes through a good marriage: "The East India *market* is again opened for *English beauties*, and

⁵⁵⁰ Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 111.

⁵⁵¹ Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Kennikat Press, 1938), 38.

a large exportation is shortly to take place. Several are already entered outwards.”⁵⁵²

The licentious quality of the inspection of women in both versions of *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES* is uncomplicated. The auctioneer’s podium consists of cargo “For the use of the Supreme Council” from “Mrs Phillips the original inventor of Leicester Fields, London”. Phillips was an infamous dealer of contraceptive appliances and counterfeit medicines and the four barrels of Leakes Pills found in the left foreground similarly point to sexual excess: a remedy for venereal disease created by Walter Leake, a professional book-binder and amateur fraud.⁵⁵³ Nevertheless, the full iconographic intention of the composition requires more than a cursory glance. The aforementioned umbrella-holding servant, for instance, recalls the eighteenth-century artistic convention of depicting a black servant as what Catherine Molineux termed “an empty icon of fashion and socio-sexual corruption”.⁵⁵⁴ The benchmark example in graphic satire is Plate 2 of Hogarth’s *A Harlot’s Progress* (Figure 95). Moll Hackabout, who is mistress to a Jewish merchant, diverts her master’s attention by snapping her fingers and kicking over the tea table, sending the crockery crashing to the floor and thereby allowing her skulking lover to escape the apartment unnoticed. In the bottom right corner stands an alarmed black child dressed in fine livery, on his way to replenish the hot water in the now broken tea service. The function of the body servant during Hogarth’s lifetime was purely

⁵⁵² *The Times*, February 27, 1788, 3.

⁵⁵³ Hill, *Fashionable Contrasts*, 170.

⁵⁵⁴ Molineux, "Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves", 496.

visual.⁵⁵⁵ According to David Bindman, the body servant would accompany his mistress to social engagements, serve refreshments to her guests and be present at even the most intimate of activities, eventually becoming synonymous with “extravagance, vanity and lax sexual morality”.⁵⁵⁶ Hogarth used the black servant to articulate that Moll’s sexual immorality was about to boil over into disaster, a sentiment made plain by the tea kettle with strategically situated phallic spout. Returning to *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES*, the departure Rowlandson made from Gillray’s original work is the direct manner by which the servant communicates with the audience. The servant is the only figure in the composition to, in theatrical terms, ‘break the fourth wall’, an effect which renders impossible the simple act of passive viewing and implicates the beholder in the activity represented. It also provides an important glimpse of things to come for Rowlandson’s treatment of nabobs in India.

To be sure, the goals of “damsel-errantry” were not wholly unlike the objectives of Anglo-Indian men: to assume a lifestyle that could never be achieved in the metropole, an objective gently caricatured in a print after James Moffat entitled *A LADY’S DRESSING ROOM in Calcutta* (Figure 96). Published in 1813, this image depicts six Indian servants caring for one European ‘lady’ and her child.⁵⁵⁷ This “increase of domestics, of cloathing, of accommodation” was precisely the problem for Captain Thomas Williamson, who argued that the cost associated with keeping a European lady was counterproductive to the pecuniary

⁵⁵⁵ David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 39.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ For a discussion of ‘damsel-errantry’ see Banerjee, *Under the Raj*, 42.

goals of Anglo-Indians in India. His very clear ideas regarding marriage and the products of marriage in India warrant a lengthy quote:

Even on a penurious scale, the difference will amount to full three hundred pounds yearly; but if, as is certainly desirable, it be conducted on a more appropriate footing, double that sum must be allowed. Add to this, the peremptory necessity that exists, for sending every child to Europe at a very early age; the expense of which is never to be computed under a hundred and fifty pounds. To complete the difficulties attendant on the occasion, it is a thousand to one, but that, at the end of a few years, the mother is compelled, by those peculiar infirmities inseparable from her situation in that climate, to accompany her infants to Europe; there to seek the restoration of health, and to console herself among her little offspring, until the father may, notwithstanding those heavy demands created by the wants of his family, be able to save sufficient money to repair to the objects of his affection. This is no exaggeration: it is to be witnessed annually and may be seen attended with the most distressing effects to most meritorious individuals, who unfortunately allow love to walk in at the door, without observing that poverty is treading upon her train.”⁵⁵⁸

Despite the danger of allowing ‘love to walk in at the door’, the inspection in A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES seems to be going well.

On the other hand, the image does make reference to the women who will be disappointed in their mission to secure husbands. The “Returned Empties” are being led through the warehouse under a sign reading, “Warehouse for unsaleable Goods from Europe NB : To be return’d by the next Ship”.⁵⁵⁹ Whether or not these women are successful, they have discarded their virtuous selves in India and can only hope for what Nandini Bhattacharya calls “redeemed female identity” or the rejection of claims of “excess and profligacy and self-interest, clearly

⁵⁵⁸ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 456.

⁵⁵⁹ Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors*, 23.

associated with oriental and masculinist corruption.”⁵⁶⁰ An acerbic article from *The Times* of 1788 makes clear how critics felt about this form of “live stock”:

The Female Cargoes lately returned from India have put a stop to a number of intended exportations of the same kind of live stock to that part of the world ; the India Nabobs having taken a dislike to British commodities that become a charge instead of a profit to Eastern house-keeping.⁵⁶¹

Thus, the Company was perceived to have been extending their commercial interests to human cargo, a particularly odious concept in light of the increasing efforts against the slave trade by William Wilberforce and others who pledged to put a stop to moral and commercial corruption in England.⁵⁶²

What is of particular interest is the timing of Rowlandson’s adaptation of Gillray’s print, the motivation for which I argue has been up to now concealed by confused attributions and an absence of critical engagement with Rowlandson’s treatment of the nabob. Further analysis of *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES* reveals the sexual dissipation of the nabobs through the satirical adaptation of the allegory of ‘Three Graces’ which was deployed to depict the central group comprised of a woman flanked by two potential suitors. A conventional subject in the visual arts of the eighteenth century portraying the ancient mythological attendants of the goddesses, the ‘Three Graces’—often depicted nude and dancing in a circle—embodied beauty, charm, nature, human creativity and fertility. Sir Joshua Reynolds employed the ‘Graces’ in the portrait of Barbara, Elizabeth and Anne Montgomery in *Three*

⁵⁶⁰ Nandini Bhattacharya, *Reading the Splendid Body: Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century British Writing on India* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1998), 83.

⁵⁶¹ *The Times*, August 28, 1788, 2.

⁵⁶² Geoffrey Moorehouse, *India Britannica* (London: Harvill Press, 1983), 88.

Ladies Adorning a Term of Hymen, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774, as an example of his efforts to imbue his portraits with the classical tradition (Figure 97).⁵⁶³ A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES perverts Reynolds' "graceful historical attitudes" as the central figure gives her left hand to a nabob who in return squeezes her nipple while her right arm is measured by a competitor's walking stick, a common method to evaluate livestock.⁵⁶⁴ Evoking Reynolds's painting in the discussion of Rowlandson's version of this print does not merely bring to mind a well known adaptation of the 'Graces' in eighteenth-century British visual culture. Rather, a vital theme lies at the heart of both images. In her discussion of Reynolds' painting, Marcia Pointon argues that ambiguous and often contradictory responses to issues of marriage with regard to the female subject were satisfied by the tension between allegory and portraiture.⁵⁶⁵ As A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES exemplifies, these tensions were also being satisfied through the use of allegory and caricature. The puzzling ambiguity is that Gillray and Rowlandson positioned European women in this image as potential practitioners of sexual excess, despite the fact that they were coming to India to get married, a moral construct of conjugality. To be sure, raising one's consequence in India through marriage was not without its share of criticism. Mrs. Fenton, for example, quipped that a woman who could not put on a stocking without the assistance of

⁵⁶³ Nicholas Penny, *Reynolds* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1986), 263.

⁵⁶⁴ In a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds to the patron, the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner, member of parliament for County Dublin and member of the Privy Council of Ireland, in 1773. James Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Late President of the Royal Academy. Comprising Original Anecdotes, of Many Distinguished Persons, His Contemporaries: And a Brief Analysis of His Discourses. To Which Are Added, Varieties on Art* (London: M. Carey & Son, 1817), 153.

⁵⁶⁵ Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 58.

an army of servants, “seldom had any to wear before she came to India”.⁵⁶⁶ Yet, the endeavour to marry above one’s station was certainly not reserved to the colonial project. Why, then, was the female adventurer a threat to the imperial mission?

The key to discovering the motivations for criticism of Anglo-Indian women is found through a comparison with her male counterpart. As the “Introduction” of this dissertation outlined, the danger of the nabob lay in his infection of the metropole with Eastern excess expressed through arbitrary power, psychological and moral corruption and economic sabotage of the homeland. Despite some cases of equal animus, the “*nabobess*” or “*nabobina*” was often depicted as less threatening.⁵⁶⁷ For example, in *The Maid of the Oaks*, a play by John Burgoyne (1722-1792), the character *Groveby* declares “I will have no nabobs nor nabobesses in my family”; however, Lady Bab’s reply makes the female version of the character seem much less sinister: “The females would be better of the two, for all that: they would not be guilty of so much rapacity to acquire a fortune, and they would spend it to better purposes”.⁵⁶⁸ The term was used rather more affectionately in Laurence Sterne’s (1713-1768) sentimental letters to Elizabeth Draper, posthumously published as the *Journal to Eliza*

⁵⁶⁶ *The Journal of Mrs. Fenton: A Narrative of Her Life in India, the Isle of France, Mauritius, and Tasmania During the Years, 1826-1830* (1901). As quoted in Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, C. 1800-1947*, 37.

⁵⁶⁷ Though Nechtman argued that “nabobinas” were “more dangerous than their male counterparts because...they had to participate in a sexualized commercial system” the contemporary sources do not lead to this conclusion so neatly. Moreover, it seems to me that women were participating in a sexualized commercial system in the metropole as well. Nechtman, “Nabobinas”, 24.

⁵⁶⁸ John Burgoyne, “The Maid of the Oaks. A Dramatic Entertainment in Five Acts,” in *The Minor Theatre: Being a Collection of the Most Approved Farces, Operas and Comedies, in One, Two and Three Acts* (London: John Jarvis, 1793), 57-58.

(1904). In reference to a dinner party, Sterne wrote that the host, Lord Bathurst, hoped “to be introduced as a friend to my fair Indian disciple, and to see her eclipse all other nabobesses as much in wealth, as she does already in exterior and (what is far better) in interior merit.”⁵⁶⁹ Likewise, in the play *The Best Heart in the World* (1807), a man comes to terms with the reality that his son was a rogue and not the upstanding character he had thought, a situation “that old Nabobess, Mrs. Hargrave” had long before judged correctly; consequently, she left her money to a more worthy man.⁵⁷⁰ These depictions of nabobesses as less threatening, exotic and of sound judgment illustrate that the threat of the female Anglo-Indian did not lie in the metropole. As such, I argue that Gillray and Rowlandson articulated that the problem with the female Anglo-Indian was that the East has drawn her from the metropole to be consumed in the colony, suggesting that the reach of Eastern excess was more powerful than previously imagined.

Five years following the reprint of *A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES*, Tegg published *The Grand Master* which represents two European women at pivotal moments in the colonial project. *HINDOO PREJUDICES* depicts Lord and Lady Moira riding towards a Hindu family who, when confronted with unbelievers, destroy their dishes from their now tainted meal (Figure 98). Lady Moira cries, “*My dear Lord! we had better take some other road these poor people are evidently disturbed by our presence we had better*

⁵⁶⁹ Laurence Sterne, *The Journal to Eliza and Various Letters (1767)* (New York: J. F. Taylor & Company, 1904), 17. Ironically, William Combe boasted “that it was with him, not with Sterne, that Eliza was in love”. ix.

⁵⁷⁰ Joseph Moser, “The Best Heart in the World: A Dramatic Sketch, in Two Acts.,” in *The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1807* (London: James Ridgway, 1808), 6.

turn!” Lord Moira’s reply suggests that his past political transgressions are being worked out in the colonial setting at the distinct disadvantage to the natives: “*No, No. your ladyship is really too considerate, let us continue our ride, those wretches are unworthy of our notice, nothing but superstition curse their prejudices. if I allow these liberties I shall soon be as bad here as I was in England.*” The second instance is the aforementioned MISERIES IN INDIA, where the swooning European wife, with her fussy bedclothes and delicate constitution, proves to be a liability in the face of intense heat and biting insects (Figure 74). Nevertheless, according to Williamson, the hardy alternative is clearly not considered an improvement:

Very few European women are to be seen with the regiments in India; such as adventure thither, soon fall victims to the climate, which nothing but the most vigorous constitutions, backed by temperance and uncommon prudence, can enable the sex to resist. Hence, the few that survive, though they present rather a masculine appearance, find it expedient to confine themselves much within the barracks; keeping out of the sun, and avoiding the use of strong liquors.⁵⁷¹

Though the children of these women “prove remarkably hardy”, European women were evidently not considered an asset to the colonial project in this period.⁵⁷²

Furthermore, women who attempted to have a sobering effect on their Company men were satirized for being argumentative. *The Bottle & the Bed – Scene in Calcutta* from 1813 after James Moffat, for example, shows a nasty row between wife and husband, the source of the strife being the his excessive drinking and the lateness of the hour (Figure 99) . This image is cited by Chattopadhyay as an example of how native servants were considered untrustworthy, lurking in

⁵⁷¹ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 458.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 458.

doorways and spying on their masters; however, Moffat's image centres on the dispute between husband and wife in a moment when colonial marriage was not supported as a desired conjugal paradigm. It therefore seems more plausible that the embarrassment of a dysfunctional domestic situation, caused by excessive drinking, and the subsequent marital strife, being witnessed by the so-called inferior race (notwithstanding the deeply brown faces of the Europeans) is the real subject of this image.⁵⁷³

Despite the poor reception, women continued to travel to India seeking improved domestic situations and perhaps an adventure not possible in the metropole. Confusion regarding women's roles in India enabled opportunists like Fanny Parkes (1794-1875) to satisfy her curiosity through "vagabondizing over India", exemplifying her claim that she was an "Independent Woman".⁵⁷⁴ They came in such numbers, according to Rev. William Tennant in 1803, "as threaten to defeat its purpose".⁵⁷⁵ He warned,

Formerly female adventurers in India were few; but highly successful... Few, in comparison, now find themselves in circumstances that invite to matrimonial engagements; hence a number of unfortunate females are seen wandering for years in a single and unconnected state. Some are annually forced to abandon the forlorn hope; and return to Europe, after the loss of beauty, too frequently their only property.⁵⁷⁶

Marriage was becoming a "national concern" in this period and this interest extended to, and in some cases was defined by, the colonial experience.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷³ Chattopadhyay, "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits Of "White Town" In Colonial Calcutta." 175.

⁵⁷⁴ William Dalrymple, ed. *Begums, Thugs and White Mughals: The Journals of Fanny Parkes* (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2002), v-vi.

⁵⁷⁵ Tennant, *Indian Recreations*, 73-74.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁵⁷⁷ Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, 59.

Pointon cites a 1794 poem that advises the rejection of brothels and the espousal of matrimony to create a country “bound...by the strongest ties”; however, marriage to European women in India was still puzzlingly burdened with criticism.⁵⁷⁸ R.W. Connell’s insight that “masculinities are not only shaped by the process of imperial expansion” but that imperial expansion is shaped by masculinities, is an issue manifestly grappled with in the representations of nabobs (and nabobesses) in graphic satire.⁵⁷⁹

For Rowlandson, it is not the voice of reason provided by Lady Moira which is of principle importance, but the comparison of her wise counsel to Lord Moira’s insensitive tramp over India. Moreover, it was not the frailty of a European woman in the face of an unpleasant climate in MISERIES IN INDIA, but the audacity of her husband for marrying her *in* or bringing her *to* India, before his colonial project was complete. Gillray’s and Rowlandson’s renditions of A SALE OF ENGLISH-BEAUTIES IN THE EAST INDIES remained influential touchstones for the attitudes towards European women in India, criteria that were slowly being challenged as the utility of Anglo-Indian women in the colonial project increased. Excluding critical responses to empire, some of which have been considered here, the notion that British men and women were being drawn to India for dissolute reasons of improved financial and social conditions was concealed within the increasing rhetoric of Burke’s ‘state morality’.

⁵⁷⁸ *Hymen: A Poem*, “Detest the Harlot’s prostituted kiss / And flee the Brothel, for domestic bliss; / then might we hope to see firm Patriot’s rise, / Bound to their country by the strongest ties.” As quoted in *Ibid*.

⁵⁷⁹ R. W. Connell, “The History of Masculinity,” in *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, ed. Rachel Adams and David Savran (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 245.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, good relations with Indian rulers was no longer a priority and administrators wanted to remove “the obstacles to matrimony” which experts saw as the cause of “the wild luxuriance of unbridled excess”.⁵⁸⁰ Neatly summarized by Ballhatchet, *memsahibs* would come to bear the brunt of the creation and the maintenance of racial hierarchies in India: “As wives they hastened the disappearance of the Indian mistress. As hostesses they fostered the development of exclusive social groups in every civil station. As women they were thought by Englishmen to be in need of protection from lascivious Indians.”⁵⁸¹ Once this notion of homosocial colonialism was adjusted in India to include Anglo-Indian women, they became important agents of moral imperialism. Their very presence enabled comparisons between the unmanly Hindu who treated women poorly—the practice of *sati*, or the voluntary or coerced immolation of a widow on her husband’s funeral pyre, and the identification by colonial agents of a scriptural tradition of oppressing women being two of the strongest examples—and the Briton, who congratulated himself for treating women better.⁵⁸² A crucial point made by Krishnaswamy is that the British seemed more interested in the emasculation of Indian men than with the

⁵⁸⁰ Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates*, 479.

⁵⁸¹ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the British Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980), 5. See also Caplan, “Iconographies of Anglo-Indian Women”. For the importance of rape narratives in colonial literature, see Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), Pamela Lothspeich, “Unspeakable Outrages and Unbearable Defilements: Rape Narratives in the Literature of Colonial India,” *Postcolonial Text* 3, no. 1 (2007): 1-19, and Blunt, “Embodying War.”

⁵⁸² Krishnaswamy, “The Economy of Colonial Desire”, 310. For the use of *sati* as a method by which to justify British conquest, see Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). For the condemnation of poor treatment of women based on the identification of a scriptural tradition by colonial agents and the nationalist response, see Partha Chatterjee, “Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India,” *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (November 1989): 622-33.

emancipation of women, be they British or Indian.⁵⁸³ Nevertheless, before European women could be credited with strengthening the Empire through practical applications of racism, becoming “that bundle of English prejudices”, they challenged homosocial colonialism.⁵⁸⁴ In early colonial India, the Company’s response was to discourage European women from making the journey while they created state sanctioned-prostitution. By including these responses in the nabob’s progress, Rowlandson marked these policies as destructive to Qui Hi, the imperial project and, by extension, the nation.

IV. Qui Hi’s Colonial Legacy

For ‘tis a fact that Qui Hi lately,
Was caught in *Cupid’s trap* completely,
And nothing but her charming self
Could satisfy the *lovelorn* elf.
Reader, she was black as *soot*—
Blacker, aye *blacker* than your boot !
But whether she was black or sooty,
Qui Hi consider’d her a beauty ;
And, therefore, took her not *for worse*,
As many husbands take—a *curse*,
But simply with her own consent,
San’s ceremony, off she went;⁵⁸⁵

In MISERIES OF THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, Qui Hi is depicted amidst the trappings of a would-be nabob: a *hookah*, a *hookahburdar*, alcoholic beverages, a throng of *shroffs*, domestic servants and a female Indian companion. Whether the seductively dressed woman doted on by a hefty female servant is Goulab or an Indian concubine is yet unclear. Combe marks Goulab’s first appearance rather abruptly in “Canto VI” when Qui Hi plans an overland trip to Bombay. One

⁵⁸³ Krishnaswamy, "The Economy of Colonial Desire."

⁵⁸⁴ From Anonymous, *Observations on India* (1853) quoted in Spear, *The Nabobs*, 141.

⁵⁸⁵ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 151.

moment he is planning to provide a cook for his entourage, and the next, he readies “the camels, buff’loes, horse, and lady” in a revelatory characterisation of a budding nabob’s view of women as livestock.⁵⁸⁶ Rowlandson’s first clear depiction of Goulab is no less abrupt, plunking her between the raucous drinking party at Bobbery Hall and Qui Hi’s incarceration in debtor’s prison, illustrating the swift pace of Qui Hi’s progress (Figures 47 and 48).

Unlike the early period of the Company’s commercial activities in India when British men were encouraged to create kinship ties with local groups through relationships with Indian women—and avoiding the cost “to import women for their white subjects”—by the end of the eighteenth century, aforementioned administrative reforms aimed to regulate the private lives of Company men.⁵⁸⁷ These reforms reflected the goals of empire as opposed to mere commercial interest and resulted in a further distancing between British rulers and Indian subjects.⁵⁸⁸ Ronald Hyam and Kenneth Ballhatchet have argued that fears of intermarriage and miscegenation were motivated by the Haitian Revolution in French-controlled Saint-Domingue (1791-1804), where an estimated 24,000 whites were killed in a terrifying example of colonial failure the British did not care to replicate.⁵⁸⁹ The possibility of upsetting the delicate balance of power in India created considerable anxiety for British administrators, particularly when

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid. Goulab is curiously absent in the two images which immediately follow Qui Hi’s journey to Bombay. See *Qui Hi Arrives at the Bunder-Head* (Figure 2) and *Qui Hi in the Bombay Tavern* (Figure 46).

⁵⁸⁷ As quoted in Sudipta Sen, “Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India,” *South Asia* XXIV, Special Issue (2001): 30. For an example of men, like James Achilles Kirkpatrick, who resisted these attempts at social control see Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*.

⁵⁸⁸ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, ed. John M. MacKenzie, *Studies in Imperialism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 116-17.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

much of the army was staffed by Indian and Eurasian men.⁵⁹⁰ Rumours circulating at the turn of the century that the Haitian Revolution had ‘Eurasian’ leadership further promoted those fears.⁵⁹¹ In his *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt: In the Years 1802-1806*, for example, Viscount George Valentia cautioned that “half-caste” children were the “most rapidly increasing evil of Bengal” as they jeopardized the select position of rulers by recklessly inviting membership to what were known as “half-castes”, “country-born”, or “demi-Bengalis.”⁵⁹²

In ALL ALIVE IN THE CHOKEE, Rowlandson addresses this ‘issue’ directly, though perhaps more compassionately than the Company would have liked. Rowlandson situates Goulab on top of Qui Hi’s trunk, thus signifying a collection of Qui Hi’s possessions which includes the baby she holds. She is depicted in a pose reminiscent of the *Madonna and Child* in Christian art, which viewers would immediately recognize as an articulation of sacred maternal love. The impulse is to suggest that Rowlandson was referring ironically to Goulab’s non-Christian, and therefore uncivilised status within the realm; however, as the artist has repeatedly shown, the subject of this satire is not the people of India, but the imperial project embodied in the nabob. Significantly, when Captain

⁵⁹⁰ For the notion that Christian missions would also upset this precarious balance of power in India, see my “Graphic Satire, Hudibrastics and ‘Missionary Influence’”.

⁵⁹¹ Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the British Raj*, 98. Mixed-race participation was, in fact, crucial to the success of the Haitian Revolution. For more on this, see C.L.R James’ seminal work, *The Black Jacobins*, 3rd ed., (London: Allison and Busby Limited, 1980). For the complexities surrounding race in the Haitian Revolution, see Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) and David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti*, Revised ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

⁵⁹² As quoted in Herbert Alick Stark, *John Ricketts and His Times, Being a Narrative Account of Anglo-Indian Affairs During the Eventful Years from 1791 to 1835* (Calcutta: Wilsone, 1934), 19-20. “Calcutta in the Olden Time: Its People, a Collection of 510 Pamphlets on the East Indias and China, in 95 Volumes,” *Calcutta Review* 34-35(1860): 218.

Williamson's East India *Vade-Mecum* was published, the "issue of an European father by a native woman" was considered to be "of an effeminate, weakly constitution, and of a disposition by no means entitled to commendation."⁵⁹³

Characterizations like this helped to facilitate Company policies which divided Anglo/Indian families in both a theoretical and a practical sense; therefore, the sudden irrelevance of his relationship with Goulab and the marginalized reality of his son's future may be added causes for Qui Hi's excessive drinking. It furthermore may account for Rowlandson's sensitive association between Goulab and the Virgin Mary, another figure who attempted to raise her son under the political structure of foreign occupation by a culture who thought themselves superior to the locals.

Philippa Levine has commented that in the colonial age, the "British saw prostitution wherever they looked."⁵⁹⁴ Company responses to venereal disease through the criminalisation of relationships with native women certainly illustrated one strategy to discourage and to control associations of this kind; however, different approaches were necessary for the delegitimizing of Anglo/Indian domestic life when prostitution could not be claimed so easily.⁵⁹⁵ The "*cara amica[s]*", "bosom friends", "*begums*" and "*beebees*" of the eighteenth century, often commemorated in portraits, acknowledged in wills, and written about with pride and affection, were less easily reconciled as 'immoral

⁵⁹³ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 458-460.

⁵⁹⁴ Philippa Levine, "'A Multitude of Unchaste Women:' Prostitution in the British Empire," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 159.

⁵⁹⁵ The imagining of a sexualized woman of empire which was set in contradistinction from the imagining of a domestic English womanhood forms a central principle of Felicity Nussbaum's study of the centre and periphery in English narrative. See the "Introduction", as well page 170 in Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives*.

connexions'.⁵⁹⁶ Class was certainly a determining factor as these relationships tended to occur between high ranking British men and high ranking Indian women. For example, though the identity of the sitter cannot be definitively proven, *An Indian Lady*, by Irish painter Thomas Hickey (1741-1824), very likely captures the image of *Jemdanee*, *beebee* of William Hickey, a Supreme Court attorney in Calcutta (Figure 100).⁵⁹⁷ The term *beebee* in the 1780s was used as a bridge between what the British understood as the Hindustani 'lady' and the Anglicised 'native mistress' but predated the derogative application used to denote English women of lower rank. In the case of *Jemdanee*, the term was used endearingly and Hickey's writings suggest that he was quite proud of the comfort and public status he gained from their relationship:

[Jemdanee] lived with me, respected and admired by all my friends for her extraordinary sprightliness and good humour. Unlike the women in Asia she never secluded herself from the sight of strangers; on the contrary, she delighted in joining my male parties, cordially joining in the mirth which prevailed though never touching wine or spirits of any kind....as gentle and affectionately attached a girl as ever man was blessed with.⁵⁹⁸

Mildred Archer's analysis of the painting points out the absence of awkwardness in her pose and the frequent meetings between the artist and the sitter as signals to her "secure place in William Hickey's heart", making her an obvious subject for a portrait.⁵⁹⁹ Charles Smith (1749-1824), a Scot who worked chiefly in Lucknow, similarly captured confidence in his female Indian sitter, a woman believed to be a princess in the Mughal Emperor's court in Delhi and the *beebee* to Company

⁵⁹⁶ Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 35.

⁵⁹⁷ William Hickey is of no relation to the artist. P. J. Marshall, "Hickey, William (1749-1827)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁹⁸ As quoted in Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825*, 208.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

paymaster and accountant John Wombwell (Figure 101).⁶⁰⁰ The poise with which she is captured does not merely express pride in her beauty, the quality of her material possessions or the grandeur of her surroundings; it articulates the security she holds within her domestic role, signified by the assurance with which she faces her beholders. In terms of family portraits, Johan Zoffany's (1733-1810) painting of the Palmers from 1786 (formerly attributed to Francesco Renaldi) tenderly and unabashedly celebrates the interracial accord that could be experienced in India during the final decades of the eighteenth century (Figure 102). Major William Palmer (1740-1816) is portrayed in military uniform, affectionately gazing at his wife, the Begam Faiz Baksh, who is in turn flanked by their children William and Mary and holds baby Hastings in her lap. After thirty-five years together, Palmer died leaving Faiz Baksh his house and lands, a legal move that happened in at least one third of probate records at this time.⁶⁰¹ Although many more examples exist, these few images of Indian women who were considered honoured members of British households reveal that immorality or the potential spread of disease could not be used to delegitimize these domestic arrangements.⁶⁰² Instead, schemes to eliminate the legal and the social rights Indian consorts could claim from British institutions became matters of race.

⁶⁰⁰ Life dates for John Wombwell are, as yet, unknown. de Almeida and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, 79.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 87. Norbert Schurer, "The Impartial Spectator of Sati, 1757-84," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (2008): 22. Margo C. Finn also reminds us that the "fragmented and diasporic nature of Anglo-Indian social relations" made a British approach to wills in India impossible as the distance would often prevent natal and marital families to be a part of probate. Finn, "Colonial Gifts", 208.

⁶⁰² For discussions of these paintings and for more examples, see "Chapter 4" of Fowkes Tobin's, *Picturing Imperial Power*, and "Part Two" of de Almeida and Gilpin's, *Indian Renaissance*.

Company policies enacted between 1786 and 1815—which included the expulsion of men with mixed parentage from significant positions in the civil and military wings of the Company; the Company Court of Directors’ declination of the application submitted by the Upper Orphanage School of Calcutta for wards to be sent to Britain to receive educations; the order stating that only legitimate children of European parents would be allowed to ‘return’ to Britain; the separation between “the European and Native branches” of the King’s troops; the Bengal Civil fund, which provided widows and children of Company servants a pension, being closed to Indian women and their children; and that “native orphans, (those born of native mothers)” could no longer be taken to England without hefty deposits, “lest they become a burden to the Company”—made clear the Company’s stance on interracial marriage and subsequent miscegenation.⁶⁰³ Even Captain Williamson’s Company guidebook was edited in the 1825 edition to exclude sections regarding the “invaluable” comfort native companions could provide, particularly when a British man was ill.⁶⁰⁴ In terms of the motivations for such policies, as Sir Robert Grant wrote in 1813, there was an “essential incompatibility between political authority and political subjection”.⁶⁰⁵ Sen’s point that the “incipient paternalism” of the state, increasingly viewed as an extended domestic arena, helps to explain how Anglo/Indian domesticity became a target for Company-state intervention.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires", 34. Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 456-57.

⁶⁰⁴ Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 456-57. Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 36.

⁶⁰⁵ As quoted in Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires", 36.

⁶⁰⁶ ———, *Distant Sovereignty*, 87.

The next appearance of Goulab in *The Grand Master* shows her progression from a Madonna to a grief-stricken Virgin Mary in the manner of *Lamentation of Christ* scenes (Figure 60). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Rowlandson cast the dying Qui Hi as a Christ-like figure in LAST VISIT FROM THE DOCTORS ASSISTANT. Goulab's pose is an example of an *exempla virtutis*; thus representing eighteenth-century British "ideal female conduct in response to grievous loss".⁶⁰⁷ Rowlandson satirically reduced the imperial martyr's ecstatic union with God by portraying the reality of many colonial deaths: ill, imprisoned for debt, Qui Hi dies without any assistance from his own people. Simultaneously, Rowlandson elevates Goulab's status from an ostracised Indian consort to the ideal of British female conduct. Finally, Rowlandson's cunning conflation of the prostitute Mary Magdalene and the maternal Virgin Mary references Goulab's now precarious moral standing with her domestic master and her state masters.

This curiously sympathetic portrayal was made despite increasing metropolitan and colonial criticism towards Anglo/Indian relations; however, when addressed alongside the political strategies which helped to justify British rule, Rowlandson's compassion for the now rank-less Goulab becomes ever more lucid. Concurrent with attempts to create a conceptual distance between the bodies of imperial agents and those of their subjects through colonial medical discourse, rhetoric regarding the treatment of women was deployed to generate a moral conceptual distance from the alleged barbarities of Indian men and their culture.

⁶⁰⁷ Bindman, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument*, 35.

A considerable body of scholarship regarding the denunciation of British colonial domesticity with native women exists, much of which concentrates on colonial tropes fashioned to justify their rule. Partha Chatterjee, for example, has identified colonial representations of Indian women as “unfree and oppressed” in order to illustrate the “degenerate and barbaric” practices of an uncivilized culture.⁶⁰⁸ Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick similarly argue that the “sexuated body” of an Indian woman was a site of “justificatory discourses” where the British claimed the role of saviour, making colonial state power necessary on moral grounds.⁶⁰⁹ Pompa Banerjee argued that the manner by which sati was represented in texts of the early modern period had more to do with the identities of Europeans than those of Indians.⁶¹⁰ Furthermore, Revathi Krishnaswamy revealed that the consequences to women of imperial intervention with the “homosocial struggles between English and Indian men” were often at odds with what had been justified as liberal extensions of colonial rule.⁶¹¹ These constructions also become apparent by examining their contestations. For instance, as Sudipta Sen has observed, Eurasian criticism towards the Company utilised discrepancies between their policies’ injustices to the “weaker sex” and

⁶⁰⁸ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 118. Chatterjee, "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women", 622. Caplan also illustrates how Indian nationalists created tropes regarding women's domestic roles for their own political agendas. Caplan, "Iconographies of Anglo-Indian Women", 864. For how the Contagious Diseases Acts and associated sanitary legislation helped to create a paradigm by which the ideal, nationalist mother figure in India became a contested site upon which imperial and nationalist “political scripts were written and negotiated” in the late nineteenth century, see Judy Whitehead, "Bodies Clean and Unclean: Prostitution, Sanitary Legislation, and Respectable Femininity in Colonial North India," *Gender & History* 7, no. 1 (April 1995): 41-63.

⁶⁰⁹ Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick, "Mapping the Colonial Body: Sexual Economies and the State in Colonial India," in *Gender and Colonialism*, ed. Lionel Pilkington Timothy P. Foley, Sean Ryder, Elizabeth Tilley (Galway, Ireland: Galway University Press, 1995), 391.

⁶¹⁰ As discussed in Schurer, "The Impartial Spectator of Sati, 1757-84."

⁶¹¹ Krishnaswamy, "The Economy of Colonial Desire", 310.

the notion of themselves as deriving from a “highly civilized nation”, grounded in part on the so-called equitable treatment of women.⁶¹² Moreover, in their study of nineteenth-century Bengali contestations of bourgeois modes of life, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Ranajit Guha examined the colonial training of the Bengali housewife, concentrating on the problem of how debates about the personal/domestic were to be distinguished from the communal/public.⁶¹³

What these studies have in common, beyond the implementation (to varying degrees) of Saidian theory which pinpoints negotiations of British identities through unsavoury comparisons with the East, is the acknowledgment of the utility of the Messianic trope in early colonial India. This positioning of Britain echoes and reflects emerging claims of moral superiority based on the cultural experience of British women in the metropole. In Hannah More’s *Stricture on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), for example, she claimed that Muslim women were excluded from “light, liberty, and knowledge” because of their immoral treatment through “the laws and the religion of the voluptuous prophet of Arabia”.⁶¹⁴ This “mortifying scene” she continued, is one where “fondness for the mere persons of women is carried to the highest excess, *they are slaves*; and that their moral and intellectual degradation increases in direct proportion to the adoration which is paid to mere external charms.”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² As quoted in Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires", 38.

⁶¹³ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Difference: Deferral of (a) Colonial Modernity: Public Debates on Domesticity in British Bengal," *History Workshop*, no. 36 (1993): 1-34.

⁶¹⁴ Hannah More, "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education " in *The Complete Works of Hannah More* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), 313.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.* For an example of the contradictory stance between the desire for colonial dominance, whilst attempting to achieve self-governance for British women, see Susan B. Taylor, "Feminism and Orientalism in Elizabeth Hamilton's Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Raja," *Women's Studies* 29, no. 5 (2000): 555-82.

Nevertheless, Rowlandson was responding to the reality of a Company servant's experience as opposed to the mounting rhetoric of homosocial colonialism buttressed through 'state morality', revealing an ambivalence towards native consorts in early nineteenth-century Britain that belied emerging colonial ideologies. Quite simply, in order to successfully validate rule on the grounds of moral superiority, achieved through the rescue of a native woman from poor treatment from her 'masters', her 'masters' must be Indian. In light of these themes of rescue, it is logical that Rowlandson would frame his criticism of the imperial project through the use of Christian iconography.

Rowlandson was not alone in attempting to work out the blurring boundaries of the periphery through depictions of native women. Though clearly less sympathetic to Anglo/Indian domesticity, Moffat's *RIVAL CANDIDATES IN CALCUTTA!* published by William Holland in 1813, depicts two ugly nabobs vying for the attention of a blushing, though equally ugly Indian woman (Figure 103). Moffat uses the aesthetically unappealing characteristics of his subjects to distance the metropole from the question of interracial relationships and the implications these associations had for a colony of occupation. A print with a similar aim, though less ribald in its execution, *AN INDIAN LADY / A MODERNIZED INDIAN LADY*, subtitled "Amusing herself at her leisure hours" by an unknown hand, juxtaposes an Indian woman in her 'native' state with the fumbling negotiation of 'modernity' her British subjecthood denotes (ca. 1812) (Figure 104). The native woman, cool and serene while she spins her thread, has been moved indoors, placed in European clothes (though the muff has been wisely

abandoned) to sweat over “Highland Reels” and “Waltzes”.⁶¹⁶ These failures to cross-dress with success suggest that Indian women would be prevented from mastering British culture, yet these prints do not implicate the metropole to the extent of Rowlandson’s critique.

A startling comparison is made by observing Rowlandson’s *THE BURNING SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED*, found between pages 54 and 55 of “Canto I” in *The Grand Master* where he libellously alleges that bribery was still occurring in the upper echelons of Company administration, despite lofty reforms (Figure 106).⁶¹⁷ Lord Moira is depicted quite literally turning his back on an incident of sati. Debates regarding widow burning, a practice most frequently found among the Brahmin elite, emerged in the 1790s when missionaries and others began to condemn the Company’s official acceptance of the custom.⁶¹⁸ The fascination with the ritual which, according to Maria Graham, “has excited so much compassionate indignation in Europe”, was captured in numerous firsthand written accounts and worked up in several paintings served to illustrate the moral superiority of the British over the “dreadful practice[s]” of Hindu customs.⁶¹⁹ In keeping with

⁶¹⁶ A companion piece for this image entitled *AN INDIAN MERCHANT in his Muslin dress & Turban* and *A NATIVE MERCHANT in the English Costume* similarly lampoons the notion of British subjecthood through the native’s physical discomfort with symbols of modernity (Figure 105).

⁶¹⁷ For an excellent study of both the metropolitan criticism of and the administrative approaches to sati by the Court of Directors in this period, see Mani, *Contentious Traditions*. In this work, Mani argues that moral considerations were not the motivation for the eventual abolition of sati in 1829; rather, she suggests that abolishment was successful as a symbol of the degree of colonial control the British had by the late 1820s.

⁶¹⁸ Graham, *Letters on India*, 303. Intriguingly, it has been suggested that an increase in sati in lower caste families may point to an emulation of the elite caste. See Benoy Bhusan Roy, *Socioeconomic Impact of Sati in Bengal* (Calcutta: Naya Prakash, 1987): 43-48.

⁶¹⁹ Robert L. Hardgrave, “The Representation of Sati: Four Eighteenth Century Etchings by Baltazard Solvyns,” *Bengal Past and Present* 117 (1998): 57-80. Although some artists attempted an impartial stance in their representations, the unbiased approach did not achieve an audience. See Schurer, “The Impartial Spectator of Sati, 1757-84.”

Rowlandson's casting of Moira as the exemplar of dangerous nabobery, Moira's explanation for the continuance of this cruelty towards native women is grounded in monetary reward: *"This Custom tho' shocking to humanity we still allow in consequence of the revenue it brings in, which is of importance! I have also private reasons for not suppressing the burning System immediately."* The Anglican Bishop replies, *"Why my Lord with a view to Oeconomy under existing circumstances, it might be imprudent to press the measure at present, besides I think I feel also the private motives which actuate your Lordship."* Surreptitiously pressed into the palms of the figures representing British secular and spiritual leadership in India, the large sacks of rupees comprise the 'personal reasons' for British interest in India. This satire directly challenges British claims of moralistic valour, justified through the rescue of Indian women, but also suggests that if women found themselves in direct opposition to British excess, they would suffer cruelly. Rowlandson's elegant portrayal of the burning widow, framed by the flames that will take her life, furthermore pokes at the representations of sati by fellow artists who, through text and image, managed to romanticise the ritual as an expression of ultimate marital fealty and even eroticise "the victim" despite imminent "catastrophe", providing British beholders opportunities for both sympathy and titillation, exemplified by an eye-witness account from William Hodges:

She might be about twenty-four or five years of age, a time of life when the bloom of beauty has generally fled the cheek in India; but still she preserved a sufficient share to prove that she must have been handsome: her figure was small, but elegantly turned; and the

form of her hands and arms was particularly beautiful (October, 1781).⁶²⁰

Works by Tilly Kettle (*Sati scene*, c. 1770-71), Johan Zoffany (*Sacrifice of an Hindoo Widow Upon the Funeral Pile of her Husband*, ca. 1795), and William Hodges (*Procession of a Hindoo Woman to the Funeral Pile of her Husband*, 1793)⁶²¹ portray graceful Indian women in the moments before committing “voluntary” acts of immolation which puzzlingly seem to have inspired aesthetic appreciation instead of horror, an approach that appears to have endured into the 1830s with the work of James Atkinson (*Suttee*, 1831) (Figures 107-109).

Despite administrative reforms which set out to eliminate consortship with native women, Indian and Eurasian liaisons with British men persisted, for sagely expressed by Capt. Williamson, “it is impossible for the generality of European inhabitants to act in exact conformity with those excellent doctrines, which teach us to avoid fornication, and all other deadly sins.”⁶²² However, the characterisation of these liaisons shifted into one which suggested these men were ‘trapped’ or otherwise victims of the guiles of exotic women, demonstrated by the opinions of Captain Albert Hervey of the 40th Regiment of Madras Infantry and author of *Ten Years in India; or, The Life of a Young Officer*:

...officers belonging to regiments stationed in Madras were frequently thrown amongst these dark-eyed bewitching sirens, and are very liable to become smitten with their charms. I must say the young women are very pretty, notwithstanding their color. The consequences of association with them are almost inevitable.

⁶²⁰ William Hodges, as quoted in Giles H. R. Tillotson, "The Indian Travels of William Hodges," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Third Series, 2, no. 3 (November 1992): 379.

⁶²¹ Hodges original sketch and oil painting is now lost.

⁶²² Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*, 456-57.

Young, unthinking ensigns and lieutenants easily fall into the trap set for them.⁶²³

In a similar description of the “exquisitely formed” women in India, an anonymous English writer explains how “the temptation of which it is not surprising if we see men, in other respects prudent, fall the victims”.⁶²⁴ Moral British men, with ‘healthy’ heterosexual drives, could not be represented as agents of interracial domestic life in India and, until a critical mass of European women reached India later in the nineteenth century, the rhetorical struggles of homosocial colonialism prevailed. But not, according to Rowlandson, without critical reaction from the metropole.

V. Conclusion: A Shared Lineage

This chapter was concerned with a metropolitan understanding of the challenges to homosocial colonialism which emerged in the last quarter of the long eighteenth century.⁶²⁵ More specifically, this chapter dealt with the colonial realities, the imperial strategies and the national views of conjugal relationships in India from a single perspective, one critical of the notion of Eastern excess. Rowlandson’s relatively jolly depiction of a brothel village, his treatment of European women in India through the comical reimagining of a colonial marriage market and the emotionally charged portrayals of Goulab sharing her consort’s

⁶²³ Charles Allen, ed. *A Soldier of the Company: Life of an Indian Ensign, 1833-43* (London: Michael Joseph, 1988), 77.

⁶²⁴ As quoted in Banerjee, *Under the Raj*, 41.

⁶²⁵ Another challenge to homosocial colonialism implicit to the construction of the nabob as ‘effeminate’ would have been homosexuality. As Rowlandson did not engage with this issue in Qui Hi’s progress, it falls outside the scope of my study; however, a growing literature on same-sex desire and colonialism has emerged. For example, see the chapter entitled “A Hearty Desire: Sex, Religion and the Raj” in James, *Raj*, 207, Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2002) and Christopher Lane, *The Ruling Passion: British Colonial Allegory and the Paradox of Homosexual Desire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

prison cell, grieving over his impending death and following his casket to his burial place, do not take into account the challenge to homosocial colonialism from a woman's perspective. There is no indication in *The Grand Master* that Rowlandson was creating a measured, balanced analysis of the social condition in India during the early colonial period and, despite the seriousness of Rowlandson's criticism of the imperial mission, challenging the patriarchal structures through investigating the degree of agency of suppliers of 'conjugal opportunity' was clearly not his project.⁶²⁶ In his romantic depiction of prostitution (by moonlight, no less), in his satirically sublime depiction of a European woman dealing with the difficulties of the Indian climate, and in his dreamy affection between Qui Hi and Goulab, Rowlandson denies the 'prostitute's' experience of rape and exploitation, the European wife's experience of marriage in the service of survival, and Goulab's criticism of the imperial mission as a woman who has been both colonized by race and subjugated by gender. Furthermore, Rowlandson does not appear to be interested in the power of 'prostitutes' in India, the socio-political advancement of European women in the Indian marriage market (or, indeed, examples of European women marrying Indian men), and native women's negotiation of power structures of both gender and politics to serve their own ambitions. Nevertheless, Rowlandson's progress of a nabob takes an important critical stance on the imperial project, despite its

⁶²⁶ A similar point was also made by Mark T. Berger in reference to Ronald Hyam's controversial work which argued that 'sexual opportunity' was a driving force for imperial conquest. I use 'conjugal opportunities' to signal that there was more than sexual intercourse at stake for British men in the imperial project. For a fine critical analysis of Hyam's work, see Mark T. Berger, "Imperialism and Sexual Exploitation: A Response to Ronald Hyam's 'Empire and Sexual Opportunity'," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 17, no. 1 (1988): 84.

deployment from the dominant culture, the dominant gender and the increasingly dominant class. In fact, criticism deriving from what could be called the governing perspective is precisely why Rowlandson's criticism is so important, as it provides an example of how complex responses to empire really were and belies the monolithic nature of colonial discourse.

Through a process of identity politics, the administrative management of women in India through Company policies was implemented in order to define men. The Company lines of criminalising, snubbing and ostracising women began the process of dividing Anglo/Indian relations that would enable crucial distinctions between British and Indian men. Rowlandson reminds the metropole that, despite these strategies, Qui Hi's material legacy survives in the shared lineage of ruler and subject.

CONCLUSION

I. Satirist vs. Draughtsman

In *A SNUG MEETING to get up an ULTRA-LOYAL ADDRESS, or a peep at the TAG RAG and BOB-TAIL*, Thomas Tegg presides over a meeting in the Ward of Cheap where unlikely politicians prepare a Loyal Address to King George IV (Figure 110). In the print, Tegg declares his political ambition to become a “Council Man” and, to this end, attempts to distance himself from the disreputable source of his commercial success by renouncing satirical prints: “I have sold all my old Copper plates and disposed of the remaining Charicatures!!!” [sic]. Now ostensibly an upright publisher of religious sermons and acceptable literature, Tegg endeavours to rally the support of the group comprised of a parson, a vicar, a curate, a beadle, a constable, a waiter, “Old Nick”, and two other men: one who vaguely welcomes the addition of Tegg to their assembly and another who grumpily reserves judgement about the new member. Ever the print seller and despite his very recent pronouncement, a poster on Tegg’s podium advertises a raffle of “Political Caricatures, Royal Conundrums, and good Jokes”, an example of which lies on the floor, symbolising the altogether different type of address Tegg was accustomed to making to the King and his family.

In an analogous and equally unsuccessful effort of dissociation, scholarship on Thomas Rowlandson in the last century has shown a remarkable interest, not in recuperating contemporary esteem for the artist, but in generating current regard by guiding attention away from the graphic satire for which he was most known towards “the real Rowlandson at work”, a reality defined by his

drawings.⁶²⁷ Osbert Sitwell, for example, characterised Rowlandson as “one of the most bitter and mordant of satirists, but...one of the most refined, personal and exquisite of draughtsmen.”⁶²⁸ John Steel similarly divorced Rowlandson, who was “stigmatized as a ‘cartoonist’”, from his satirical works by concentrating on his other artistic creations.⁶²⁹ Moreover, despite the fact that his drawings were not highly valued in the artist’s lifetime, John Riely aimed to suggest “the wider range and variety of his achievement as a draughtsman”.⁶³⁰ Gert Schiff even worried that, though very much appreciated as a satirist⁶³¹, Rowlandson was “far from being respected and renowned in a measure proportionate to his gifts and accomplishments as an artist.”⁶³² Fostering an admiration for and paying scholarly attention to Rowlandson’s non-satirical work are valued components of the art historical investigation of his *oeuvre*. Nonetheless, an unfortunate side effect of Rowlandson scholarship’s emphasis of his mastery of the “supple, flowing and expressive line”, effectually isolating the artist from “the old view of him as simply a caricaturist”, was an interruption in the critical engagement with Rowlandson’s satirical work.⁶³³

⁶²⁷ "Thomas Rowlandson: Drawings from Town & Country," ed. Reading Museum and Art Gallery (Reading: Philip Palmer Press, 1962), n.p.

⁶²⁸ Osbert Sitwell, *Famous Water-Colour Painters: Vi--Thomas Rowlandson* (London: The Studio Limited, 1929), 1.

⁶²⁹ John Steel, ed. *Mr. Rowlandson's England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1985), 9.

⁶³⁰ John Riely, *Rowlandson Drawings from the Paul Mellon Collection* (New Haven: Yale Center For British Art, 1978), xvii.

⁶³¹ Adolf Paul Oppé even suggested that the lack of biographical information about Rowlandson could be due to the fact that he was “anything but an obscure or unappreciated artist”. Adolf Paul Oppé, *Thomas Rowlandson: His Drawings and Water-Colours*, ed. Geoffrey Holme (London: The Studio Limited, 1923), 1.

⁶³² Gert Schiff, *The Amorous Illustrations of Thomas Rowlandson* (Cythera Press, 1969). Xxviii. Oppé, *Thomas Rowlandson: His Drawings and Water-Colours*, 1.

⁶³³ John Hayes, *The Art of Thomas Rowlandson* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1990), 11.

In the 1970s, Ronald Paulson called for a ‘new interpretation’ of Rowlandson’s artistic production which endeavoured to recapture the “intrinsic meaning” overlooked by social and art historian alike through the identification of what the artist did with the “facts of his time”.⁶³⁴ Regardless of this new sensitivity to the social contexts and the associations and the tensions within the medium—an approach which appeared to have been immediately taken up by Robert R. Wark with the collection of Rowlandson’s drawings at the Huntington Library—Paulson suggested that Rowlandson’s works “never assume a causal sequence, even when given a protagonist and several scenes” and further claimed that his works avoided the tendency to “invert or subvert” any traditional meanings.⁶³⁵ Instead, he maintained, Rowlandson’s work “presents with the simplicity of a proverb”.⁶³⁶ Likewise, Wark claimed that Rowlandson was “neither a moralist nor a satirist” and even “in those instances when he treats a subject handled by a predecessor there seems to be no evidence of any visual recollection of the earlier design.”⁶³⁷

What is of principal interest is how *The Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan* complicated Thomas Tegg’s political aspirations represented in *A SNUG MEETING...* and twentieth-century scholarship’s endeavour to find artistic value in the products of Rowlandson’s *oeuvre* at the expense of his satire. This dissertation has revealed a complex, extended satire which utilised many of the tools not normally associated with Rowlandson’s artistic method—

⁶³⁴ Ronald Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation* (London: Studio Vista, 1972), 8.

⁶³⁵ Robert R. Wark, *Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1975). Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation*, 13.

⁶³⁶ Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation*, 14.

⁶³⁷ Wark, *Rowlandson's Drawings for the English Dance of Death*, 10,11.

including parody, the use of emblems, allusions to both literary works and conventions of European painting, sculpture and graphic satire, which all to some extent subvert and invert established meanings—in addition to the relative tensions between figures, the generalisations of the human form, and the gentle humour for which he is more generally acknowledged. Furthermore, he uses these tools for “serious moralizing or social reform”, precisely what Riely claimed Rowlandson avoided in favour of a perception of life which was “amused and on the whole tolerant”.⁶³⁸

Rather than situate the images found within *The Grand Master* into an artistic trajectory of Rowlandson’s work, I have utilised his progress as a unified entity of nabob representation, a foundation from which discussions regarding other depictions of nabobs in graphic satire could be launched with some degree of coherence. Nevertheless, I am concerned that because of my very particular employment of *The Grand Master*, the work will be perceived as an exception to what has hitherto been considered the rule. Rowlandson was an extremely prolific artist—estimates suggest that he executed over 2,500 prints and over 10,000 drawings (many of them preparatory drawings for later print work), calculations which do not include his many contributions to books.⁶³⁹ My study is but one example of how closer scrutiny of what at first glance appeared to be gentle whimsy, revealed a deeper engagement with topical issues and a more dynamic critical spirit concerning the events of the late eighteenth and early

⁶³⁸ John Riely, "Early Drawings of Thomas Rowlandson," *Apollo* 117 (1983): 38.

⁶³⁹ Brenda D. Rix, "Our Old Friend Rolly: Watercolours, Prints, and Book Illustrations by Thomas Rowlandson in the Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario," ed. Art Gallery of Ontario/Musée des Beaux-Arts de L'Ontario (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 2.

nineteenth century. Indeed, other scholars are beginning to sense the “social consciousness” and the “social comment” evident in Rowlandson’s satirical work, thereby complicating the distinction between what Gilbert Davis observed as “those who dismiss him as a vulgar and not particularly clever caricaturist, and those who consider him a great artist; not, be it noted, a great ‘painter’, but certainly a great draughtsman.”⁶⁴⁰ Specifically, John Barrell has explored the reception of Rowlandson’s comic work, in part to account for a puzzling lack of discomfort caused by his satire.⁶⁴¹ Brenda Rix has acknowledged the “multi-layered meanings that have yet to be discovered” which were “readily apparent to Rowlandson’s audience”.⁶⁴² Arline Meyer has deftly examined the complex intersections between Rowlandson’s critical treatment of the Royal Academy and the literary satire of John Wolcot, writing as Peter Pindar.⁶⁴³ More recently, Meyer has explored how the foundation of Rowlandson’s satire was located in the “lofty discourse” of artistic and scholarly circles through his engagement with sculpture.⁶⁴⁴ Matthew and James Payne have also concentrated their research efforts to discover more of Rowlandson’s life history to animate the study of his artistic production by underpinning it with a greater sense of biographical

⁶⁴⁰ Schiff, *The Amorous Illustrations of Thomas Rowlandson*.xxv. Timothy Wilcox, *An Exhibition of Watercolours by Thomas Rowlandson 1756-1827* (London: Andrew Clayton-Payne, 1998), iv. Gilbert Davis, "Watercolours & Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson," ed. New Burlington Galleries (London: The Arts Council, 1950), 6.

⁶⁴¹ Barrell, "The Private Comedy of Thomas Rowlandson."

⁶⁴² Rix, "Our Old Friend Rolly", 2.

⁶⁴³ Arline Meyer, "Parnassus from the Foothills: The Royal Academy Viewed by Thomas Rowlandson and John Wolcot (Peter Pindar)," *The British Art Journal* III, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 32-43.

⁶⁴⁴ _____, "Regency Rowlandson: Thomas Rowlandson's Studies after (Long after) the Antique," *The British Art Journal* X, no. 1 (2009): 50.

integrity.⁶⁴⁵ I have, furthermore, conducted research on how Rowlandson prolonged debates regarding Christian missions in India in 1816, despite parliamentary actions which really should have ended those discussions.⁶⁴⁶ Moreover, forthcoming publications, including a monograph by Matthew and James Payne entitled *Regarding Thomas Rowlandson, 1757-1827: His Life, Work and Acquaintance*, due to come out in late 2010 and a collection of essays entitled *Thomas Rowlandson: Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England* from Patricia Phagan, Vic Gatrell and Amelia F. Rauser due out in 2011, may also prove to be helpful additions to studies which closely analyse Rowlandson's satirical works.⁶⁴⁷ The challenge to the prevailing binary, therefore, is that Rowlandson is now being regarded as a *great satirist*; one who applied his considerable talents to what contemporary audiences would have recognized as meaningful, critical endeavours. It seems to me that the common denominator of recent studies which recognize the complexities, the insights and the social comment in Rowlandson's satirical work is the concentration on distinct pieces and their contexts as opposed to the attempt to deductively typify and even elevate the status of his *oeuvre*.

Rowlandson's project in *The Grand Master* was to challenge metropolitan attempts to dissociate with the East through claims of excess. As images in *The Grand Master* can demonstrate, Rowlandson was known for the shallow distinctions he made between ostensibly different figures, a phenomenon which

⁶⁴⁵ M.T.W Payne and J.E. Payne, "Thomas Rowlandson: A Family Album," *The British Art Journal* VI, no. 3 (Winter 2005): 41-50; Payne, "The Explosion of Rowlandson's Brother."

⁶⁴⁶ Smylitopoulos, "Graphic Satire, Hudibrastics and 'Missionary Influence'".

⁶⁴⁷ Matthew Payne and James Payne, *Regarding Thomas Rowlandson, 1757-1827: His Life, Work and Acquaintance* (London: Hogarth Arts, 2010). Patricia et al. Phagan, *Thomas Rowlandson: Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England* (New York: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, 2011).

caused James Sherry to suggest that “the contrast is never very striking”.⁶⁴⁸ For Sherry, this seemed to indicate a type of “opportunism”; however, in light of this closer inspection of *The Grand Master*, it is likely that Rowlandson was suggesting precisely that—despite attempts to dissociate contrasting figures, ‘the contrast is never very striking’.⁶⁴⁹ In terms of investigating an artistic critical response to the colonial project, Timothy Barringer argued that the idea of empire “belongs at the centre, rather than in the margins, of the history of British art.”⁶⁵⁰ I would further argue that *A Nabob’s Progress* reveals the recognition that in 1816, through repeatedly locating a metropolitan source to allegedly Eastern excess, Thomas Rowlandson challenged the construction of an imperial periphery. Even more significant is that Rowlandson was, evidently, not the only artist pursuing this critical goal.

In this dissertation, I have provided examples of artistic works which undermined emerging structures of distinct colonial divides. Resonances with metropolitan behaviours and their consequences—including excessive drinking, the accumulation of debt, idleness, sexuality and subsequent bodily disease, whilst a powerful, critical gaze exposed ambivalent attitudes towards the European body and homosocial colonialism—reveals the nabob’s progress in India to be merely an extension of the progress of the centre. As the attempts for clear distinctions between ‘the Briton’ and ‘the Indian’ began to succeed on an administrative level, the absorbent figure of the nabob became a part of an

⁶⁴⁸ Sherry, "Distance and Humor: The Art of Thomas Rowlandson", 459.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Timothy Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, ed. *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 3

inelegant past and consequently fell into decline. In the *Edinburgh Review* in 1840, for example, Thomas Babington Macaulay wrote that if “any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob”.⁶⁵¹ The implication was that the constructed character of the nabob was no longer a threat, but could slowly end his days as a mild figure of folly without confidence, intelligence or courage. For example, William Makepeace Thackeray’s ‘Jos Sedley’ from *Vanity Fair* (1848)—gluttonous and arrogant, yet timid when confronted with opportunities of valour (or the woman he desired)—represented how the nabob had been undone as a threat to the metropole.⁶⁵² Sedley’s wealth, achieved through tax collecting in India became respectable, making him a sympathetic figure preyed upon by an overly-industrious woman, signalling that the metropole now had bigger problems than social-climbing nabobs. Indeed, an anonymous image published by Holland in 1811 simply entitled NABOBS, not only illustrates the ubiquitousness of these figures (and perhaps their interest in hair styles), but a resounding lack of those menacing qualities that had at one time defined them (Figure 112). Processes of the colonial project had eradicated the liminal figure who could assume the characteristics of the East. In his place, a strong British body resisted Eastern

⁶⁵¹ Thomas Babington Macaulay, "The Edinburgh Review, 1840, Robert Clive," in *Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems* (n.p.: Bibliolife, 2009), 453.

⁶⁵² ‘Jos’ was a common diminution of Joseph, however, Sayers’ *The Madras Tyrant, or the Director of Directors*”, which up until quite recently was thought to depict Sir Robert Clive, portrays Josias DuPré, Director of the Company from 1765-1766 and Governor of Madras from 1770-73. The subtitle reads, “Jos. Or the Father of Murder, Rapine, Etc. (Figure 111). William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair, a Novel without a Hero (1848)*, ed. John Carey (New York: Penguin, 2004). For the misidentification of the sitter see George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 79.

excess and figures like Charles “Hindoo” Stuart (ca. 1758-1828), Sir David Ochterlony (1758-1825), and James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1761-1805), who had adopted the attitudes and the trappings of the East, were made to seem peculiar. These anomalies were banished to Macaulay’s ‘dusty recesses’ of pre-colonial histories.⁶⁵³

My objective to address the representation of nabobs in what has, until now, been an underutilised source has revealed resistance to a monolithic, colonial discourse. Artists appropriated the figure of the nabob, extending him to encompass the many intersections of imperial anxiety which went beyond the mere parvenudom of a returning Anglo-Indian, heavy with riches, corruption and disease. The nabob’s progression—from a presumptive ‘cit’ as in *THE BENGALL MINUET* (1773) which depicts an elderly couple preparing for London society by rehearsing dance steps, to a complex figure which signified the critical intersections between class, race, and politics in India, as in Rowlandson’s *THE BEAR & RAGGED STAFF* from *The Grand Master*, which challenged Lord Moira’s noble beginnings and cultural superiority over the natives by suggesting poorly executed agency and unworthy advisors—illustrates the figurative agility of the nabob (Figures 113-114). Yet, an intriguing irony exists between the critic and the target: Rowlandson disputed the periphery of empire in order to address the excess of the centre, whilst the Company-state challenged the periphery to

⁶⁵³ A fascinating example of the re-deployment of imperial identities at a moment of imperial decline through the heroizing of the liminal ‘Lawrence of Arabia’, illustrates how masculine, national identities were very much tied up with notions of imperialism. For a discussion of notions of imperial adventure and British masculinity, see Graham Dawson, “The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and the Imagining of English-British Masculinity,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 113-44.

solidify empire. A liminal figure with permeable borders of identity was counterproductive to justifications for rule based on the newly forged solidity of the British self—temperate, financially responsible, industrious bodies with fixed boundaries, heroically pursuing empire unencumbered by domestic responsibility or racial confusion. The nabob, in other words, helped to define the ideal Briton in the colonial moment.

II. Portrait of a Nabob

Concentrating on the representation of the nabob in graphic satire has revealed an area where more research is required; namely, the intersections between modes of representation in the artistic production of ‘British India’. In essence, the nabob embodied the imperial periphery; however, graphic satirists used the representation of nabobs to, among other things, challenge this marginalization. These struggles reveal themselves in another form of representational art: interrogating commissioned portraiture between 1770 and 1835 reveals a considerable shift in the self-representation of British men associated with India.⁶⁵⁴ Earlier portraits represented sitters, like the aforementioned Captain John Foote by Sir Joshua Reynolds, identifying with the East through India-inspired apparel, exotic flora and fauna, Indian servants and companions, and references to famous Indian landmarks.⁶⁵⁵ In the last decade of the eighteenth century, however, British men with interests in India deliberately

⁶⁵⁴ Natasha Eaton’s aforementioned work on portraits has demonstrated that representational art functioned in more ways than originally conceptualised in early colonial India; Warren Hastings’ attempt to make exchanges of portraits to negotiate cultural difference being the principal example. Eaton, "Between Mimesis and Alterity", 837.

⁶⁵⁵ Sir Joshua Reynold’s portrait of Captain John Foote, briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, is a good example of men identifying with their Indian adventures in commissioned portraits.

reinforced their ‘Britishness’ by emphasizing European dress in settings devoid of landscape and made reference to an India of administrative dependence and the setting for commercial prowess. One of the best examples is a portrait of John Mowbray (ca. 1790) attributed to Thomas Hickey (Figure 115). Though a civil servant for the East India Company, Mowbray’s portrait emphasises his activities in private trade; he is shown amidst piles of important papers, while his *banian* delivers an update from the commercial ledger. Mowbray’s stocking-clad legs and dark, European-cut suit with ruffled cravat and embroidered waistcoat, stands in stark contrast to his Indian counterparts. The painting invites comparisons, indeed distinctions, between turbans, powdered wigs and head wraps and, with the exception of the map of the areas of Bihar and Tibet, the furnishings could be found in a London office.⁶⁵⁶ Furthermore, the sitter is certainly engaged, but presents with casual power. Scholars like Archer, de Almeida and Gilpin, and Tobin have rightly argued that portraiture reflected increased colonial confidence and subsequent imperial domination through minimizing Indian settings and exoticising native subjects.⁶⁵⁷ It is clear that Hickey’s commission commemorates the pursuit of a fortune by a man who is unquestionably British; nevertheless, I argue that the emblematical divergence apparent in this type of portraiture suggests the influence of graphic satire.

⁶⁵⁶ For Matthew H. Edney, the map of Indian territory may have rightly been found in a London office, as a product of imperial ‘knowledge’ which facilitated empire. For his important arguments, see Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (1990) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁶⁵⁷ Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825*. de Almeida, *Indian Renaissance*, 169-70. Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth Century British Painting*.

One of the first examples of graphic satire which referenced nabobs was *The GENIUS of the LONDON MAGAZINE Unmasking the TIMES* (1772), where, in a gesture epitomising the project of the Enlightenment, a winged goddess reveals the truth of the day by exposing the real face of *The Times* (Figure 116). Scrolls unfurl from the dark creature's sack and, out of one of his pockets emerges a spool reading "Nabobships".⁶⁵⁸ This notion, that the character of nabobbery would be revealed through representation, is a vital clue towards the tensions between portraiture and graphic satire in India at the close of the long eighteenth century. To be sure, the depiction of nabobs in satirical prints was an act of criticism deployed in a political climate experiencing considerable anxiety regarding imperial expansion in India. Furthermore, perceived as members of a new, upstart class (despite the statistics suggesting exaggerated rates of success and staggering rates of mortality) the *oriental adventurer* personified threats to the political, the social, and the economic *status quo* in Britain. However, the suppleness of nabob imagery in graphic satire did not depend on one being an Anglo-Indian, pursuing a fortune in India. The deployment of nabob representation to so humble a subject—exemplified by Gillray's aforementioned DUN-SHAW—suggests a powerful example of the type of trans-national exchange graphic satire could produce (Figure 4). Consequently, a British figure could no longer celebrate his or her Indian experiences with native apparel or splendid surroundings for the convention of overstated Indian dress and distorted

⁶⁵⁸ For a discussion of the importance of unmasking, see Amelia Faye Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints*, University of Delaware Press Studies in 17th- and 18th- Century Art and Culture Studies in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture (Delaware: Associated University Press, 2008).

Indian scenes had become closely associated with the satirical response to the nabob and the employment of nabob imagery for the purpose of ridicule.

Certainly the caricatures of Warren Hastings during his Impeachment Trial, which both implemented and referred to sartorial excesses by Company servants, are brought to mind, yet an intriguing literary example closely illustrates the tensions at play.⁶⁵⁹ In the chapter “On Taste” from *The Female Mentor: or, Select Conversations* by Honoria (1793) the author reflects on the “highly ridiculous” appearance of the “Nabob’s lady”; yet, in a moment of astute self-reflection, she recollects metropolitan fashions “which were no less preposterous”.⁶⁶⁰ My interest lies in Honoria’s positioning of “the caricature prints” as sources which “scarcely exceed the reality”, illustrating how graphic satire functioned, not only as a document of imperial anxiety, but as a dynamic participant in a dialogue of representation.⁶⁶¹ Anglo-Indians who made contributions to the body of India-related graphic satire often subverted the traditional structure of art production by sending amateur works to the metropole to be worked up by professional engravers and sold by professional firms like Holland’s No. 11 Cockspur Street, “of whom all the other East India Caricature may be had.”⁶⁶² Indian artists were also contributing to the body of satirical work figuring Anglo-Indians, a practice which had the potential of using an existing metropolitan market to deliver resistance to the imperial project from its new

⁶⁵⁹ For an example, see (Figure 8).

⁶⁶⁰ Honoria, *The Female Mentor: Or, Select Conversations* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davis, 1793), 139.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶² Subtitle of *NABOBS*, See (Figure 112). For a discussion of amateur artists in India see Pal, *From Merchants to Emperors*, 13.

subjects. An intriguing example is yet another version of the *Scene in the East Indies* depicting the *hookah*-smoking nabob in conversation with his Indian servant (Figure 117). Though the mixture of languages makes the dialogue of the satire difficult to comprehend, the visual contrast between the figures in the attractively rendered servant and the bulbous foreheaded “Captain”, makes finding the subject of the satire uncomplicated. Representational art in India likewise experienced an inversion of the traditional influence of portraiture on caricature. Comparing, contrasting and treating portraits and graphic satire as modes of representation that influenced one another may reveal unacknowledged, even surprising, tensions in identity politics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

III. Modernity and The Death of the Nabob

Modernity in Britain, it seems, was in some ways characterised by the gradual disappearance of imperial peripheries along with the repeated challenges to anomalies that “go native altogether”.⁶⁶³ From 1791 until what had been known as the “Sepoy Mutiny” of 1857, a period characterised by Frank Anthony as “Indelible Military Impress”, completing the colonial project meant creating and maintaining *distinctions* between British rulers and Indian subjects whilst conceptually *uniting* the empire through rhetoric that eliminated the distance between colony and metropole.⁶⁶⁴ At St. Xavier’s, Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim* would learn that “One must never forget that one is a Sahib, and that some day, when

⁶⁶³ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim (1901)*, Wordsworth Classics (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1993), 107

⁶⁶⁴ Frank Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India: The Story of the Anglo-Indian Community* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1969), iv.

examinations are passed, one will command natives.”⁶⁶⁵ While at ‘home’, poetic conceptualizations of an empire unified through masculine power was disseminated in the press:

On her dominions the sun never sets; before his evening rays leave the spires of Quebec, his morning beams have shone three hours on Port Jackson, and while sinking from the waters of Lake Superior, his eye opens upon the Mouth of the Ganges.⁶⁶⁶

These tensions between rhetoric and reality are exemplified in the dichotomous “free though conquering people” explored by Marshall.⁶⁶⁷ They are furthermore apparent in the tactics of representation “whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony” examined by Pratt.⁶⁶⁸ These tensions illustrate the varied practices, pluralities and contradictions in cultural identities that coincided with the unities and coherences claimed by modernity.⁶⁶⁹ These tensions are discernible in India-inspired graphic satire. For example, in ATTENDS GENERAL KOIR WIGS LEVEE from *The Grand Master*, Rowlandson juxtaposes the civilized meeting of military men in India with a painting which hangs under the arched recesses of the assembly hall (Figure 118). Entitled “View at Goree/ Coast of Africa” the image portrays a European slaver whipping the black body of a bound man (Figure 119). When *The Grand Master* was published, British-occupied Gorée Island off the coast of Senegal in West Africa was considered an important locus of the Atlantic

⁶⁶⁵ Kipling, *Kim*, 107.

⁶⁶⁶ "Statistic Views. Census of 1821," *Spirit of the English Magazines* January 15, 1821, 328.

⁶⁶⁷ Marshall, *'A Free Though Conquering People': Eighteenth-Century Britain and Its Empire*.

⁶⁶⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 7.

⁶⁶⁹ For a very helpful discussion of the historiography of eighteenth-century origins of modernity, see Kathleen Wilson, "Citizenship, Empire, and Modernity in the English Provinces, C. 1720-1790," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1996): 71.

slave trade.⁶⁷⁰ Rowlandson is suggesting that the elegant reception in India is inextricably linked to the slave trade, a point made plain by the central cluster of men who hold a pamphlet entitled “New Art of Tormenting to be submitted”(Figure 120). Furthermore, In A NEW MAP OF INDIA FROM THE LATEST AUTHORITY, a fold-out image from the opening pages of *The Grand Master*, “Military Oeconomy, Civil Extravagance and Native Imposition” are the foundations upon which empire in India is laid, despite the powder keg of “Vox Populi” about to be ignited by the severed arm of “Independence” (Figure 121).⁶⁷¹ This new art of imperial domination is, for Rowlandson, coming at the price of Britain’s humanity demonstrating that contemporary critics of empire also understood modernity to be “marked as closely by slavery as liberty, racial, class and gender exclusions as universality, and fractured and ‘double’ as unitary identities”.⁶⁷² I would further argue that the rapacity of the nabob is marked as closely by the erroneous assumptions of the metropole, a phenomenon that Rowlandson was not alone in identifying. Tara Ghoshal Wallace’s investigation of Sir Walter Scott’s *Guy Mannering* (1815) and *The Surgeon’s Daughter* (1827) has revealed the author’s deliberate deployment of nabob stereotypes, not to

⁶⁷⁰ Mid-twentieth century research revealed the site to be of little importance to the slave trade, nevertheless, for a discussion of the issues of memory, history and racial historiography which uses Gorée Island as a case study, see Ralph A. Austen, "The Slave Trade as History and Memory: Confrontations of Slaving Voyage Documents and Communal Traditions," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series LVIII, no. 1 (January 2001): 229-44.

⁶⁷¹ Rowlandson may have also been responding to a work by James Sayers, executed during Hastings’ Impeachment trial that depicted the severed arm of “Leoc Parliamenti” as an “omnipotent” wielder of a cat o’ nine tails (Figure 122).

⁶⁷² Wilson, "Citizenship, Empire, and Modernity in the English Provinces, C. 1720-1790", 71. Rowlandson’s attempt to reconcile modernity and empire is certainly underlined by two titles from *The Grand Master*: THE MODERN IDOL JAGGERNAUT briefly discussed in my Introduction and THE MODERN PHAETON OR THE HUGELY IN DANGER discussed in Chapter 1.

encourage nabob mythology, but to expose him as a “[fiction] of empire”.⁶⁷³ The nabob, in other words, is a character that helped to negotiate the ‘duplicities’ of modernity in the early colonial period of India.

IV. Qui Hi on the Podium

The land, receding from his view,
 Now dim and more imperfect grew :
 Still he believ'd (and he was right)
 That *England* was not out of sight ;
 For ev'ry drop of Ocean shews
 The tribute it to Britain owes ;
 And I believe that it is meant
 England should farm *the whole extent* ;
 For 'tis a maxim I hold true,
 To keep my native land in view ;
 The rallying point from wrongs or grief ;
 The seat of mercy and relief.
 Here retributive justice tends
 To shew us enemies from friends,
 Holds petty tyrants up to view,
 And sends to infamy the crew.⁶⁷⁴

What is of profound importance to the visual culture of British imperial history is the fate, not only of resistance to the imperial project, but its method of delivery. Despite the utility of the nabob in fashioning national identity, the nabob could also question these characteristics of the ideal imperial Briton. Nevertheless, in the case of *The Grand Master*, as voices that challenged the imperial project were drowned out by the sheer volume of imperial rhetoric, Rowlandson's images began to be viewed anachronistically as amusing illustrations to mediocre hudibrastic poetry as opposed to a critical engagement

⁶⁷³ Wallace, "The Elephant's Foot and the British Mouth", 313,323.

⁶⁷⁴ Quiz, *The Grand Master*, 5-6.

with empire ‘illustrated’ by amusing, often contradictory, verse.⁶⁷⁵ The powerful “formative as well as reflective” roles visual images played in the course of empire were not, it seems, without resistances of their own.⁶⁷⁶ Later in the century, books with a satirical scope like *The Grand Master* would eventually be replaced by “The Victorian Illustrated Book”, recently defined by Richard Maxwell as a medium, urged on by technological breakthroughs in publishing, that embodied the “poetic naturalism” of Pre-Raphaelite illustrators and the “art of the book” espoused by theorists of the English Arts and Crafts Movement.⁶⁷⁷ Although it is clear that more work is required to help define this publication genre, one of its characteristics is the evident shift from satirical applications of irony to what Frank Palmeri characterised as “more direct and comic forms of representation”.⁶⁷⁸ This shift is evident in the work of George Cruikshank who consciously moved away from the radicalism of the late eighteenth century to create works that were, with some exceptions, “typically good natured and decent”.⁶⁷⁹ The unfortunate result for Regency intersections of image and text

⁶⁷⁵ Popular imperial rhetoric would find homes in among other places, missionary discourses, adventure literature, advertising and the periodical press. However, resistance to popular imperial rhetoric endured despite, for example, the conservative ideology advanced through the emphasis on realism in the creation of a literary canon. Karen Ann Michalson, "Victorian Fantasy Literature and the Politics of Canon-Making" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 1990). For challenges to the colonial narratives found in Walter Scott's work, see Tara Ghoshal Wallace, "The Elephant's Foot and the British Mouth". For the intrinsic relationship between Western industrial modernity and imperialism, see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*. For the rhetoric of empire which appeared later in the century (1870s-1960s), see David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁶⁷⁶ Barringer, *Art and the British Empire*, 4.

⁶⁷⁷ Maxwell, *The Victorian Illustrated Book*.

⁶⁷⁸ Frank Palmeri, "Cruikshank, Thackeray, and the Victorian Eclipse of Satire," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 44, no. 4 (Autumn 2004): 753.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid. One example of Cruikshank's work that would not have been considered particularly decent is "Crowning Himself Emperor of France" from *The Life of Napoleon*, 1814. Also published by Tegg, this image uses sexuality to destabilise the emblematic value of black servants in European art as icons of wealth, social status and licentious sexuality of uncivilized desire.

was what Allan R. Life called the “tired fallacy” which suggested that images were only pertinent to a text when “its author is a tyrant and its illustrator his vassal”.⁶⁸⁰ In other words, Rowlandson’s satire was lost amidst a new form of ‘book illustration’: driven by technologies of printing, the rise of British literature as a mark of “national life”, as well as the trend of internalising what was once a shared ‘spectacle’ of visual consumption.⁶⁸¹ David Kunzle’s point that art, and graphic art especially, suffered from “an excess of literature” is well taken; however, the graphic satire that did exist seemed to suffer from increasing incidences of mistaken identity.⁶⁸² Victorian book illustrations, though apparently aesthetically influential, no longer “presented poetry as the servant of illustration.”⁶⁸³ Moreover, the “irreducible indeterminacy” of images which enabled radical publishers of the 1790s to defend themselves against charges of seditious libel through claims of visual misunderstandings, also enabled Victorian and post-Victorian critics to lose much of the resistance to issues like empire in the ‘translation’ of the visual language.⁶⁸⁴

As new trends in the text/image collaboration emerged, the intellectual result was that books like *The Grand Master* were required to satisfy an

Cruikshank’s abandonment of the symbolic nature of graphic satire in favour of this direct form of *illustration* can be marked as an early indication of the decline of graphic satire as a stand-alone medium. Rather ironically, he uses sexual motifs, a source of Victorian disdain, to help usher in the Victorian illustrated book. For a discussion of this work, see my “Abandoning Graphic Satire and Illustrating Text: Cruikshank’s Crowning Himself Emperor of France, 1814,” in *Word and Image in the Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, ed. Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholarly Press, 2008), 323-42.

⁶⁸⁰ Allan R. Life, “Poetic Naturalism: Forrest Reid and the Illustrators of the Sixties,” *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 10, no. 2 (June 1977): 47.

⁶⁸¹ Maxwell, *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, xxiv.

⁶⁸² As quoted in *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, xxii.

⁶⁸⁴ John Barrell, “Radicalism, Visual Culture, and Spectacle in the 1790s,” *Romanticism on the Net* 46, no. “Romantic Spectacle” (May 2007): .n.p. See also Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 485.

expectation for which they were never intended. Dealers, collectors and critics sensed their incongruity with later comic book illustration, and in response, deemed these products as inferior examples as opposed to artefacts that had a different purpose entirely. I believe that this unease between graphic satire and comic book illustration has not only negatively influenced the contribution of Thomas Tegg, but is the true source of twentieth-century scholarship's apprehension with Rowlandson's satire. Though Rowlandson is included in the vast sweep of graphic satire's history, often characterised "From Hogarth to Cruikshank" the other artists represented do not seem to suffer as much from mistaken artistic identities, or require current recuperation from past complexes of inferiority.⁶⁸⁵ The critical nature of Rowlandson's work, therefore, requires careful recuperation from the pro-imperial rhetoric and its subsequent anachronistic expectations of visual culture in Britain.

In *A SNUG MEETING...* Thomas Tegg makes an effort to distance himself from political satire in order to further his ambitions in politics; yet a copy of "Qui Hi" rests on the podium, suggesting that Tegg's attempts to dissociate from the increasingly suspect occupation of graphic satire is problematized by the continued interest in his past patronage. Not only does placing the book on the podium suggest that Tegg's history as an auctioneer of satirical works is not as distant as the subject would like, but the anonymous artist clearly defines Qui Hi's progress as a 'satire'. The trajectory of graphic satire, from stand-alone and potentially radical vehicle of social comment (which could even reach the

⁶⁸⁵ M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London: Penguin Press, 1967).

plebeian public who did not need to buy the work to be influenced by it), may be one reason for its decline as a medium.⁶⁸⁶ Rowlandson's critical engagement with empire, amidst significant change in the critical arts, marks the negotiation and the eventual elimination of the imperial periphery; yet in true satirical form, *The Grand Master* takes up the tools used to dominate the natives in India to resist the project of colonial ascendancy in the metropole. The character of Qui Hi, animated by Rowlandson to a degree that made reconciliation with his reviled nabob predecessors difficult, embodied metropolitan excess and was naturalized as a foreign symbol of domestic ills. Nevertheless, British national identity based on imperial success in India was left largely uninterrupted by *The Grand Master* as the method by which Rowlandson's critical intervention was deployed had lost its efficacy in the murky transition between Georgian graphic satire and the comic Victorian illustrated book.

⁶⁸⁶ For a discussion of radicalism and the plebeian audience through print-shop windows, see Barrell, "Radicalism, Visual Culture, and Spectacle in the 1790s."

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