

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Beyond Binding

Reconceptualizing Watson and Kaye's

The People of India

1868-1875

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Jessica Farquhar

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Jessica Farquhar

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Robert Brown, Chair

Published in eight volumes between the years 1868-1875, and comprising 480 pasted-in albumen prints accompanied by descriptive letterpress, *The People of India* (henceforth POI) is a publication more (in)famous now in the twenty-first century than it was ever well-known at any point during the nineteenth. It stands in our historiographic imagination as a seminal text through which colonial authorities established the technical and conceptual practices that would shape the photographic activity on the subcontinent for over a century. And while there is no doubt that the bigoted attitudes and cultural misconceptions manifest in the volumes do exemplify a very real

and persistent phenomenon, the publication itself was not a substantial factor in the formation and establishment of the notions intimated in its text. However, to dismiss the POI as a work of great historical significance on the grounds that it was not a direct agent in the codification of the legacy would be tantamount to throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Once the project is approached in terms of individual images with the potential for multiple manifestations and modes of textualization, scholarly enquiry is no longer limited by the dearth of historical evidence regarding the application and reception of the volumes.

In reframing the POI as a photographic project and explicating it in terms of images circulating in a broader public sphere, this dissertation endeavors to identify commercial media in a popular Western arena as an extremely significant yet largely unarticulated mechanism in the formation and establishment of colonial knowledge. Centered firmly in the metropole, the popular sphere was unregulated, with a mass audience, and characterized by a diffuse and long-lasting circulation and repurposing of images. Upon charting the dissemination and circulation of POI images in a variety of display contexts and modes of reproduction, it becomes clear that the prolific repurposing of individual POI portraits in contexts of popular mass circulation—rather than the formal publication—is primarily responsible for the transformation of the arbitrarily constructed “native types” contained in the volumes into recognizable and functioning categories.

The dissertation of Jessica Farquhar is approved.

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Introduction

Published in eight volumes between the years 1868-1875, and comprising 480 pasted-in albumen prints accompanied by descriptive letterpress, *The People of India* (henceforth, POI) is a publication more (in)famous now in the twenty-first century than it was ever well-known at any point during the nineteenth. Though an unprecedented publication of mammoth proportions, the POI's history is that of a project beset by troubles.¹ In fact, in its final form, the POI is more a victim of circumstance than the product of a planned and executed official project. At no point in the years that elapsed from the initial government call for photographs in 1861 to the publication of the final volume in 1875 did the POI have either a clearly articulated objective or direct path to production.

Edited by Dr. John Forbes Watson and Sir John William Kaye, and produced under the auspices of the India Museum (1801–1879), the POI drew from a sampling of the museum's photographic holdings of "native types" that were generated in response to a call for photographs issued by "Her Majesty's Government" in 1861.² The call requested photographs depicting people from across the Indian subcontinent, each photo "large enough to exhibit the chief physical peculiarities and distinctive costume of each race," to be accompanied by "a brief written description of the tribe, their origins, physical characteristics and general habits."³

¹ I am deeply indebted to John Falconer for his foundational work on nineteenth century Indian photography. As he is the only scholar to examine the history of the POI, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that, without him, none of my work would be possible.

² John Falconer, "A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of The People of India," in *Colonialist Photography Imagining Race and Place* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

³ Ibid.

Drawing on a network of amateurs stationed throughout the subcontinent, the India Museum eventually acquired a group of photographs that lacked conceptual cohesion, consequently displaying a plethora of inconsistencies in terms of the methods used for selection of subjects, photographic styles, and compositional formats.

In July of 1863, John William Kaye of the Political and Secret Department of the India Office and Dr. John Forbes Watson of the India Museum submitted a proposal for the allocation of 400 pounds to produce eighteen bound sets of roughly 800 photographs, 300 pounds to pay for the photographs themselves, and 100 to pay for the binding and printing of “illustrative letterpress.” Kaye at first volunteered to arrange the letterpress himself during some brief free time away from his regular duties. The costs involved in photographic reproduction were to be minimized by conducting the copy work in house, at which point William Griggs, a self-taught photographer working as a messenger in the India Office, became associated with the project. In 1864, Griggs produced upwards of 500 copy negatives and 50,000 prints to meet the proposed outlay of 100 sets.

However, by early 1865, most of the allocated funds had been spent, but the text still had to be written. At this point, Forbes Watson recommended the production of a commercial edition intended for sale to the general public, suggesting that the income from its sales be devoted to the creation of an “adequate descriptive account of the tribes and races represented by the photographs.” At this stage, the outlay expanded into 200 sets, half intended for commercial sale

and half for distribution by the Political and Secret Department of the India Office.⁴ Although the project was initially financed by the India Office, the POI ultimately ended up as a private venture, personally funded by the editors.⁵

Despite the amount of labor involved in compiling the photographs and writing the text, the POI, on the whole, was poorly received. The volumes were never reviewed by an academic entity and, not surprisingly, publishers reported sluggish sales of the commercially available sets. Having found little success academically or commercially, the publication as a whole fell into complete obscurity even before the turn of the twentieth century.⁶ As a result, there is remarkably little by way of nineteenth century archival evidence on the POI.⁷

However, the POI did not remain in obscurity. Quite to the contrary, present scholarship considers it among the most important instances of linking of photographic technology to surveillance and categorization in order to justify racial supremacy and colonial domination. Notable scholar Christopher Pinney has gone as far as to label it, “the ‘*summa bonum*’ [*sic*] of nineteenth-century Indian colonial photography.”⁸ This begs the question, how exactly did a publication with no explicitly stated purpose, extremely limited circulatory capacity, notably

⁴ Falconer, 76: “The suggestion that this section of the print run was retained for internal departmental use by this somewhat sinisterly named section of the India Office is not supported by the evidence: in fact the volumes were intended for distribution to libraries and learned societies in England and abroad, and as presentation copies to distinguished persons with Indian connections or interests.”

⁵ Watson writes, “John Kaye and I became directly responsible for the costs of the work, a responsibility which we never contemplated taking upon ourselves when we undertook the work.” (Quoted in Falconer, 76). In an appeal to the India Office requesting payment for its allocation of one hundred sets (at the public retail price of 16 guineas per set), Watson estimated his personal expenditure on the project to be around 1400 pounds. The India Office agreed to pay for this allocation in 1880.

⁶ Falconer, 101-102.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008), 15.

lackluster reception, and conspicuous absence of mention in the nineteenth century archive, manage to achieve *summum bonum* status in twenty-first century scholarship?

The answer is fairly complex in that it involves a presumed dearth of historical evidence (despite readily available and credible scholarship), combined with a string of historiographic misdirects that continued to build upon one another. As a result, modern scholarship on the POI would be more accurately described as our collective *mythology* of the POI, rather than its history.

Statement of Thesis

Photography is everywhere now. Our trustiest friends, our most intimate enemies, stare us in the face from collodionized surfaces... This photography seems an obedient slave, and has never claimed any fierce or arrogant mastery. It has never blown any one up, or rent anybody asunder, or maimed anybody; though a skillful photographer tells me that the art may yet exact such penalties for extreme rashness or dense stupidity.⁹

-From *All the Year Round*, 1859

It is imperative that we accurately historicize the POI by accounting for the sequence of events that occurred during its publishing process, the publication's limiting material circumstances, and the publication's ultimate descent into obscurity. By implementing an alternative methodological approach to the POI subject matter—including an analysis of individual photographs within a wider set of evidence from the nineteenth century archive—we see that the dominant theory in current scholarship has oversimplified a much more complex process of the POI's development, dissemination, and reception. Though the volumes do offer

⁹ *All the Year Round*, Nov 19 1859 p.79.

one valid frame through which to enter into scholarly inquiry on the POI, the publication is neither the most important application nor the most useful for a full and rich understanding of the images' historical significance.

Contrary to current belief, it is neither the intended function nor the actual application of the volumes themselves that makes the POI a work of great historical import. As it dates to a period before the full emergence of academic anthropology and administrative surveys, the POI reflects significant negotiations that took place in the institutionalization of British colonial structures of power on the subcontinent. The primary historical value of the POI publication is in the evidence it provides of these critical early moments of negotiation.

To date, the POI has been exclusively approached as an official publication characterized by unrealized scientific aspirations and an overwhelmingly indifferent reception by its presumed primary audience, the burgeoning anthropological community. However, the publishing project proved disappointing on more than one front. Though deemed scientifically unviable, the work also failed to rouse the interest of a British purchasing public. And, while the dubious ethnic categories and inflammatory rhetoric contained in the POI may epitomize the racist attitudes underscoring nineteenth century imperialism, this does not necessarily mean that such notions originated in official administrative policy.

This dissertation will demonstrate that the photographic legacy attributed to the POI volumes was, in fact, formed entirely outside of the publication, via a process that involved the prolific and sustained reproduction, re-contextualization, translation, and mass circulation of individual images/photographs and, more specifically, commercially produced photographs intended for a mass British purchasing public. I characterize the popular realm as being

unofficial as opposed to official or academic, regulated exclusively by market demand, not government policy or peer consensus, and occurring on a mass scale intended for a public without direct access to the subcontinent. It was in this unofficial realm of popular media where the problematic cultural categorizations that characterize the POI in modern day scholarship were disseminated and codified.

In order to identify the unofficial popular arena in the metropole as a theatre for this process, it is imperative that we reassess our understanding of the deployment of the picturesque convention as manifest in the POI. In this regard, the picturesque must be properly situated and approached according to the historical moment of photographic production as opposed to assessed in regard to institutions that post-date the images. Once accomplished, it becomes clear that the picturesque was not exclusively a “residual aesthetic”; rather, it was also a discrete photographic paradigm with a primary arena located in the metropole and whose vehicle was popular media.

The prolific repurposing of individual POI images in unofficial contexts of mass circulation ultimately transformed the arbitrarily constructed “native types” indicative of many POI photographs into recognizable, functioning, and extremely problematic ethnic categories. With its unregulated market-driven nature, the reproduction and contextualization of these images in mass popular contexts ensured that the problematic conceptions would persist in popular consciousness, the effects of which can still be felt today. Only when the POI is situated in a nineteenth-century unofficial popular context can we fully understand the genesis and purpose of the publication and, more importantly, identify a powerful mechanism in the formation and establishment of the nineteenth-century colonial imagination.

Methodology

This dissertation has been shaped by the unique conditions under which I first engaged with the POI,¹⁰ combined with my background in the historiography of Buddhist studies in the Western academic tradition. As such, my methodological approach is a hybrid derived from multiple, seemingly disparate specializations and vastly different terms of engagement.

The foundational work of this dissertation was to create a comprehensive catalogue of the photographs within the eight-volume POI publication, based on populating biographical data for each of its individual images and charting each image's "life" from creation to all known instances of reproduction and display. Key selections of the complete catalogue can be found in two appendices that address a selection of photographs by Charles Shepherd (Appendix Shepherd) and Benjamin Simpson (Appendix Simpson), as the work of these two contributors accounts for a substantial majority of display and reproductive instances outside the context of the publication.

As a large-scale presentation of nearly a decade of accumulated research, the appendices serve as the basis for a more rigorous methodological approach to understanding photographic reception, accounting for the unique characteristics of reproductive media: the potential for individual images to accrue multiple meanings with subsequent iterations. My interpretative

¹⁰ Contracted by the Freer and Sackler Galleries of Asian Art in 2008, I was charged with the task of producing a digital catalog that addressed individually each of the POI's 480 photographs. As an art historian with experience in a curatorial context, I soon learned that the research requirements for a digitized catalog were entirely different from those of an exhibition or scholarly article. Instead of compiling evidence to support an argument, my research required making attributions and providing searchable descriptive terminology. The challenges I faced in this process alerted me to the covertly operating yet extremely persuasive power intrinsic to the act of cataloging.

method centers around the concept of multiple manifestations, allowing for a detailed explication of the POI legacy without over-relying on the reading of a single reproductive context to understand mechanically reproduced images.

The appendixes have been specifically designed to function as a sort of graphic representation of accumulated data, thus allowing for the presentation of a large corpus of original research while mitigating the need for a written analysis to render significant catalogue findings legible and meaningful. Individual entries cite volume and plate number in the 1868 POI, as well as any additional instances in which the photographic image was displayed, reproduced, or translated into another mechanically reproducible form. This includes illustrated periodicals, notable personal photographic albums, commercial studio catalogs, scientific publications, international exhibition catalogs, and popular literature.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the literature surrounding the POI, and the sequence of scholarly influences that have shaped our present understanding of the publication, which, very notably, is a decidedly modern history. The literature review will demonstrate that our current understanding of the POI does not stem from the publication's original historical value, but rather from a decidedly modern historiographic construction. The chapter then articulates three key historiographic arenas that will be reconceptualized and revised throughout the dissertation in light of the new historical data presented.

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive historical timeline of the POI publication, beginning with the origins of the photographs, through the various stages of the multi-phase publication process, and ending with a discussion of the reception of the volumes. By conceptually and temporally “unbinding” the POI, this chapter reframes the project as a fundamentally photographic endeavor and provides an alternate narrative that documents a larger and more extensive trajectory of the photographs—beginning in 1855 and tracing through the years following the publication’s completion.

Chapter 3 returns to the three historiographic misdirects laid out in Chapter 1, addressing each in light of the new knowledge presented in Chapter 2. This discussion offers an updated understanding derived from the research of this dissertation, which ultimately leads us to redefine the core attributes associated with the POI. The chapter advocates for adopting a more historically-accurate understanding of the POI that reflects its unique position in history distinct from its iconic status within 21st century scholarship.

Chapter 4 departs from the POI publication to examine the role of images in nineteenth century popular culture in the metropole. The chapter begins with a comparison between the photographs of Benjamin Simpson and Charles Shepherd along three points of measure: circulation/access, textualization, and translation into other forms of mechanically reproducible media. After defining significant points of difference and the causes behind these disparities, I direct my focus to a close examination of three of the most frequently adapted and reproduced Charles Shepherd photographs, thereby illuminating the ways in which image reproduction and manipulation played a critical role in the construction and establishment of the nineteenth century colonial imagination.

Chapter 1

Current scholarship grants the *People of India* a place of primacy as one of the most important objects by which to link photography with the colonial activities of surveillance and systematic categorization that justified racial supremacy and colonial domination. While the exact work and significance of the POI has been posited along various theories, its significance is a matter of no contest. The POI is today accepted as “the ‘*summa bonum*’ [*sic*] of nineteenth-century Indian colonial photography.”¹¹

The significance given to the POI in the current literature (as well as its ability to produce useful historical knowledge) depends entirely on the publication’s connection to the official project initiated by the circulars, which included the collecting and organizing of roughly twelve-hundred photographs from across the subcontinent. This activity has clear practical parallels with other forms of collecting that were managed from a central authority with a clear goal of organizing massive amounts of data for the purposes of administering a colonized people.¹² More succinctly, read solely in terms of its practical dimensions as a collection activity, the POI would appear to exemplify the nineteenth-century imperialist phenomenon of collecting and categorizing as a means of control, thereby justifying its elevated attribution as an “ethnographic manifesto of colonial legitimacy.”¹³

¹¹ Pinney, 15.

¹² One such example is the India Census initiated in 1871.

¹³ “As the dead calm of the picturesque transmutes into the demeanor of official authority, the collective zeal of *The people of India* [*sic*] demands to be read as an act of cultural negotiation through which the Raj could symbolically demonstrate its intimate knowledge with the range and diversity of colonized peoples, constructing thereby an ethnographic manifesto of colonial legitimacy”: Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 104.

While the POI holds an irrefutable position of importance in contemporary scholarship, it is essential to understand the trajectory of modern historiography that engendered our current model of the POI's primacy. The following chapter provides an overview of the literature surrounding the POI, which, very notably, is a decidedly modern history. This literature review will demonstrate that our current understanding of the POI does not stem from the publication's original historical value, but rather from a decidedly modern historiographic construction.

Introduction to Scholarship

Despite the POI's importance in contemporary scholarship, it is critical that we acknowledge this importance as a modern phenomenon, rather than a historical constant. Indeed, an inquiry into the scholarship surrounding the POI demonstrates that the publication was in fact plucked out of historical oblivion only as recently as the late 1970s. As the deputy director of the India Office Library and Records, Ray Desmond introduced the POI into scholarship in his 1976 article, "Photography in India During the Nineteenth Century."¹⁴ The POI was addressed again in 1982 with Desmond's publications *The India Museum* and *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the Collection in the India Office Library and Records*.¹⁵ In each instance, Desmond's discussion of the POI is neither extensive nor analytical, but rather brief and only in passing. For example, in *The India Museum*, he simply notes the POI as the

¹⁴ Ray Desmond and Great Britain Foreign and Commonwealth Office. *Photography in India During the Nineteenth Century* (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1974).

¹⁵ Ray Desmond and India Office Library and Records. *The India Museum: 1801-1879* (H.M.S.O., 1982).
Ray Desmond and Great Britain India Office Library. *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the Collection in the India Office Library and Records* (H.M.S.O., 1982).

“First major ethnological work to employ photographs on a large scale.”¹⁶ Here, it is noteworthy that Desmond’s citations regarding the POI are derived from primary archival documentation or from the pages of the POI itself; secondary scholarship is not cited. Desmond’s singular reliance on primary sources was due to a complete absence of any preexisting scholarly analysis of the POI. In an effort to detect a historical through-line of scholarship, I have searched extensively for such mention earlier than Desmond’s, to no avail. This void reinforces the notion that the POI dropped off the historic record abruptly following its release.

The POI’s descent into historical oblivion is corroborated by a statement made by Sir Herbert Hope Risley in a 1900 paper advocating for the production of a comprehensive official ethnography. He states, “The end in view would be to produce a revised and expanded edition of a book famous in its day, Watson and Kaye’s *People of India*, the pictures of which have now faded almost out of recognition.”¹⁷ Risley did ultimately produce a single volume work, entitled *The People of India* (1908); however, the aforementioned reference and a shared title remain the only commonalities between the two publications.¹⁸ I would suggest that Risley invoked the 1868 POI precisely to express difference, being a rhetorical strategy intended to underscore exactly how far academic anthropology had “progressed” since its most nascent stage.

While Desmond would not have invoked the POI based on its enduring historical value, it is important to note the factors that would have sparked his interest. Desmond was writing

¹⁶ Desmond, *India Museum*, 122.

¹⁷ Falconer, 52.

¹⁸ This has led to considerable confusion as multiple scholars writing on the POI have conflated the two publications and proceeded according to the assumption that Risley’s POI provides insight regarding outstanding questions surrounding Watson and Kaye’s work. For an example, see the case study on Chaudhary later in this chapter.

during the rise of post-colonial theory in scholarship, at a moment when scholars were building theoretical frameworks and populating the field of objects of inquiry. As such, the POI was an ideal candidate for scholarly exploration. Desmond's retrieval of the POI provided a renewed awareness of the publication, bringing it back into historical play at a moment when scholars were searching for objects of exactly that kind.

John Falconer Authors First Analysis of POI

John Falconer, currently the Lead Curator of Visual Arts at the British Library, replaced Ray Desmond as head of the India Office Library and continued to develop scholarship on the POI. Falconer provided the first in-depth analysis of the POI, attending specifically to its value, impact, and relationship to colonial power. Falconer's scholarship on the POI, both in its early developmental phases and in more recent contributions (addressed later in the chapter), has earned him the title of undisputed expert on the POI. In 1984, Falconer published his first article on colonial photography of South Asia entitled "Ethnographical Photography in India: 1850-1900" in the journal *Photographic Collector*.¹⁹

As the first scholar to posit the historical impact of the POI, it is critical to note that Falconer does not argue for a single site of significance for the POI, but rather that regardless of the mode of scholarly inquiry, the POI stands as a landmark. Falconer discusses the POI in terms of "resonances" between "the histories of photography, ethnology and colonial administration."²⁰

¹⁹ John Falconer, "Ethnographical Photography in India: 1850-1900," *Photographic Collector*, 5:1 (1984).

²⁰ Falconer "Pure Labor of Love" p.52

In doing so, he positions the POI as an object that functions as a primary locus through which characteristically colonial forms of observation and knowledge production were concretized, reified, renegotiated, and codified:

Whether viewed on its own as a straightforward contribution to ethnology, as an example of the nineteenth-century fascination with accumulating and classifying exhaustive archives of data and knowledge, or as a prime illustration of the use of an ostensibly scientific project for political ends in the colonial arena, the volumes stand as a landmark in the history of nineteenth-century photography.²¹

Falconer's assertion firmly installs the POI as a keystone historical object to which any discussion of nineteenth century photography should necessarily attend.²²

Christopher Pinney Forms Foundational Theories on POI

Christopher Pinney, a professor of Anthropology and Visual Culture at University College London, provides the next significant development in the scholarship on the POI. Though Falconer is the unarguable expert with respect to the work itself, it is Pinney from whom nearly all subsequent scholars writing on the POI draw their theoretical underpinnings.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² It warrants mention that I ultimately disagree with Falconer's assessment of the POI as a scientific ethnographic project (in the modern anthropological sense of the term). That being said, in a majority of his writings on the POI (including "Pure Labor of Love"), Falconer consistently provides multiple options rather than insisting on a single site of significance. For example, in the 2010 Alkazi publication "The Waterhouse Albums," he states the following: "Whether viewed as an attempt at a comprehensive scientific account of the ethnic diversity of the subcontinent, or as an illustration of photography's complicity in the creation of the 19th-century 'colonial archive', The People of India remains one of the most important monuments of ethnographically-directed photography undertaken during the colonial era" (p. 78). In other words, Falconer is less concerned with asserting functionality in the face of a dearth of historical evidence and opts instead to underscore the monumental nature of the work in the broader landscape of the history of photography.

If there is any one contribution that can be stated as responsible for the current interpretation of the POI, it is unequivocally found in the work of Pinney, specifically in his oft-cited book, *Camera Indica: The Social Lives of Indian Photographs*.²³ Expanding on Falconer's resonances between photography, ethnography, and colonial administration, in *Camera Indica*, Pinney asserts the POI's historical significance along two central characteristics. Taken together, these components provide the interpretive framework which ultimately forms the foundational tenets of POI analyses, which perhaps identifies *Camera Indica* as the primary secondary source from which most POI scholarship currently stems.²⁴

First, Pinney asserts that post-mutiny anxiety is the key motivating factor behind the creation of the POI. In this respect, he considers the POI similar to other early photography projects that took a museological stance by creating parallel registers of images, artifacts, and records of behavior. Pinney marks the POI as unique because these parallel registers are directly related to the sustainability of British rule, and, thus, he concludes, a direct result of post-mutiny anxiety.

Pinney highlights British post-mutiny cultural anxieties as spurring the creation of the POI, which he views as a widespread documentary project with a "pragmatic political edge that attempted to directly relate these registers to the pressing question of the sustainability of British rule in India."²⁵ Expressed in more detail:

²³ Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

²⁴ This is not to say that Pinney was the first to identify characteristics of the POI; rather, he was the first to present a comprehensive analysis of the POI that attempted to compensate for substantial historical ambiguities by heavily sourcing Western theoretical literature addressing various aspects in regard to photography as a medium.

²⁵ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 35.

The recent experience of insurrection and the putative 'official use' lace the text of the volumes with a political contemporaneity. Preoccupations with origins, purity and the prospect of decay which informed so many earlier and later works were swept away by a concern with political loyalty (or its lack) and an ongoing desire to provide practical clues to the identification of groups which had so recently had the opportunity to demonstrate either their fierce hatred of British rule or their acquiescence.²⁶

Pinney isolates the POI as a momentary instance of political interest situated between what he seems to consider more singularly-focused ethnographic works that came before and after.

Second, Pinney asserts that the POI was singularly determined to classify the entirety of the Indian population according to what he sees as two distinct nineteenth century colonial photographic paradigms: the "salvage" paradigm and the "detective" paradigm. He extrapolates the POI's application of collecting and systemizing as an act of imperial domination, identifying images and their titles as conforming to one or both of these discrete modes:

Throughout the nineteenth century, two rather different photographic idioms emerged in India: a 'salvage' paradigm, which was applied to what were perceived to be fragile tribal communities, and a 'detective' paradigm, which was more commonly manifested when faced with a more vital caste society. In the 'salvage' paradigm a scientific and curatorial imperative was dominant- 'fragile' and 'disappearing' cultures and communities had to be recorded ('captured') before their extinction...The 'detective' paradigm, by contrast, presumed the continuing vitality of sections of Indian society and stressed the value of anthropological depictions and physiognomic observations as future identificatory guides.²⁷

Pinney notes elsewhere that the anthropological "salvage" idiom is contingent on representations of tribes and races, the POI being widely acknowledged as among the most important attempts to harness photography to the service of ethnographic documentation. The administrative "detective" paradigm is intimated by the ostensible presence of caste typologies. The two

²⁶ Ibid., 34.

²⁷ Ibid., 45.

paradigms clearly depend upon one another in order to function, both in general and within the POI. And, while the POI indeed manifests with a unique combination of official connections and a production date with temporal proximity of the Rebellion of 1857, these facts alone are not sufficient to conclude the publication's motives.

Christopher Pinney made a substantial contribution to the scholarship on the POI, identifying key elements of the publication that set it apart from works prior or following. However, lacking additional context for analysis, the aforementioned factors conspire to result in reading the POI as an exemplary instance of the colonial phenomenon of collecting as a means of control, and the utilization of photographic technology as a tool in this process. In regard to this phenomenon, Kavita Singh, professor of Art History at Jawaharlal Nehru University, defines it thusly:

It is generally assumed that the great knowledge-producing project of the British Empire was primarily one of control. We understand that by surveying and mapping lands, by conducting censuses, and by collecting and classifying specimens, the colonial power was able to take hold of its possession with a more than military might. We have also learned that in this dynamic of knowledge and control, what was being effected was not just knowledge for control, but knowledge-control; where scientific and Enlightenment forms of knowledge displaced other ways of knowing the world and established themselves as the best, indeed the only, way to study and describe reality.²⁸

It is important to note that Pinney's main arguments—and, indeed, his approach overall—relies on a close reading of text and image in the POI. He considers this method of analysis as a matter of necessity, faced with the by-then already notorious lack of evidence surrounding POI reception. Absent documentation notwithstanding, Pinney admits the potential limitations of his own image/text reading; however, he declines to offer a solution:

²⁸ Sinha, "Art & Visual Culture," 40

My analysis of *The People of India* has attempted to situate a close reading of parts of the text and images in the political context of the aftermath of the 1857 insurrection. Roland Barthes was surely right to suggest that ‘a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination’, but it is famously difficult to find documentation of the reception of the sort of material we are considering here.²⁹

Pinney clearly offers a responsible nod to missing context in relationship to his own chosen methodology for analysis. However, at no point in his discussion of the POI does he articulate in any specific terms the intended audience for the publication, or how the volumes functioned in a nineteenth-century context. As a result, subsequent scholarship based upon Pinney’s analysis of the POI tend to exhibit wildly varied conclusions regarding the historical reception and functional uses of the publication.

Building on Pinney's Framework

Pinney’s impact on the trajectory of POI scholarship is unrivaled. Utilizing his influential writing as their theoretical foundation, scholars writing about the POI have since hypothesized several ways in which the POI generated new forms of knowledge about the subcontinent. What follows is a brief overview of the main theories which make up the current corpus of POI scholarship.

James R. Ryan, a University of Exeter professor specializing in geography and empire, stresses the POI as a site in which racial types are constructed according to political allegiance in an administrative framework. In his book, *Picturing Empire (Picturing History)*, Ryan

²⁹ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 44.

elaborates on the utilitarian function of knowledge creation, as exemplified by the making of the POI. He notes, “The significance of *The People of India* lies in the ways it constructs knowledge of racial ‘types’ relative to their political co-operation within the administrative frameworks of colonial authority.”³⁰ Ryan views the POI as a conscious act made by the colonial administration to bolster a political agenda through ethnographic means.

Zahid Chaudhary, an English professor specializing in post-colonial theory at Princeton University, also considers the POI as a site of construction, but places its work more in alignment with the anthropological salvage paradigm. He suggests that the aim of the POI was “to ‘preserve’ rapidly disappearing forms of life, in the process giving full reign to the photographers’ primitivist aesthetics and simultaneously building taxonomies of castes and professions.”³¹ Like Ryan, Chaudhary also pays respect to the political implications of such a project and the interplay between the scientific and political spheres, commenting that “detective surveillance was never far away.”³² Chaudhary’s additional suggestion that the POI played a significant role in the formation of an entire photographic genre relocates the POI to the central position in the development of a complete visual rhetoric of colonial India through its production and distribution. For Chaudhary, “*The People of India* formally launched the genre of anthropological photography on an unprecedented scale on the vast subcontinent.”³³

³⁰ James Ryan. *Picturing Empire (Picturing History)* (New York: Reaktion Books, 1997), 156.

³¹ Zahid Chaudhary. *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), p.5

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

Saloni Mathur, a UCLA art history professor specializing in the visual culture of colonial India, interprets the juxtaposition of Pinney’s “salvage” and “detective” paradigms in transformative terms, whereby the application of an ostensibly scientific approach taken in conjunction with an administrative production necessarily results in a “catalogue of mug shots.”

She writes of the POI:

In this work, which served the interests of the colonial administration, human beings are presented as scientific specimens as neatly “as butterflies impaled on pins,” as David MacDougall has noted. *The People of India* is thus a classic enactment of the kinds of modalities identified by Allan Sekula in his influential account of photography’s interpellation into nineteenth-century hierarchical society: its “archival mode,” its “instrumental realism,” its repressive logic of “optical encyclopedism”—all of these make this catalogue of mug shots a “powerful, artless, and wholly denotative” form of visual empiricism.³⁴

Mathur’s conclusions exemplify an important trend in the ways Falconer’s resonances are most frequently synthesized in scholarship—that is to say, the POI acted as an authoritative agent in the promulgation of the racist attitudes intimated in its text. Her assertion of the POI as cold, calculated, and artless demonstrates her theoretical alliance with Pinney’s conception of the detective paradigm, and furthermore, represents a scholarly position that views the POI as an inarguably purposeful act of racial/ethnic stereotyping.

Sarah Suleri, professor emeritus of English at Yale University, also assumes the hypothesis that the POI served a conscious colonial function, asserting its application as a didactic textbook intended to instruct future colonial administrators. She writes:

This early foray into ethnographic photography became...a textbook for British administrators training for the Indian civil service. The text is revelatory on several counts,

³⁴ Saloni Mathur. *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 81.

most crucially in its attempt to represent “caste” as a dominant metaphor through which all the religious subgroups of the subcontinent can finally be decoded.³⁵

Suleri, like Mathur, views the POI as a pointed effort to photographically organize—and thereby discipline—colonial subjects. Suleri also emphasizes the presence of the picturesque within the POI, not as an alternate mode to the “decodings” of empirical ethnography, but as a necessary component of nineteenth-century colonial scientism, arguing that the presence of the picturesque betrays its own inadequacy. She writes, “Ostensibly freezing both race and caste into visually assimilable compendiums of information, *The people of India* [sic] exemplifies an English inability to recognize social and cultural hierarchies more dynamic than its own.”³⁶ Suleri’s theories exemplify a critical trend in contemporary POI scholarship—readings that consider the POI an intentional, targeted colonial undertaking, while also reading the work as endemic of the darker sides of the colonial psyche.

Departure into Mythology

As I have demonstrated, our current understanding of the POI is largely composed of the legacy of Christopher Pinney’s theories in combination with the modern tendency to assert functionality for the POI, unsubstantiated by primary evidence. Because this is the case, our historicization of the POI has taken us further and further away from the physical reality of the object itself. The POI now stands as an indisputably significant and impactful historical

³⁵ Sara Suleri. *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 18.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.

publication, yet, paradoxically, it holds little to no stable historical attributes about the cause and conditions of its supposed importance. As a result, modern scholarship on the POI would be more accurately described as our collective *mythology* of the POI, rather than its history.

An excellent case study for this historiographic condition can be found in Zahid Chaudhary's 2012 book, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-century India*. Chaudhary's invocation of the POI can be found in the opening pages of the book, and functions to introduce and justify his primary claim, "to situate the history of photography in India in the context of the seismic upheaval that was the Sepoy Revolt of 1857-1858."³⁷ Following this statement, Chaudhary launches into a discussion on the POI by citing a passage from the preface, contained in Volume I. After this point he states:

It is in light of this discursive context that we can enter into the chiaroscuro world of colonial photography. Figure 1.1, from *The People of India* is a photograph taken by G.E. Dobson: Group of Five Young Andamanese Women from 1872.

This is indeed a bizarre inclusion and caption, as this photograph does not appear in the *POI at all*. First, Dobson's photograph could not have been featured in the 1868-1875 POI because the photograph in question dates to 1872, and the photographs from the 1868-1875 POI were compiled no later than 1864. Somewhat ironically, Chaudhary would have known this fact if he had taken into account John Falconer's published findings on the historical circumstances of the 1868 POI, facts contained in, *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, the very

³⁷ Chaudhary, 4.

book Chaudhary refers to in an earlier footnote as a “useful resource for understanding the limits of colonial lines of thinking.”³⁸

Furthermore, G. E. Dobson’s photographs did not appear in Risley’s 1908 single volume publication *The People of India* that Chaudhary mistakenly conflates with Watson and Kaye’s POI.³⁹ In fact, Risley’s 1908 POI does not feature a single photographic illustration; rather, the images are lithographs based on photographs by Dr. Benjamin Simpson and Tosco Peppe.⁴⁰

So, how did Chaudhary come to conflate two unrelated publications only to analyze a photograph that does not appear in either work? Though Chaudhary does employ primary evidence in citing the introduction contained in the 1868-1875 POI, his discussion of the POI, as well as Dobson’s quotes, is in fact taken from Christopher Pinney’s discussion of the POI in *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*.⁴¹

Moreover, despite the fact that Chaudhary invokes the POI to introduce his larger argument regarding the entirety of nineteenth-century photographic practice on the subcontinent, and specifically discusses two separate images he assumes to derive from the 1868-1875 POI, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-century India* does not illustrate or address a

³⁸ Ibid., 205n: “The following works on colonial photography show both the insight and limit of this line of thinking.”

³⁹ Risley’s POI was published in 1908 and features twenty-five lithographic illustrations. A second edition edited by W. Crooke was released in 1915. The second edition features thirty-six illustrations comprised of both lithographs and photographs by a variety of photographers and contributors.

⁴⁰ Simpson’s images in Risley’s POI were first published in Edward Tuite Dalton’s *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* and are based on the photos Simpson first displayed at the 1861 Bengal Photographic Society Exhibition which were subsequently sent to the 1862 London Exhibition. A selection of these images also appear in Watson’s *Costumes and Textiles* as well as the 1868-1875 POI. See appendix for display and reproduction for individual Simpson POI images.

⁴¹ The two images in question appear back to back in *Camera Indica* on pages 47 and 49 respectively, and, at no point, does Pinney claim that either image appears in Watson and Kaye’s POI.

single photograph from Watson and Kaye's POI. While it is impossible to tell if Chaudhary is aware of the error, suffice it to say that it would only take a moment of firsthand experience with the physical object(s) to recognize the error(s).

However, if Chaudhary did not personally interact with any publication titled *The People of India*, how can he be sure that his own interpretation of Pinney, or Pinney's very account of the POI isn't flawed? Perhaps unbeknownst to Chaudhary, what has occurred can be best described as an evidentiary paradox. Its legal equivalent involves the presentation of a case comprised exclusively of character witness testimony without informing the jury that the witnesses are also named as plaintiffs in the case. In this scenario, the presentation of paradoxical evidence to support a heavily skewed (or downright false) narrative cannot be detected as long as all other forms of evidence are absent (or withheld) and the fact that the witnesses have a shared vested interest in one particular outcome remains unacknowledged throughout the duration of the trial. The biggest problem is that this type of argument tends also to be the most convincing as there is nothing faulty about the logic as it is applied to a seemingly overwhelming body of corroborating evidence supporting a particular conclusion.

Though there is nothing inherently wrong with methodologies derived from critical theory, herein lies the danger when critical theory performs the function of foundational historical scholarship in its absence. As a result of the self-reflexive nature of scholarship on the POI, discrepancies and potential evidentiary paradoxes have become harder and harder to identify as scholars treat earlier secondary scholarship as if it was primary documentation.

My analysis regarding the problems that now face the study of the POI is not derived from Western photo theory or post-colonial theory, rather from the historiography of South Asian

studies in the West. The study of early Buddhism in Western academic practice has historically functioned as an arena whereby contemporary ideologies vie for epistemological dominance. The consequences of such behavior was first observed by the Pali text scholar C.A.F Rhys-Davids and presented in an 1898 paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Here, Rhys-Davids challenged Western interpretations of the tenets of early Buddhist ethics on the basis of presupposed verisimilitude between an original document and its translated counterpart. The thesis statement of her paper is worth quoting at length:

The Critics who are unversed in the study of the Buddhist Canon in the original are precisely those who most freely discourse on these lines about it. In taking account at all of Eastern Philosophy, they have followed, consciously or unconsciously, the direction of Schopenhauer's pointing finger, and the general tendency to widen range and method in historical study. In respect of the language through which they acquire their knowledge of Buddhist philosophy, they are at the mercy of the translator. Herein (as I have pointed out elsewhere) lies danger for the justice of their conclusions.⁴²

For the same reasons articulated by Rhys-Davids, the problem of "Schopenhauer's pointing finger" persists unchecked in much of contemporary scholarship on the POI. While the problem involves historiography rather than linguistics, the potential consequences of an over-reliance on translation equally applies. Without foundational research to hold scholarship accountable for its employment of evidence, conversation on the POI will invariably continue to devolve into self-referentially justified arguments supported by self-referentially generated evidence. In the end, only one thing is accomplished, and that is to articulate the theoretical position of the author.

⁴² . "On the Will in Buddhism." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. (Jan 1898): 47–59.

Historical misattributions notwithstanding, Chaudhary's errors demonstrate a larger problem with contemporary scholarship on the POI; the POI has become a historically ambiguous *tabula rasa* upon which to project any number of modern post-colonial theories. Ungrounded by substantial primary documentation about the publication's original purpose, intended use, and other crucial historical details, our understanding of the POI today is more of an amalgam of theory-driven conjecture than a synthesis of historical fact.

First Review of POI Publication History

In 2002, John Falconer returned to his work on the POI with "A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of The People of India," an article that provides an expanded account of the publishing history of the POI based on the official memoranda and other contemporary documentation first compiled by Ray Desmond. To date, this essay is the only comprehensive account of the POI in modern scholarship. Falconer's publishing history is extremely significant, as he demonstrates that the story as outlined in the preface contained in Volume I of the POI itself differs drastically from the physical history and trajectory of the project as gleaned from official documentation pertaining to the project. Falconer's findings reveal a fundamental fact of the POI: there is a constant disconnect between the project's myth, marketing, and historical life.

Despite having this important contribution to POI scholarship available since 2002, historians have not considered how Falconer's alternative publishing history problematizes the

current widely accepted tenets of scholarly interpretation. Indeed, a majority of the evidence Falconer presents in the article contradicts what currently stands as a best-fit theory regarding the POI's primary audience and intended function. While Falconer rightly notes the discrepancies between the POI's historical reputation and physical reality, he is reticent to speculate on the historical intentions that gave rise to the POI. Falconer's important work highlights an urgent need to attend to the myriad discrepancies surrounding the historical circumstances of the POI's creation, publication, dissemination, and reception.

Problem

The POI is an inarguably important object, a landscape upon which we see the negotiations involved in the formation of a British vision of India. However, current scholarship errs in over-reading the causes and consequences of this negotiation in the POI in accordance to theories taken from the larger arena of post-colonial discourse. As a result, scholarly assessment has become disconnected from the material history of the object of inquiry. Because of this disconnect, current literature on the POI begins with a common set of foundational presuppositions surrounding the work—that it is a text designed for colonial administrative 'use'—and builds further scholarship from this (errant) point of departure. The resulting analyses have had consistent difficulties in locating evidence—both in terms of volume and compelling findings—to substantiate most arguments about the historical conditions of the POI. The lack of primary evidence available on the work's historical intent and reception has been instead replaced with an increasingly fantastical and fabricated mythology about the POI's history.

However, the troubled legacy of historicizing the POI is not in fact due to a dearth of historical evidence, but rather to our flawed approach in seeking evidence.

Scholars have misidentified the POI along three key lines of historical inquiry, and explications and associations of the POI have been sought in (a) the wrong time period, citing cultural institutions that postdate the project; (b) the wrong type of object, considering the POI primarily as a publication, rather than a collection of photographs; and (c) in the wrong receptive arena, focusing only on official networks of exchange pertaining to or applied to the subcontinent, instead of a popular commercial focus located in the metropole. Historical inquiries arising from these three primary misdirects help explain the cause of scholarship's greatest impediment to writing a history of the POI: what Pinney adeptly characterized as being "famously difficult to find documentation of the reception of the sort of material we are considering here."⁴³ To resolve this historical conundrum requires a fundamental adjustment in our scope of inquiry.

People of India: Photographic Album

Considering the POI primarily—if not exclusively—as a multi-volume photo-illustrated text is the incorrect perspective from which to assess the POI's full historical impact. This conclusion becomes obvious once we look further into the material circumstances of the publication itself. The 1868 POI is the epitome of an object with limited access, scope, and reach; a single edition publication, with no more than 300 sets produced, was a documented

⁴³ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 44.

disappointment with chronically limited circulation, even with some measure of worldwide distribution. The low production numbers and lackluster reception of the volumes necessarily restricted both access and, in turn, its ability to propagate knowledge. Furthermore, if one examines the small amount of primary evidence regarding the administrative and academic reception of the POI, no one so much as mentions the publication at all, other than on rare occasion, to dismiss it. Without corroborating historical evidence to confirm its reception, there is little to suggest the POI publication could have ever served as a major, direct agent in the establishment of the racist attitudes and dubious ethnic categorizations currently attributed to it. Considering the Victorian “obsession” with documentation, this would seem in and of itself to suggest precisely the opposite, that the POI and its effects were relegated to obscurity until scholarship in the latter half of the twentieth century resurrected it.

In contrast to the marked lack of historical interest in the POI as a publication, the photographs of the POI are discussed regularly in a wide range of historical contexts. Though the current scholarship on the POI treats the publication as the relevant object of historical inquiry, it is an examination of the photographs that unlocks critical historical insights. Though the POI publication is of limited historical import, analyzing the POI in its form as a thematic collection of photographs, considered individually or by group, proves extremely fruitful. The photographs “out live” the publication in both its pre- and post-capacities; the existence of the photographs precedes the idea for a publication (in fact, the photographs inspired the publication), and the photographs had a substantial material legacy after and decidedly outside of the volumes.

Furthermore, reproduction of the photographs was not restricted to official projects under a “colonial authority.” POI photographs circulated freely at the hands of their respective creators, at play with a wide variety of use cases and display contexts. Tracking image dissemination across multiple modes of contextualization allows for an examination of audience, a crucial point of analysis that has thus far been elusive. When we analyze the POI along these expanded lines, we gain valuable clues as to how to best understand the publication and where to locate its legacy. By inverting the focus—from emphasis on the publication that includes photographs, to an emphasis on the photographs which were utilized in a publication—we gain a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the POI in all its iterations and, therefore, a more holistic understanding of its significance.

Retroactive Approaches to the Picturesque

The POI is currently analyzed within the timeline of anthropological photography and colonial administrative technologies. The general consensus is that the POI marks a critical departure and/or hybrid in the development of this trajectory. Scholarship making arguments proceeding from temporal presupposition reads the POI as a key object that critically altered the codified colonial institutions surrounding race, ethnography, and surveillance. However, the POI’s supposed “construction of racial types” is contingent on the dissemination and implementation of an extant typology.

In regard to these factors, the POI simply could not have been involved, as it predates the creation and solidification of these institutions. The POI dates to a moment before the

codification of the modes to which current scholarship most often associates it, namely, the articulation of what later manifests as the structures of academic anthropology⁴⁴ and the administrative machine of the census and survey. Because of its position in the development of systematized colonial modes of knowledge production, attempts to characterize the POI according to later developments are inherently retrospective in nature, and, as such, not only are historically inaccurate, but are rather nonproductive in advancing our understanding of the work.

Revising our chronological placement of the POI makes it obvious that we cannot view the project as a synthesis of colonial impulses, but that we must instead situate the POI in a “*proto*” moment of these institutions. Analyzing the POI as a very early chronological position in the development of these modes makes locating evidence of its reception and role within these developments of paramount importance.

Current scholarship tends to view the pervasive presence of the picturesque in the POI as evidence of a turning point, synthesis, or otherwise moment of rupture in the trajectory of later colonial institutions. However, such temporal conclusions are only possible to make with the benefit of retrospect, having a macro view through which to see the larger developments of colonial institutions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and then “detecting” those patterns within specific historical instances. As an alternate approach, if we begin to understand the POI’s “place in time” via the picturesque by examining their own historical

⁴⁴ In 1863, a schism occurred in the British ethnological community, resulting in the formation of two distinct fields. Ethnology’s territory comprised subjects including philology and material culture, whereas the new field of anthropology aspired to scientific eminence. The fundamental difference between the two hinged on the anthropological belief that physical human traits are quantifiable, and could be compiled and analyzed as scientifically acceptable data sets. The full emergence of anthropology as a recognized scientific discipline occurred in 1884 with the first appointment to a university post in Britain. For a detailed account of the split, see Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

understanding and use of the term, we unlock an entirely different sequence of events and influences.

Though the term “picturesque” describes a specific aesthetic convention—one that originates in landscape painting during the 18th century—the term was organically extended into the realm of photographic composition during the formation of photography as an artistic medium. Thus far, we have been unable able to do much more than detect the presence of the picturesque in the POI, due in part to a lack of historical evidence surround the POI’s creation and intentions. Without these primary sources, linking the picturesque in the POI with larger historical influences and institutions has been effectively impossible, forcing scholars to reach conclusions primarily based on retroactive attributions, many of which fall victim to anachronistic projection.

However, when we correctly locate the POI in historical sequence vis-a-vis the development of colonial institutions, we no longer fall victim to retroactively applying functions to the project that were never its aim. Instead, we attend to discovering and tracing the critical formative moments found in the POI that would later give rise to these powerful institutions. Indeed, the picturesque—from its relationship to the origins of the POI project, to its application in the volumes, to its frequent invocation in historical reception of the photographs—serves as a key concept from which we can begin to properly place the POI in historical time and thereby identify the realm of popular mass media based in the metropole as an integral mechanism of the colonial imagination.

Beyond the Sanctioned Sphere

To date, scholars have approached the POI exclusively as an official publication with unrealized scientific aspirations and an overwhelmingly indifferent reception by its presumed primary audience, the burgeoning anthropological community. Current scholarship assumes the POI's performance within these official, government/academy-sanctioned spheres represent the most significant marker of historical impact and relevance.

While it is true that the POI was considered a failure in both the administrative and academic fields, the publishing project proved disappointing on more than these fronts. Specifically, the publication's failure in the commercial arena represents the larger and more poignant disappointment in the publication's trajectory. In order to fully understand the failings of the POI publication, we must attend to the project's life in the broader commercial sphere, rather than its more incidental and secondary applications within administrative or academic contexts.

Furthermore, shifting our analytical location from the official/colonial administrative to the unofficial/popular/commercial opens a radically expanded arena from which to document reception and impact. Analyses bound to official applications are also necessarily bound to the POI's circulation; in considering the project's unofficial and commercial applications, we can examine reception in all contexts both in India and in the West. The importance of this expanded geographic field of analysis cannot be overstated, as this extended scope provides exponentially more material with which to understand the POI's historical significance.

To date, there has been no significant attention to unofficial applications and popular spheres of exchange. By ignoring the POI's Western context, current scholarship reads the publication's trajectory from the wrong "place," thus missing crucial information only found when considering the POI as part of the larger archive of popular media in the Western commercial sphere. While it is true that the publication was deemed scientifically unviable, the work also failed to rouse the interest of a British purchasing public.

Scholars have dismissed the conditions of the commercial failure of the POI by attributing its sluggish sales to waning market demand and the financial unviability of owning the work for a majority of the purchasing public.⁴⁵ While seemingly reasonable, this explanation has major flaws. First, the condition of waning demand is highly unlikely, as the release of the volumes in the late 1860s to the mid-1870s occurred at the front end of a boom in commercial photographic activity in India (the apex being 1880s and 1890s), the primary market of which was located in the West. Second, expense for a majority of the public could not have been a decisive factor in the disappointing commercial performance of the POI, as "success" is determined proportionately to production. In other words, roughly one hundred sets of the POI needed to sell in a timely fashion for the work to have been considered commercially successful. Marketed successfully to any range of potential buyers, one hundred sets could have easily been sold, price notwithstanding. In that affordability was not a requisite for success, the question becomes, what characteristics of the POI made it commercially unappealing? By relocating the "place" of our analysis, we can begin to understand the deeper conditions of the POI's creation, reception, and relationship to the larger sphere of colonial visual culture.

⁴⁵ Falconer, "Pure Labor of Love". 139-140.

Chapter 2

It is not possible to understand the POI without attending to the conditions which brought about its creation. In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the POI should be understood and approached in terms of an incongruent series of photographs by many contributors with multiple iterations (in both display and reproduction), only one of which is the eight-volume POI publication. By conceptually and temporally “unbinding” the POI, this chapter reframes the project as a fundamentally photographic endeavor and provides an alternate narrative that documents a larger and more extensive trajectory of the photographs—beginning in 1855 and tracing through the years following the publication’s completion.

Chapter 2 charts the chain of events that would—by chance and circumstance—develop into the POI publication. The chapter is organized chronologically and begins with the origins of the photographs, circumstances of their production and first display of the images at the 1862 London International Exhibition. The next section of the chapter addresses the creation of the POI publishing project, including multiple early shifts to the publication outlay and format as well as the reproduction of prints. The final section of the chapter traces the commercial considerations which shaped the final phase of the publication’s development, and gave the POI its most notable qualities and character.

Chapter 2 presents a trajectory of the POI as an expanded, extended, and widely varied project, which yields several key insights into our scholarly understanding of the project. To date, scholarship on the POI has developed within the framework of analyzing and understanding the POI as a discrete publication, historically conceived and deployed with the intent of

disseminating knowledge. However, as Chapter 2 will demonstrate, far from arising as a premeditated endeavor, the POI publication comes into being as the victim of circumstance. Viewed as the result of challenging logistical and financial circumstances, the key characteristics of the POI are illuminated as qualities born out of largely commercial considerations. This newly found commercial context gives us important direction as to where to direct future research on reception and legacy, as well as accounting for our past difficulty in locating evidence of reception—as the scholarship had thus far been seeking documentation that would only exist as a result of an intentional and standard publication process, which the POI was not. In essence, by mapping the POI as a series of photographs, we better understand where to look for—and find—the project’s origins, history, and legacy.

Original Idea & Project Origins

The origins of the POI photographs find their roots in the formidable influence and actions of Lady Charlotte Canning, wife of Charles Canning, the first Viceroy of India. It was Lady Canning who was the primary catalyst for the call for photographs that would form the body of the POI project. Notable contemporaries Forbes Watson and William Simpson both give credit to Lady Canning for her originating impulse on the project. According to Watson, in a letter written in 1863, Lady Canning had originally suggested a photographic record of the main

ethnic groups in India.⁴⁶ Simpson reinforces this notion in his 1891 presentation “Oriental Art & Archeology,” recounting the origins of the Indian archeological survey. He notes:

The various races of people were a subject of constant conversation, and I understood it was from the great interest Lady Canning took in them that a scheme was started shortly afterwards for procuring photos of all the races and tribes in India.⁴⁷

Watson and Simpson, along with other contemporaries of Lady Canning, all point to her centrality in the development of later colonial cultural institutions.

Prior to relocating to India, Lady Canning served as a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria from 1842-1855. Over that thirteen years, the women established a rapport that across continents in regular correspondence via post. Queen Victoria requested Lady Canning send letters detailing India and other exotic accounts of “the Orient.” One can easily recognize Queen Victoria’s interest in India in her writing to Lady Canning:

Windsor Castle, Jan 25 1856:

Your very interesting letter of the 19th Dec. from Cairo has given me the greatest pleasure, & I thank you very much for it. How very wonderful all those oriental luxuries & customs must be, & how like a dream it must all appear to European eyes! If it was not for the heat and the insects how much I should like to see India...⁴⁸

Lady Canning wrote with equal excitement, reporting developments that would bring Queen Victoria closer to a first-hand experience of India:

Madras, Feb 24 1856:

⁴⁶ Desmond, *India Museum* (IOR L/E/6/37 Statistics and Commerce Dept. 18 July 1863, item 39), 119.

⁴⁷ William Simpson, R.I., M.R.A.S., Hon. Associate R.I.B.A. *Oriental Art and Archaeology: Being a paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (London Sept 1891), 351.

⁴⁸ “Glimpses of the Burning Plain,” 21 (Source: Canning Papers housed in Leeds District Archives)

...I am so very sorry to be utterly unable to draw these picturesque figures. Photography is making good progress in India & I hope soon to send some specimens to your Majesty. How I wish that your Majesty could see the most interesting part of your dominions & I often think how much His Royal Highness would delight in the study of these races of people and their curious habits...⁴⁹

Several months into the Canning's residence in India, Lady Canning and Queen Victoria continued their regular exchange, enthusiasm mounting with each letter. In her Sept 23 1856 letter, Queen Victoria expresses longing to "experience at first hand" Lady Canning's extraordinary life in India. Queen Victoria writes, "What endless subjects for the drawings you must be doing, no doubt you have been very busy with your pencil, what would I give to see some of your sketches."⁵⁰

These exchanges point to the impetus of a critical moment in the development of photography in India. Several important factors are displayed throughout their communications. First, we see Queen Victoria's marked interest in seeing—or more accurately *experiencing*—India, in particular the clothing and luxurious items. In turn, Lady Canning quickly recognized that photography was the key to satiating Queen Victoria's desire to see and experience the richness of India. Acknowledging the unlikeliness of Queen Victoria making an in-person visit to India, Lady Canning was intent on providing a photographic experience that could serve as a worthy substitute.

Second, the two women's exchanges constantly reference the concept of the picturesque, demonstrating that they communicated their interest and passion through the language of the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 21 Source: Royal Archives (RA Z 502/2)

⁵⁰ "Glimpses of Burning," 43.

term. This focus on the picturesque echoes the larger standard by which photography was considered and understood in this formative time.

Photography in India & Scott's *Sketches in India*

In truth, by the aid of good photographic pictures, we become almost as well acquainted with the scenery and buildings of a country as if we had travelled through it; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that the views placed before us are perfectly truthful, the great sun-painter being worthy of all credit.⁵¹

-Preface of Captain A.N Scott's *Sketches in India* (1862)

When Lady Canning reported “photography is making good progress in India,” her enthusiasm stemmed from direct gains made in an environment that was notoriously difficult for the still-developing photographic medium. Her comment should be understood in the larger development of photography of the era—most notably, the creation of the collodion process in the early 1850s. By 1860, it had all but entirely replaced the less practical and more expensive daguerreotype as a preferable form. By combining the desirable qualities of the calotype (theoretically unlimited number of prints from a single negative) with the sharpness and clarity afforded by the irreproducible daguerreotype, the collodion process dominated worldwide photographic practice throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁵² For all of its benefits, the collodion process was not without limitations. The sensitivity of collodion required mobile darkrooms and volatile chemicals to be transported along with the camera and glass

⁵¹ Allan Scott and Charles Richard Weld. *Sketches in India; Taken at Hyderabad and Secunderabad, in the Madras Presidency* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1862).

⁵² For a detailed account of photographic processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Bertrand Lavédrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2009).

plates. The plates had to be sensitized, exposed, and developed on location before the collodion dried and became impermeable to the processing solution.⁵³

In India, the logistical challenges presented by the wet plate collodion process were further compounded by the temperamental nature of collodion in hot and humid conditions. In an 1863 article published in the *British Journal of Photography*, W. H Warner articulates the various issues facing photographic practice on the subcontinent:

There is an evil which in Europe is bad enough but in India is a million times worse-I mean heat- which dries up the plate, rendering it more and more insensitive every moment, and also communicates to the operator a lassitude which almost wholly unfits him for the duties of the day.⁵⁴

Humidity was also a problem, as, during the monsoon season, equipment and photographic paper were susceptible to fungous growths, rendering a successful photograph nearly impossible. It was not uncommon for a practitioner to lose a year's worth of work from the effects of heat and damp on developed negatives. Between the frustrating challenges to even *taking* the photographs and the typically grainy, poor-quality images that most often resulted, photography in India was reserved for the truly masterful. Lady Canning was well aware of the myriad difficulties facing photographers in India, and would have stayed informed of any and all technical gains made.

One such significant gain Lady Canning surely would have delighted in was the evidence of professional output by amateur photographers, as demonstrated in India's society exhibitions (one of which Canning was patroness). At the 1859-60 Madras Photographic Society's

⁵³ This provided a roughly 15-minute window from sensitization to fixing the negative.

⁵⁴ *British Journal of Photography*, (16 Nov. 1863): 444-5.

exhibition, amateur photographer Captain Allan Newton Scott was awarded the gold medal in stereoscopic photographs, displacing seasoned professional John Nicholas—a popular and prominent member of the Madras Photographic Society and a highly successful commercial photographer.⁵⁵ I would suggest that Scott’s award-winning stereoscopic views of Mutiny sites may have alerted Lady Canning to the potential for amateurs to execute photography with the same proficiency and compositional awareness as professional commercial photographers. It is possible that these circumstances (or something analogous) precipitated the June 1861 circular, and may be considered the origin for the POI photographic collection.

Call for Photographs in June 1861 Circular

Returning now to the earliest origins of the POI photographs, we see an uncanny similarity between Lady Canning and Queen Victoria’s correspondences, the conditions surrounding Scott’s amateur success, and the stipulations of the original June 1861 circular. These factors provide insight into an otherwise puzzling circular, in which everything about it including intended purpose remains conspicuously vague, with the exception of directions to utilize amateurs already stationed on the subcontinent. To date, scholars have been unable to identify the impetus, purpose, or intended use of the photographs called for in the original circular. Reading the circular in light of Lady Canning’s knowledge of Queen Victoria’s interests in exotic subjects and costume (along with Prince Albert’s interest in ethnology), and the promise of amateur photography, many of its prominent features come into focus.

⁵⁵ This same series was used to illustrate *Sketches in India*.

In his most recent discussion of the POI in a 2009 Alkazi publication entitled, *The Waterhouse Albums*, John Falconer states:

The purpose of the original government circular of 1861 requesting the collection of ethnographical photographs has been the subject of some subsequent confusion. Since the majority of the material which was amassed as a result of this initiative ultimately found published outlet in John Forbes Watson and John William Kaye's *The People of India*...it has been widely assumed that the photographs were originally collected for that purpose. The introduction to that work in its brief account of the genesis of the book presents a misleadingly oversimplified explanation that appears to strengthen this assumption.⁵⁶

Bringing together the knowledge of Lady Canning's centrality and her relationship to Queen Victoria, with Falconer's research as stated above, we are able to piece together a fuller picture of the historical impetus for the original circular. First, what Falconer notes as Lord Canning's enthusiasm was actually *Lady Canning's* enthusiasm. Second, the circular placed a great deal of emphasis on photographers capturing the most exotic subjects possible. This prioritization makes sense given Lady Canning's desire to show Queen Victoria "most interesting parts of your dominion,"⁵⁷ knowing that more exotic subjects would be most appealing and pleasing to Queen Victoria. Third, the scientific value cited in the circular may have had nothing to do with administrative or academic projects in the original impetus for photos, but rather was included to yield content that would pique Prince Albert's ethnological interests. Fourth, it is notable that the circular came from Her Majesty's government, not the Indian colonial authorities. Falconer states this fact to demonstrate that the photographs were always intended

⁵⁶ Falconer, John. *The Waterhouse Albums: Central Indian Provinces*. (Ahmedabad: Mapin Pub. in Association with the Alkazi Collection of Photography, 2009). p.77.

⁵⁷ "Glimpses of Burning Plain," 21.

for consumption in Britain, not projects on the subcontinent. Understanding the original circular as stemming from what was essentially a passion project for Lady Canning—and intended for the Queen—greatly reinforces Falconer’s argument that locates the original audience for the POI photographs in the metropole. The original impetus for the photographs was for Queen Victoria’s private viewing pleasure—a sort of *carte-de-visite* album on an imperial scale.

Shifts in Scope & the December 1861 Circular

Only five months after the initial circular, the project underwent its first major complication with Lady Canning’s unexpected death from malaria on 18 November 1861. The tragedy of her passing was compounded by Prince Albert’s death on 14 December of the same year. Thus, the photography project championed by Lady Canning and conceived with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in mind lost two of its most essential elements, if not its *raison d’être*. The project had been set in motion, yet now urgently needed a major revision in intent and application.⁵⁸

This necessary critical revision came from A. M. Dowleans, a member of the Calcutta bar who was appointed to act as the Indian Government’s agent for the 1862 London Exhibition, having acted in a similar role for the Paris Exhibition of 1855.⁵⁹ Dowleans proposed the revised idea for application of the photographs, and, after conversations with Lord Canning, asked that

⁵⁸ *British Almanac and Companion 1865* (1864), 8-9.

⁵⁹ Falconer, 61.

an additional circular be issued requesting more information to accompany photographs and providing the first direct mention of the photographs' use. Falconer describes the markedly different quality of the second, revised circular:

In a letter written in 1862, he [Dowleans] writes that after discussions with Lord Canning he had suggested that the value of the photographs would be substantially enhanced if accompanied by more statistical information embracing such matters as the localities in which each tribe lived, their main occupations, whether they were settled or migratory, their religious practices, and their "general disposition and character". A further circular, incorporating these additions and further requesting that "the height of figures in the photographs, and the colors of the dress with the exact tint of their complexion and eyes," was issued on December 16 1861.⁶⁰

Dowleans' vision for the photographs marks the first significant shift in the project; photographs originally intended for private consumption by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert now took on a more "scientific" and administrative tone, as evidenced in the qualifications provided in December 1861 circular. The photographs' redirected purpose was inclusion in the Great London Exposition of 1862, where science, technology, and empire were central themes. The second circular qualifiers reflect concerns that are decidedly administrative, however not in regard to maintenance on the subcontinent, but rather those involved with the presentation/representation of empire as embodied by the institution of international exhibitions.

Viewed as a whole, the group of photographs yielded as a result of the second circular—even with its more detailed parameters—lacked conceptual cohesion, and displayed instead a plethora of inconsistencies in terms of the methods used for selection of subjects, photographic styles and compositional formats. This overall lack of cohesion is due to some degree by

⁶⁰ Ibid.

variations in the level of photographic proficiency of the photographers, as well as diversity in the personal and professional backgrounds of the majority amateur contributors. However, the lack of cohesion was more so due to an absence of specific guidelines in the call for photographs itself. It is critical to remember that this project takes place before the emergence of academic anthropology, and, in the absence of codified standards, each photographer was charged with task of defining and executing his own criteria based on a vague and ambiguous request to represent “racial groups.” Thus, the earliest and original POI project emerged as an already-compromised, poorly conceived, and loosely organized endeavor, intended to salvage an investment of resources for a suitable alternate application.

London Exhibition 1862

As included in the 1862 London Exhibition, the POI photographs were displayed in a scientific context, and furthermore, one focused decidedly on the scientific-technological, not—as often assumed by modern scholars—scientific-ethnographic. Given academic anthropology did not yet exist at this time, photography had two positions in the exposition: art and philosophical instruments (Class 14), exhibited alongside similar technology apparatus such as telescopes, microscopes, etc.

Despite the second circular’s statement of intended use for inclusion in the 1862 London Exhibition, the large majority of the photographs did not come to immediate display. Of the fifteen credited contributors of the POI photographs, only the work of Dr. Benjamin Simpson

was included in the Exhibition.⁶¹ While the reason behind this circumstance is debatable, the selection of Simpson as the sole photographer represented was an unqualified success. Simpson won a prestigious gold medal for the series, and the photographs were well received by the general public.⁶²

As further evidence of the photograph's success, the London Exhibition also brought the first published reference to a publication which would utilize the images generated from the two circulars. In the accompanying exhibition catalogue published by Watson and the Indian Department, titled "A Large Collection of Photographs Representing Different Tribes of India," plans were announced for a publication featuring the photographs translated into lithographs and accompanied by descriptive notes.⁶³ The idea for this publication also came from Dowleans, who would have undoubtedly been pleased with the success of the exhibition, following his reconceptualization and revised circular. Dowleans sought to pursue the publishing project based on the photographs, as noted in his 1862 letter:

⁶¹ Photographers whose work did not make it in time for the 1862 exhibition: Rev E. Godfrey and James Waterhouse (Central India), Shepherd & Robertson (Bharatpur), Benjamin Simpson's work from Nagpur, Sikkim, and Bhutan, Dr. Tressider (N.W Provinces), Captain Fitzmaurice and Lieutenant R. H. De Montmorency (Oudh), T.T Davies (Hazara), Captain Houghton and Lieutenant Tanner (Bombay and Sind), as well as anonymous material from various sources. Other credited photographers for the photographs are J.C.A Dannenberg, W.W Hooper, Captain H.C McDonald, James Mulheran, Captain Oakes, Rev G. Richter, Dr. B. W. Switzer, C.C Taylor and Eugene Clutterbuck Impey.

⁶² What could not have been detected in the 1862 London Exposition is the inherently incongruous nature of the overall collection. An absence of guidelines in the 1861 circular combined with the contributions of individuals with varying levels of photographic proficiency, ultimately resulted in a disjointed photographic series resilient to attempts at standardization. This is not to say that standardization wasn't attempted. Volumes I and II of the POI are comprised almost exclusively of Benjamin Simpson's portraits, each titled according to subject, tribe, and geographic location. The latter volumes feature the work of multiple photographers and do not adhere to compositional standards, geographic locale or necessarily discernible categories (racial, cultural or otherwise).

⁶³ J. Forbes Watson, *The International Exhibition of 1862: A Classified Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department* (London, 1862), 200.

From the information I have been able to collect⁶⁴, it is evident, that a considerable number of copies would find ready purchasers at a high price. As all the photographs would have to be lithographed, it would take some time before the whole work could be published, unless it be issued in a monthly series, but under any circumstances, the sale would produce a sufficient sum not only to cover the whole outlay, but also to leave a number of spare copies at the disposal of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State. I therefore respectfully solicit to be informed, whether the compilation I am undertaking may be intended for publication.⁶⁵

Despite his fervor, Dowleans never pursued the publishing project. Furthermore, the project as conceived by Dowleans should *not* be considered the origin for the publication that manifested as *The People of India*, as the original POI project was not pursued as a publication but rather as a photographic presentation album. Nonetheless, the public announcement of a publication and Dowleans' interest in pursuing a publication both point to the unmitigated success of the POI photographs in their first major display context: as a public, popular exhibit in the metropole.

Significant in the London Exhibition's display regarding a collection of photographs as a whole is that, in only showing Simpson's work, the project suggested a very misleading idea concerning quality and cohesiveness. Simpson was considered amongst the gold standard of photographers—being a celebrated master practitioner and highly decorated for his work—both in England and abroad. Thus, the momentum behind the idea of creating a publication on this group of photographs was based solely on the quality Simpson exhibited. There was a fundamental misleading idea that the POI photographs would all be of the same quality and consistency as Simpson's work, as exhibited in the London Exhibition.

⁶⁴ Scott's 1862 stereo-illustrated *Sketches in India* met with rave reviews upon its release. It's not implausible that Dowleans was aware of this and identified potential in Simpson's series at the expo.

⁶⁵ Falconer, 74.

Publication

1863 marks a crucial moment in the POI's history as the collection of unrelated photographs were brought together formally as a publication project. In stark contrast to its final assumed form as a didactic text, the original approved project was that of a grand photo presentation album on an imperial scale. Additionally, this project was not tied to the publication plans generated during the 1862 London Exhibition display of POI photographs, but rather came through POI co-editor John William Kaye. In 1863 Kaye was inspired by a series of photographs of native types of eastern Bengal that crossed his desk.⁶⁶ Kaye followed this interest by meeting with soon-to-be co-editor Dr. John Forbes Watson to learn more about the photographs produced from the 1861 call, from which the two decided to expand the original project.

It cannot be overstated that what the POI publishing project began as, and what it ultimately became are two very different entities. The many shifts in outlay were so drastic that each changed the very nature of the publication; what began as a photo-presentation album intended for an exclusive audience and understood in an art context morphed into a photographically illustrated text intended to peak the interests—and profit—of a popular commercial audience.

⁶⁶ Falconer cites Kaye's memorandum of July 22, 1863: "...the inspiration for the work evolved from a set of photographs "illustrative principally of the races of Eastern Bengal," which had recently been received from India and which the department proposed mounting with a descriptive letterpress. The cost of 45 pounds was approved but while it was in preparation, Kaye learned of Watson's large collection of photographs sent from India for the 1862 Exhibition and now housed at the India museum. Both men felt that "it would be highly expedient to turn these collections to account and to expand the original project of mounting, etc. the Eastern Bengal collection into a comprehensive work illustrative of the ethnology of India" (Falconer, 74-75).

First Proposal

In July of 1863, Kaye and Watson submitted a proposal to the financial committee of the India Office for the allocation of 400 pounds to produce eighteen bound sets of roughly 800 photographs, 300 pounds to pay for the photographs themselves and 100 to pay for the binding and printing of “illustrative letterpress.”⁶⁷ Kaye at first volunteered to arrange the letterpress himself during some brief free time away from his regular duties. The costs involved in photographic reproduction were to be minimized by conducting the copy work in-house, at which point William Griggs, a self-taught photographer working as a messenger in the India Office, became the major physical executor of the project.⁶⁸

Rapid Revisions

With the scope and plan for production defined, the proposal was approved by the financial committee; however, production was substantially delayed by a series of unexplained alterations to the project’s outlay and format. On more than one occasion, Kaye and Watson

⁶⁷ “The decision to compile 18 copies of the collection had been determined purely by the material available. (20 copies of each photo had originally been requested from India the point being that in addition to the material on display at 1862 ex, there should be sets available for presentation to the Queen, the British Museum, and other learned institutions. This order had for various reasons frequently been ignored, and on going through the collection, Watson found that of the 800 different photographs, only 121 contained the full complement of 20 copies while for a number of subjects only a single copy existed. However, for 318 of the 800, 18 copies existed so he suggested the remaining copies be brought up to this number by making copy prints for those lacking. So far, 9310 prints had been acquired. In order to bring the collection up to the proposed standard of 18 sets, 5080 copy prints and 500 copy negatives would need to be produced” (Falconer, 75).

⁶⁸ Though they did not anticipate from the outset the sheer volume of the work entrusted to him, Griggs would go on to single-handedly produce over 100,000 prints for the POI over the course of its creation, in addition to hundreds of other prints for other India Office publications.

made substantial revisions to the project during this early stage. The original proposal for the POI project was to be a grand photo presentation album on a national scale. This imperial-scale carte-de-visite album would have been a desirable output given both the format and nascency of photographic technology at the time, which was not yet able to economically reproduce photographic images and thus required each image to be printed individually.

Yet, only a few weeks upon receiving approval and the full requested amount to produce the original plan of eighteen sets featuring 800 photos, the editors submitted an expanded proposal, bringing the number of proposed copies to 100 while cutting the number of photographs to 400.⁶⁹ Falconer suggests that the original proposal was made before Watson and Kaye had an opportunity to assess the quality of the photographs themselves, and the quickly revised proposal reflected their discovery of either heavy repetition or exceptionally poor quality of prints. Again, the editors received approval for the revised project, as well as the additional funds, growing the budget from 400 to 1250 pounds. Just a few weeks later the editors proposed yet another revision, expanding the number of photographs from 400 to roughly 460—a request the Finance Committee approved on October 8th 1863. Collectively, these edits to the project at such a particularly important moment altered the POI project into a fundamentally different object with each subsequent shift.

⁶⁹ For this, they requested a total of 1250 pounds, 1000 for the photographs and 250 for letterpress and binding.

Additional Early Shifts

By the end of the early phase, the intended recipients of the POI appear to have also shifted substantially. The publication's original recipients included Britain's most illustrious individuals and institutions, including the British Museum and Queen Victoria. Notably, neither received copies of the final product. In stark contrast to the VIP status of the original intended audience, the ultimate recipients of the 100 sets included the British Library and other knowledge repository institutions in Britain and abroad.

After a rapid succession of revisions, the POI project stabilized and began to move forward with production in 1864. A huge volumes of prints were produced at a very early moment in the POI project's overall timeline—years in advance of finalizing text, target audience, or editing for the publication. In 1864, William Griggs produced upwards of 500 copy negatives and 50,000 prints to meet the proposed outlay of 100 sets. This production was announced for imminent release in the 1865 *British Almanac* (compiled in 1864):

The Secretary of State has ordered the reproduction of the whole series of these most interesting photographs, with a view to the presentation of copies to different institutions in this country. With this view upwards of 500 negatives and 50,000 copies have been taken during the past summer in the Photographic Branch of the department. This work, which, with its descriptive text, is being brought out under the joint auspices of Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Kaye, is expected to be ready at an early period.⁷⁰

Griggs reproduced an additional 50,000 prints by late 1865 as noted in a *British Journal of Photography* article:

⁷⁰ *British Almanac and Companion 1865* (published in 1864), 9.

It seems that of these illustrative types of the various divisions of the great Asiatic family, no fewer than 500 negatives and 100,000 prints have been produced since the commencement of 1863, and the work which is to embody these, including the descriptive letterpress by Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Kaye, is expected to be ready in a few months.⁷¹

Thus, by 1865, the India Museum was in possession of over 100,000 prints of POI images, and the project had twice been publicized for imminent release. Yet despite their physical possession of the product along with consistent publicity for the India Museum, it took an additional three years to release the final publication. Indeed, this flurry of activity took place long before deciding the author of the text, drafting the text, and before the idea for commercial edition—features which are all major hallmarks of the final publication. What caused this significant delay?

Late Shift

Only very late into the project's development, and after multiple promises of imminent release, did the POI transform in its core elements to take the shape of its final form—the eight-volume photographically illustrated text that we today know as the *People of India*. This section expands our scholarly understanding of the final phase leading to the POI's completion and publication, taking into account the commercial considerations which profoundly shape the final publication in both form and content.

⁷¹ *British Journal of Photography* (Sept. 1 1865), 452.

Early in 1865, Kaye reported that, while most of the allocated funds had been spent, the text still had to be written. At this point, Forbes Watson recommended the production of a commercial edition intended for sale to the general public, suggesting that the income from its sales be devoted to the creation of an “adequate descriptive account of the tribes and races represented by the photographs.” Thus, without further outlay, the Secretary of State in Council would “obtain a much more valuable work for the money already granted.”⁷² At this stage, the outlay was expanded to 200 sets, half intended for commercial sale. The addition of the commercial edition begs an important question: Why add yet another expansion to a project that was by then twice-announced as being on the brink of release?

It is likely that the editors had fair warning of the presence of the POI’s tragic flaw in seeing the development and reception of another India Museum publication, *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*.⁷³ Released in 1866, *Costumes and Textiles* was the first publication to utilize photos from the 1861 call. While the overall publication was incredibly well-received, the negligible number of photographs used in *Costumes and Textiles*—a scant six pages of photos out of 173 pages total—were so harshly criticized for their poor quality that the *British Journal of Photography* felt the need to come to

⁷² Desmond, *India Museum*, 120-121.

⁷³ J. Forbes Watson. *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* (London: Printed for the India Office, by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1866).

the defense of William Griggs, insisting upon his skill and the value of photographic illustration.

The editors of the POI were forced to take seriously the now-undeniably low-quality

photographs that were slated to form the bulk of their publication.

In the wake of *Costumes and Textiles* reception, the POI editors were faced with an incredibly difficult predicament: the photographs that formed the publication were of such low quality they stood as a direct liability to the publication's success. Moreover, even upon realizing the untenable product they could not release, abandoning the project was not an option. The India Museum by then had a stockpile of more than 100,000 prints, and the project had by then been sold for years to the Finance Committee as an absolutely critical endeavor, an abandonment of which would constitute a total waste of the huge sum of money spent on photography in India.⁷⁴ It was simply impossible at that point to abandon such a substantial investment of time, money, and resources.

Given this difficult double-bind, Kaye and Forbes Watson needed to find a means to compensate for the troublesome photographs that they rightfully anticipated as being the POI's tragic flaw. The decision to extend descriptive matter was a deliberate attempt to account for poor quality prints by inverting the text/image relationship, thereby transforming the very nature

⁷⁴ In original proposal, Kaye stated, "already £3000 have been expended [on photography] in India with no permanent results. If the matter rests where it is the £3000 will be all but lost. The additional £400 will turn all the past expenditure to account" (quoted in *Desmond's India Museum*, 120)

of the project from a grand photographic presentation album featuring descriptive captions to a photo-illustrated multi-volume didactic publication.

Several sources support the concept that Kaye and Forbes Watson made a concerted decision to reposition the POI's photographs in service of its text. In addition to alerting the editors to the liability of the poor-quality photographs, reviews of *Costumes and Textiles* also provided the editors with an important means by which to mitigate the negative impact of sub-par photographic prints. One such example can be seen in *The Photographic News*: "Mr. W. Griggs, to whom the photographic illustrations have been entrusted, has, out of somewhat unpromising materials, produced a most complete and interesting series...The importance and value of photography in producing such a series of illustrations will be at once apparent."⁷⁵ A more emphatic statement regarding Griggs' challenges was published in the January 1867 issue of *The British Journal of Photography*:

We know of no photographer who could have worked up such rough materials into the presentable shape which the illustrations now assume better than Mr. Griggs. When we inform our readers that he had to copy many of them from old and half-faded photographs of bad quality, some from parts of a larger group, and in other instances to paste the fragments of a picture together before he could photograph it at all, they will be surprised at the successful result of Mr. Griggs' careful manipulations.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Photographic News*, Jan 25 1867, as quoted in: William Griggs. *Illustrated Pamphlet of Photo-Chromo-Lithography* (Elm House, 1882), 7.

⁷⁶ In: Griggs, *Illustrated Pamphlet*, 6.

An insightful comment regarding the application of photographs as illustrations in a book appears in a review of *Costumes and Textiles* published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

In the volumes that have hitherto passed through our hands we have seen photography applied as an ornamental appendage to literature; we now come to a case [*Costumes and Textiles*] in which it serves a purpose purely useful, in illustrating an exhaustive work on the costumes of the people of India.... If anything more could be wanted in addition to all this, it is supplied by the photographs, about sixty in number.... As photographs they are not of striking excellence, but as illustrations they serve their purpose admirably.⁷⁷

It is likely that Kaye and Watson were well-aware of the mounting public opinion of photography's illustrative abilities and "admirable" performance in this regard.

Furthermore, the idea for using POI images as illustrations in a popular publication has a precedent in the earliest seeds of the project. As Falconer notes, Watson compiled the 1862 London Exhibition catalog and therefore was well aware of Dowleams' suggestion for a popular publication utilizing lithographs. That original idea was never pursued, and, by the time the POI became a popular publication, Dowleams was neither mentioned nor credited in the editors' accounts relating to the publishing history. I would suggest that Watson and Kaye did not credit Dowleams with the initial POI idea because the final publication of *The People of India* and the original idea for a publication featuring those photographs were completely different entities. Only by chance and circumstance did the form of the finished POI publication align with Dowleams' original vision for such a publication. It is likely, however, that Dowleams' idea did

⁷⁷ "Photography Applied to Book Illustration," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* (April 1867): 494.

inspire Watson's solution to the issue of sub-par prints, as well as provide hope that such a publication would prove successful in a popular commercial context.

Commercial Considerations

Given that generating the money to complete the POI now depended entirely on the funds generated from pre-sales of the commercial edition, it was imperative that the publication be appealing to the target buyers: the British public. The editors made multiple moves to increase marketability through any means possible, all while attempting to overcome the looming reality that the volumes were (a) expensive and (b) populated with poor quality prints.

The first method the editors sought to increase marketability was to hire a widely-known author who knew exactly what content would spark the interest—and subsequent investment—of the British purchasing public. Between late 1866 and 1867, Captain Meadows Taylor, who had been in charge of Indian Department at the 1865 Dublin Exhibition and long-time India Correspondent for *The Times*, was paid 400 pounds to complete the letterpress. Taylor was a celebrity author of popular literature of Indian subject matter, including national British bestsellers *Confessions of a Thug* (1839), *Tippoo Sultaun* (1840), and *Tara* (1863). As the India correspondent for *The Times* from 1840-1853, Taylor would have been accustomed to writing on one's subject in a way which garnered maximum interest and aligned with the most relevant

current event. What modern day scholars have identified as a preoccupation with Mutiny events within the text of the POI simply mirrors the British public's obsession with the Mutiny—a topic frequently recounted in highly sensationalized accounts in popular news media.

Though Taylor came into the project well-acquainted with the subject matter, drafting the POI text was incredibly time-consuming and labor-intensive, in part due to the necessary reverse engineering required to compose text for the huge volume of already-existing photographs.⁷⁸

Taylor writes of the endeavor:

This led to my undertaking the descriptive letterpress of a work entitled 'The People of India,' which consisted of a series of photographs of the different races, tribes, and orders of the people all over India, and involved much labour and research. The descriptions were necessarily very short, and as much information as possible had to be compressed into a few meagre lines.⁷⁹

Taylor took roughly a year to construct the text, and though his involvement enhanced the POI's chances of commercial success, this phase of the project caused additional delays, bringing the first volume of the publication to completion in 1868.

Kaye and Watson's second method for increasing the POI was in crafting the preface narrative. In the form ultimately published in Volume I of the POI, the preface states that the

⁷⁸ It is likely that the final letterpress is in fact a composite work comprising the efforts of multiple authors and contributors. Initially, Kaye himself had volunteered to construct the text but later decided to outsource the written matter to John R. Melville. For whatever reason, Melville's work on the letterpress was not deemed sufficient and it was at this point that Meadows Taylor was commissioned to complete the text. Even now, there is no way to distinguish the exact author/authors of single descriptive entries. Furthermore, though notes by photographic contributors did accompany the prints to London, it remains unknown as to the degree to which they may or may not have been consulted in the drafting of the letterpress.

⁷⁹ Meadows Taylor. *The Story of My Life* (W. Blackwood and Sons, 1878), 459.

photographs contained in the volumes belonged to the Cannings, and the project was originally inspired by the photographic interests of Lord and Lady Canning, who wished to possess “photographic illustrations which might recall to their memories the peculiarities of Indian life.”

While it is possible that the series of Eastern Bengal photographs that inspired the POI may have belonged to the Cannings, none of the POI images ever did. Moreover, none of the Eastern Bengal photographs appear in the POI. Yet, the preface draws a seemingly plausible yet spurious account of the Canning’s involvement in the POI. The editors’ decision to misrepresent the provenance of the photographs was intended to give the POI a celebrity connection which would have generated prestige and interest—and therefore increased marketability—for the project.

Our modern-day accounting of the key characteristics of the POI—i.e., fixation on mutiny, inflammatory rhetoric, racial essentializing—has thus far been based on interpreting the POI’s publishing history as provided in the preface in conjunction with an analysis of the publication’s descriptive text. However, the text is the very last aspect of the publication to be solidified and was heavily skewed in the narrative presented, and thus cannot be utilized as a de facto historical account. Instead, the POI’s text needs to be understood in inextricable conjunction with the key development that accompanied it: the decision to produce a commercial edition for sale to the British general public. In doing so, inconsistencies in the preface narrative and the overall tone and rhetoric of the text descriptions can be accounted for by considering the challenges involved in rendering POI a marketable commodity.

Reception

Upon the long-overdue publication of the first volume of the POI in 1868, the project crossed into a new phase of existence as a commodity in the public sphere. This section traces the POI's entry into public circulation and analyzes its reception in both official and popular contexts. Doing so uncovers two main conclusions; first, the vast majority of evidence of reception lay in the commercial sphere, suggesting that the primary audience was popular in metropole, and second, there was a fixation on photographs. Taking these findings into account, in Chapter 3, I will reconceptualize the POI according to historical and historiographic considerations as a basis to present an alternative methodological approach to both the POI project and its legacy.

So far, Chapter 2 has tracked the POI's troubled path to publication, yet the fits-and-starts pattern of the project did not cease after the long-promised publication of Volume I in 1868. The other seven POI volumes were released over a period of seven years, however, not at all in regular intervals. As has been noted, modern scholars have been largely unable to find evidence of the publication's reception in any official, academic, or administrative contexts. The reason for this conspicuous absence becomes clear only after examining the other half of the POI's intended audience—the commercial, popular, and public spheres.

Commercial/Popular Reception

It is critical to remember that a large part of our modern understanding of the lack of POI reception lies in our refusal to examine any sources outside of official spheres. However, the fallacy of this approach could not be more detrimental to historical inquiry. As demonstrated in this chapter, the publication process and ultimate form of the POI were dictated almost entirely out of commercial concerns. It follows, then, that there would be evidence of reception in commercial contexts. This logic holds true; in the commercial, popular sector, not only do we find evidence of the POI's reception, we also find substantially more evidence than in any official context. The POI was frequently reviewed by major periodicals and media outlets from the time of the release of Volume I in 1868, and continuing well into the 1870s. Notably, several such mentions were given substantial review in widely read publications; The *Times* featured an extended review on the POI on at least three occasions.⁸⁰ Furthermore, an examination of POI reviews in popular British periodicals corroborates many of the assertions articulated in Chapter 1 and expanded upon in this chapter.

The first involves the erroneous yet persistent scholarly assumption that the POI was primarily intended to serve as a didactic textbook and had a substantial impact on the applied administration on the subcontinent as well as the general dissemination of problematic cultural stereotypes.⁸¹ Reviews on the POI directly contradict this idea. An 1868 article entitled,

⁸⁰ "The People of India" (26 Jan 1870); "The People of India" (20 October 1873); "The People of India" (2 December 1876).

⁸¹ Though Falconer has pointed out on multiple occasions that the official allocation was never utilized to train future colonial administrators, for whatever reason, this idea seems to persist.

“Photographs of the Tribes of India” first published in the *Athenæum* notes the expensive nature of the volumes and laments:

...the price forbids us to hope that it will ever be widely circulated. Libraries and some few rich individuals may purchase it; but if the Secretary of State wishes it to be generally disseminated, and do real good, he cannot do better than distribute a hundred copies or so among the best known writers on India, in order that their pens may make it known in England, on the Continent, and in America.⁸²

The second involves my assertion that the POI’s tragic flaw of inferior quality prints was identified relatively early on and prompted the editors to make a concerted effort to mitigate the issue by expanding the descriptive matter, thereby inverting the text/image relationship. In regard to the problematic quality of many of the prints, a *Times* review published in 1873 states, “The photographs differ much in quality, partly from the more or less favorable circumstances under which they have been taken, and partly, perhaps, from the greater or less success which has attended the production of the second negatives.”⁸³ An 1870 article on the POI in *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* states, “Our main cause of regret, if not of complaint, against the compilers is that, the negatives being suffered to remain in India, the plates before us have been multiplied from copies.”⁸⁴

Three years later in the same journal, the reviewer articulated precisely the same criticism in regard to the later volumes and followed by stating, “Yet, inferior as they are as specimens of photographic skill, they have an interest as characteristic illustration of the differences of physique, costume, and expression to be met with through the length and breadth of our Eastern

⁸² Republished in *The Friend of India*, July 30, 1868.

⁸³ “The People of India.” *Times*, October 20, 1873.

⁸⁴ “The People of India.” *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, February 5, 1870.

empire.⁸⁵ Relegating the photographs in the POI to the status of illustration also occurred in a *Times* review published in 1870, “as the photographs would have been of little general value or interest without descriptive letterpress, this has been in most cases supplied by writers thoroughly competent for the task.”⁸⁶ Given such coverage, it is reasonable to conclude that, in a commercial context, the POI was a notable publication considered worthy of formal review, albeit consistently and continuously found lacking on the same grounds.⁸⁷

In addition to mentions of the POI seen in editorial contexts, the publication can also be widely seen in advertisements, as it was actively advertised well into the 1870s. As key indicators of the POI’s commercial status, such advertisements are significant for two reasons. First, the very presence of advertisements in the multiple years following release of Volume I demonstrates that the POI did not sell well. Advertisements following the Volume I release betray the complete failure to pre-sell the publication (or at the very least, sell complete sets in advance based on the quality of Volume I). Furthermore, the content of said advertisements—including announcement of availability of early volumes upon publication of the final volumes—demonstrates the great extent to which the POI was not selling well. The advertisements surrounding the POI provide evidence of an ongoing campaign on the part of the publishers to compensate for embarrassingly poor sales and a general lack of commercial viability. By

⁸⁵ “The People of India Photographed.” *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, November 1, 1873.

⁸⁶ “The People of India,” *Times* January 26, 1870.

⁸⁷ The same sentiment is expressed in a *Times* review: “The People of India,” October 20, 1873.

shifting our focus to the commercial sphere, we find the hereto missing evidence of historical reception of the POI.

Official (Administrative/Academic) Reception

Having established that there is a substantive body of documentation regarding reception of the POI within the commercial sphere, one can return to the lack of evidence of reception within official contexts, viewing the problem in a new light. Further inquiry into the parallel academic and administrative institutions in the period during which the POI received ample attention in the popular commercial sphere—which is to say, looking in the appropriate time period and locations—still shows negligible amounts of evidence of official reception, and examples remain very limited in volume and scope. While this fact does not change the fundamental problem of lack of evidence, such a lack is now meaningful differently than when we had no evidence of reception in any context. Given our knowledge of the commercial reception, what can be said of the dearth of official correlates?

Before that question can be adequately answered, one must analyze the sources that are available within the official sphere. Overall, these few sources are mostly individual commentary, rather than institutional opinion. A notable example comes from renowned Orientalist Sir Henry Yule, who complained about the poor quality plates contained in Volumes VII and VIII, to which Watson responded by redirecting blame away from the plates and admitting fault in the inferior photographs themselves.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Desmond, *India Museum*, 121.

Likewise, there is conspicuously little documented mention of the POI among academics or administrators, including occasions in which POI photos were displayed, and thus had a direct occasion to invoke the publication. For instance, in March of 1869, only a year after the release of Volume I, a selection of photographs also featured in the POI were displayed at a meeting of the Ethnological Society of London. In his opening address, Society President T.H. Huxley remarked, “The Indian Museum has been good enough to place its wonderful collection of photographs at our disposal; and, by Dr. Forbes Watson's kindness, they are disposed around this theatre in a manner which makes them accessible to everyone.”⁸⁹ At no point did Huxley reference the publication, nor did the society ever review the POI in its journal. This disconnect between the POI photographs and the POI publication demonstrates, at the very least, that the POI was not considered a source document for the photographs. One can go further to conclude that, given the Society’s ready access to the POI should it be deemed relevant to their interests, a review of POI never happened because it did not fall within the purview of the Ethnological Society.

All of the known institutional review is of this very particular nature in focusing discussion solely on the photographs. Only commentators writing from their individual opinions directly discuss the publication itself, and even then only as a means of speaking about the photographs within the volumes. The photographs themselves warranted attention within official contexts, if any attention was warranted at all. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the POI as a publication was neither relevant nor noteworthy in any official contexts.

⁸⁹ Falconer, “Pure Labor of Love”, 52.

Considering the documentation of the POI's reception in both official and commercial spheres, we now have a body of evidence that, when examined together, yields two common threads. First, while understandably critical of its many problems, discussion of the POI is polite and makes a fair critique of its shortcomings. Second, of any and all critique, there is one thing at the center of the discussion on the POI: the photographs. Across the board, the POI was heavily criticized for its photographs. The photographs were the worst part of the publication, and the only thing really worth commenting on. Regardless of official or popular context, the photographs are the focus of reviews and the focus of criticism.

Given their differing priorities and functions within society, one could reasonably expect official and commercial audiences to have different reception and responses to the POI. They did not. On the contrary, both spheres discuss and critique the POI on exactly the same count—its photographs. This holds true even among experts, within circles of individuals who would have had a specific interest in the textual content of the POI due to their intimate knowledge of or academic interests in India. While we certainly find more documentation of critical review in the commercial sphere than the academic or administrative, it is essential to understand that the context of the reviewer did not in any way affect the conclusion of the review; the POI was considered an inescapably flawed work of inferior photographs.

Chapter 2 has laid out an expanded trajectory of the POI's development and reception in a nineteenth century context. Chapter 3 will situate and explicate the POI and its component images within the unofficial sphere of popular media in the metropole as a way to argue for the existence of a tremendously significant and primary force in the construction and establishment of the nineteenth-century colonial imagination. The chapter will conclude with a case study that

illuminates the pressing need for a shift in our approach to studying the POI, and the path forward to unlock its profound historical legacy.

Chapter 3

Chapter 2 provided an expanded history of the POI project—from the seeds of the idea to the reception of the publication. The chapter stemmed from a consideration of the implications of Falconer’s publication history and expanded upon lines of inquiry posed in that essay. Chapter 2 sought to answer some of the key outstanding questions Falconer raised, thereby broadening and deepening our historical knowledge of the POI. Uncovering the commercial mandates that majorly shaped the final publication help clarify the underlying causes of critical discrepancies about the publication that had thus far gone unresolved in scholarship. Chapter 2 provided another way for modern scholars to understand the POI publication as more closely aligned with how it was both produced and received by its nineteenth-century audience—as a photo album. Using this new/alternate framework for our historical inquiry, Chapter 3 revisits the three historiographic misdirects laid out in Chapter 1, explicating each in light of the expanded insights about the circumstances surrounding the POI’s production and reception.

Reconceptualizing the Object

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the POI came into being not with the intention of making a publication, but as a series of projects and applications of a loosely related group of photographs. As such, two important shifts must be made in our understanding of the “object” of the POI. First, we must consider the POI as a collection of photographs rather than a discrete publication. Second, and related, we must treat the POI first and foremost as a photo album,

eliminating the model of the POI as textbook. While this conceptually shift represents the first critical repositioning, it is not enough to simply “think” differently about the POI; we must also follow in concrete terms, treating the POI as we would any photographic portfolio comprised of the work of multiple contributors. This form of material requires a catalog, as well as photographer attributions. In analyzing a photo album, our attention organically moves from a focus on editors and authors to a focus on individual contributors.

Once individual contributors become the center of our historical inquiry, it becomes necessary to identify the contributors at play, a process which, up to this point, had not been done. The current standard historical model for the POI—which views the publication as an intentional, discrete entirety and does not take into account individual contributors—could not explain the publication’s obvious lack of applied organizational principles or taxonomy; there was no traceable logic for the inclusion nor for order of the images involved.⁹⁰ The necessary act of making photographer attributions becomes even critical beyond obligatory—the attributions bring order to the chaos, and reveal significant patterns that would be otherwise overlooked or altogether invisible. Moreover, these patterns can be consistently tracked throughout the

⁹⁰Actually, when the typology of the POI is more thoroughly interrogated on a practical level, there is no way it could have functioned in a utilitarian sense to serve scientific or administrative goals writ retrospectively because there is no coherent organizational system at work. There is no typology, the only constant is a lack of consistency: First, the number of entries does not reflect the number of photographs. While there are 468 entries, due to an erratic and varied numbering system, there are in fact 480 photographs. A majority of pages contain a single photograph, with the exception of two pages in Volume V. #259, #260, and #261 appear on a single page and share the title *Gundapoors*. #262 and #263 also share a page and the title *Afghan Suddozyes*. The table of contents at the beginning of the volume lists them as separate and provides brackets linking the images (the table of contents brackets other entries but these do not share the same page. See Vol. VII and Vol. VIII).#

In many cases it is not possible to disentangle castes, tribes, “native types”, occupations, within single entries.# For instance, the term *Rajpoot* appears either alone or in conjunction with other title terms in twenty-three separate entries (every volume except VI and VIII). *Rajpoot(s)* appears as a top register stand-alone title for five separate entries (Vol. I #25, Vol. III #119 and #120, Vol. IV #199 and #217). There is no consistency when it comes to usage, and in many cases the term *Rajpoot* is not referenced in accompanying text descriptions.

publication and beyond, adding an additional layer of understanding that was previously inaccessible to us as historians.

Once the photographs are reorganized according to the photographer, the chaos of range when looking at the surface of the POI yields to clear sense of pattern and consistency. We see compositional patterns carried throughout the photographs of individual contributions, which can be understood in light of variations in interpretation of the unstructured and largely ambiguous stipulations given in the original call for photographs. It is clear that each contributor internalized the mandates of the circular, and subsequently developed their own compositional standards which produce internally consistent results.⁹¹ Furthermore, photographer attributions allow us to examine the individual backgrounds, methodologies, techniques, and priorities of the contributors which result in their respective photographic styles.

Photographer attributions are especially critical to this early period of photography in India. In a moment that predates the formal institutions that would dictate the tenets of photographic practice, we see instead the work of individual practitioners—independent actors who were free to create images in accordance with their own subjective understanding of an ideal end product. In reconceptualizing the object of the POI as a collection of photographs created by unrelated individual agents, we uncover the earliest foundations of colonial institutions, developed through, within, and alongside photography in India.

⁹¹ It is also likely that a number of contributions were not produced in direct response to the call for photographs, rather were preexisting images that happened to meet the broad guidelines stipulated in the government circular(s).

Reconceptualizing the Picturesque

My analysis of *The People of India* has attempted to situate a close reading of parts of the text and images in the political context of the aftermath of the 1857 insurrection. Roland Barthes was surely right to suggest that ‘a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination’, but it is famously difficult to find documentation of the reception of the sort of material we are considering here.⁹²

-Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica*

Once the POI is considered in accordance with both the origins of the project and its destination, we can accurately situate the POI in historical time. The picturesque—from its relationship to the origins of the POI project, to its application in the volumes, to its frequent invocation in historical reception of the photographs—serves as a key concept from which we can begin to properly place the POI in historical time and thereby identify and document the functioning of a powerful mechanism of the colonial imagination.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, current scholarship tends to view the POI as a turning point, synthesis, or otherwise moment of rupture in the trajectory of colonial institutions. The pervasive presence of the picturesque in the POI is typically cited as evidence of such junctures. Scholars have read onto the picturesque in the POI the limited workings of nascent academic anthropology/scientism, and the rudimentary workings of colonial administration and surveillance. In our contemporary scholarship, the picturesque in the POI has come to represent the earliest attempts of what would ultimately become the atrocities committed by colonial institutions.

⁹² Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 44.

Excerpts from the work of Sara Suleri and Saloni Mathur exemplify contemporary scholarship's understanding of the picturesque in the POI vis-a-vis the development of colonial institutions. Suleri views the use of the picturesque as an attempt to harness it in service of a formal administrative effort, which ultimately fails due to the insufficient institutional infrastructure of scientism:

The People of India represents a massive consolidation of the picturesque into the official information with which the India Office supplied its civil servants. The intertwining of these impulses, in which scientism cannot sustain its commitment to catalog without a heavy reliance on a picturesque aesthetic, converts The People of India from an official ethnographic record into a text of dizzying colonial ambivalence.⁹³

In a slightly different approach, Mathur views the picturesque in the POI as a kind of trace element, an aesthetic convention that had by then already effectively become obsolete, despite its persisting influence on later forms. In her book *India by Design*, she notes of the picturesque in the POI:

Here, the picturesque may be seen as a “residual aesthetic”.... The picturesque continued to influence the representational practices of the late 19th century, and the Western desire to render the “world as picture,” in spite of its apparent antipathies to the growing authority of scientific classification.⁹⁴

Although Suleri and Mathur have differing takes on the moment in time that the presence of the picturesque in the POI represents, both locate the picturesque as coeval with the discrete, functional colonial institutions of scientism, academic anthropology, and administrative surveillance and control. However, such temporal conclusions are only possible to make with the benefit of retrospect, having a macro view through which to see the larger developments of

⁹³ Suleri, 104.

⁹⁴ Mathur, 14.

colonial institutions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and then “detecting” those patterns within specific historical instances.

As an alternate approach, if we begin to understand the POI’s “place in time” via the picturesque by examining their own historical understanding and use of the term, we unlock an entirely different sequence of events and influences. This section’s analysis situates the POI’s relationship to the picturesque in its own time, providing a more sophisticated account of the role of the picturesque in the development of later forms.

Contemporary scholars have an argument to pay attention to the picturesque in relation to the POI, as it was as central a feature historically as it is to us in present day. The term picturesque comes up again and again historically surrounding the POI, from the earliest origins of the project, consistently through to the later reception of the publication and photographs within.

However, when we examine the historical conversations around the picturesque, we find precisely that—conversations. The historical use of picturesque represents a concept and aesthetic that is specifically invoked and discussed at length in relationship to the photographic form. This would suggest that far from an unconscious crutch for the functioning of colonial armature, the picturesque was an intentional and relevant convention that was central in the aesthetic minds of patrons, photographers, academics, and cultural influencers alike. What did the picturesque mean for those most integral to the development, production, and ultimate failings of the POI?

First and foremost, it is critical to understand where the picturesque came into relevance for a mid-nineteenth century British audience. As a prevailing aesthetic convention developed

over the eighteenth century in Europe, the picturesque emerges from the institution of art, and utilizes formulaic conventions of landscape painting. In the most general sense, the picturesque refers to a quality of goodness with respect to achieving a pleasing composition of visual elements.

However, as numerous post-colonial scholars have pointed out, the harmony of the picturesque did not happen by chance, simply by documenting 1-for-1 a given scene. Another key feature of the picturesque mode is found in the impulse to control, and to create predictable structure where there was none. This feature of the picturesque is characterized by aesthetic priority, wherein artistic composition is paramount:

The picturesque took as its starting point the idea that nature was imperfect and needed to be organized when it was painted...employed a formulaic method of composition that was based upon certain rules of classical proportion, and which produced images with an identifiable picturesque structure, composition, and tint.... Features such as trees and ruins were to be positioned so as to create a balanced composition that provided a sense of both harmony and variety, and to push the viewer's eye to the middle distance, as in a stage set.⁹⁵

Especially as applied in photography, the picturesque, in a composition that yields an end effect of simply “capturing nature,” could not be further from the actual creation process.

Auerbach alerts us to the notion that the picturesque is not an innocent aesthetic, but rather one that is manipulated to appear natural and untouched when it is in fact the product of an enormous amount of artifice and arrangement.

From its native medium of painting, the picturesque was organically extended into the realm of photographic composition during the formation of photography as an artistic medium.

Though the term “picturesque” describes a specific aesthetic convention—one that with the

⁹⁵ Jeffrey Auerbach. “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire,” *The British Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (2004): 48.

benefit of art historical retrospect, we can see function along very specific terms (specifically, related to landscape painting)—the picturesque, as used in nineteenth century photographic practice on the subcontinent, extended from landscape into portrait, encompassing everything that could be captured by the lens. When we examine the historical usage of the picturesque in the time of the POI, we see the term invoked to communicate two primary qualities: an ability to skillfully compose and convey a fantastical scene, and an image or object possessing high levels of exoticism.

The earliest invocation of the picturesque in relation to the POI photographic project can be found in the correspondence between Queen Victoria and Lady Canning where they discussed India and photography that, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, would ultimately lead to the first call for photographs. An early mention can be found in Lady Canning's diary, as she documents her first responses to India:

Here we are! Really in India! It feels like a dream!...Crowds and crowds of natives in their white dresses, Parsees and all sorts of picturesque people, were outside and bands playing etc. The native town looked most picturesque - all open shops and verandahs, and the strangest figures scattered about and lighted up.⁹⁶

Note that Lady Canning describes the people themselves as picturesque, an application of the term that continues in her letters to Queen Victoria:

I am so very sorry to be utterly unable to draw these picturesque figures. Photography is making good progress in India.⁹⁷

Queen Victoria responds in kind, invoking the notion of fantasy and Otherness:

How very wonderful all those oriental luxuries & customs must be, & how like a dream it

⁹⁶ Journal entry dated 29 Jan 1856, Glimpses p.17

⁹⁷ From letter dated late Feb 1856, Glimpses p. 21

must all appear to European eyes!⁹⁸

As these two influential women used the term, the picturesque stood for a quality of fantasy and exoticism embodying in the Indian “Other.”

Furthermore, the picturesque is something that is by no means guaranteed; Lady Canning’s lament of being “utterly unable” to convey the picturesque quality of the figures indicates that the picturesque was as much about setting the fantastical stage as it was about the content itself. Their usage also marks the extension of landscape into the human form. This critical shift normalizes later conversations of the era that discuss the picturesque in relation to any number of human-centered compositions, including classical portraits. Thus, what originates as a term within European landscape painting transforms into an indicator of a landscape of fantasy and exotic excellence, be that an object, place, or human being.

Moving to the historical terminus of the POI project, we find a similar use of the picturesque in reception of the POI publication, and more specifically, in addressing particular photographs. A particularly illuminating use of the picturesque can be found in a review of POI Volumes VII and VIII, as assessed by British standard-setting newspaper, the *Times*. Note that the major point of comparison between the current volumes in review and those previous is the picturesque:

The two remaining volumes, which complete the work, are now before us, and they yield to none of their predecessors in the picturesqueness of the groups which they contain, or in the general interest which attaches to their subject-matter, while they are superior to many of them when regarded merely as specimens of photography.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ From letter dated Jan 25 1856, *Glimpses* p. 21

⁹⁹ “The People of India,” *Times*, December 2, 1876.

The editor goes on to cite specific photographs for their excellence, again based principally on their picturesqueness:

Among the groups remarkable for their picturesque character mention may be made of No. 343 “Jat Sirdars;”¹⁰⁰ of 344 “Jat Zemindars;” of 347 “Khanzades;”¹⁰¹ of 350 “Meos;” and of 348 “Sadhs.”¹⁰²

This historical use demonstrates two key points about the picturesque. First, the very structure of assessment in the *Times* review reveals that the underlying assumption was that the picturesque was necessarily the goal of all photographs included in the POI. Because that was the case, whether individual photographs or the volumes as total works achieved the picturesque standard was the main focus of the critique. Second, reception fixates on the aesthetics of the photographs, with the picturesque quality being a main feature of the discussion of the photographs’ relative aesthetic merits or failings. Again, when examining the primary material, there is a conscious use of the term with a marked and discrete sense of what it meant to them. Regardless of any conscious or unconscious application of the picturesque as a method of control, it most certainly functioned as a conscious aesthetic aspiration.

Taking into account these two major historical discussions of the picturesque in relationship to the POI project, one can better understand the role of the picturesque in nineteenth century photography more generally. The picturesque was organically extended from its native 18th century applications into the realm of photographic composition during the formation of photography as an artistic medium. Therefore, as a convention that predates photography,

¹⁰⁰ Appendix Shepherd #11d

¹⁰¹ Appendix Shepherd #9d

¹⁰² *ibid.*

academic anthropology, and the Raj, it is logical that a previously established convention would function as a default mode during earliest moments of aforementioned institutions. In the historical moment of the POI project, the picturesque was simply the default standard for photographic composition; it is neither surprising or suspect that we see its presence in the POI.

While it is clearer, then, why the picturesque features as it does in the POI photographs, scholars to date have been unable to do much more than detect its presence, due to a lack of historical evidence surround the POI's creation and intentions. Without these primary sources, linking the picturesque in the POI with larger historical influences and institutions has been effectively impossible, forcing scholars to reach conclusions primarily based on retroactive attributions, many of which fall victim to anachronistic projection.

Bringing to discussion the new historical findings presented in Chapter 2 together with photographer attributions, the relationship between the historical use of the picturesque and the development of later institutions becomes clear. First, it is critical to understand that, although the picturesque was the aesthetic standard for visual composition, it was difficult to execute and required a sufficient amount of artistic skill to successfully achieve. Formal composition posed a challenge to amateur photographers, as most could not execute the picturesque arrangement properly. The picturesque composition was a topic of frequent discussion in photographic circles based on the subcontinent, and photography's aesthetic gatekeepers sought various solutions to resolve the myriad difficulties involved in the successful deployment of the picturesque with a base of primarily amateur photographers practicing on the subcontinent.

The evolution of the “picturesque problematic” can be seen clearly in records of the Bengal Photographic Society. One finds a recommendation to prioritize composition in accordance to the tenants of picturesque mode:

We would advise young Photographers not to overcrowd their pictures, but rather seek to convey in each picture a simple thought, action, or sentiment, and so to consider what they are about, as to make those who examine their prints, feel that the compositions are not the result of chance, but of careful forethought and of artistic study and comprehension.¹⁰³

Similarly, the Society, while praising the technical execution of photographs, issues a warning to photographers that aesthetics remain an imperative to achieving quality photographs:

The sharpness and clearness of the picture are surprising. The subject, however might have been much improved by a little artistic arrangement. We would urge our photographic friends who aspire to excellence, to study the composition of their pictures with the utmost care.¹⁰⁴

By 1862, the Society had begun to suggest alternate compositional strategies, which could be used to maintain quality of the photographic practice, in the all-too-common event that the picturesque in its purest form could not be successfully achieved:

There is another thing which we earnestly recommend. The adoption of a simple pure style of Portrait taking, the superiority of which is so amply shown in the artistic portraits of native heads here exhibited by Dr. Simpson. Of what value are the usual accessories of the profession and how vulgar do they make the pictures. It is so difficult to arrange the figure so that all the parts shall be in focus and to obtain a ground that shall look horizontal that it is better to be content with a head study and to adopt the vignette style which shades off a tender background and allows of the half tints and gentlest shading being given to the face. Much more sentiment can in this way be given to the head than where the picture is filled up with cabinet accessories and amidst a jumble of background.... We would advise young Photographers not to overcrowd their pictures...as to make those who examine their prints, feel that the compositions are not the results of chance, but of careful forethought and of artistic study and comprehension.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ “The Exhibition of the Bengal Photographic Society Second Notice” *Friend of India*, July 31 1862.

¹⁰⁴ Bengal Photographic Society Exhibition of 1861, published in *The Friend of India* July 18, 1861.

¹⁰⁵ “The Exhibition,” *Friend of India*, July 31, 1862.

The Society's recommendations represent a complete transference of the picturesque from landscape to portraiture, demonstrating the larger diffusion that took place in the application and understanding of the term. At this critical formational moment, the picturesque functioned—in both practice and analysis—as a useful catch-all, allowing one to convey aesthetic excellence on any number of subjects.

All of this together points to the POI being a proto-moment, rather than a middle- or end-point of a colonial formational trajectory. Furthermore, when we begin with the historical use, we find that the picturesque is indeed an indicator of later developments, but that trajectory points to a different place than was previously assumed. The following section revisits the “place” of the POI to explore the historical insights that emerge within this expanded arena.

Reconceptualizing Arena

With a more accurate historical understanding of the picturesque, scholarship on the POI can more precisely identify the appropriate “place” of the publication—its position within cultural production, its audience, its movement through sectors, and, ultimately, its impact and legacy. As a point of entry into the discussion of place, I return to Mathur's statement on the picturesque:

The picturesque continued to influence the representational practices of the late 19th century, and the Western desire to render the “world as picture,” in spite of its apparent antipathies to the growing authority of scientific classification.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Mathur, 14.

Mathur is indeed correct that the picturesque continues to influence representational practices well into the nineteenth century, however, her statement warrants further discussion. Where do we find such influences? Whose representational practices take the picturesque as its source? In essence, where are we seeing the phenomenon of the picturesque carried forward in time? Mathur's suggestion poses a provocative invitation for our historical inquiry of the POI; the following section furthers the work of physically and conceptually situating the persisting influence of the picturesque vis-a-vis the POI.

As a point of entry into an explication of influences, we need look no further than the POI editors themselves. Dr. John Forbes Watson openly discussed the picturesque nature of the POI in multiple papers, articulating the need for a rigorous scientific photo survey in a paper published in 1874, a year before the release of the last POI volume:

The photographs contained in the work, "The People of India", show a certain amount of the material available for this purpose [building an anthropological photo collection] ...all this, however, refers more to the popular and picturesque aspect of ethnology. The materials for a scientific basis by an exact measurement of the anatomical elements of the body and of the cranium are as yet utterly insufficient.¹⁰⁷

Three things are significant about Watson's statement. First, the picturesque nature of the POI was invoked in order to justify the need for a scientific photo survey. Thus, at least according to Watson, the picturesque and scientific were binaries. Second, Watson associates the POI with the picturesque and situates the picturesque in the popular arena. Third, and even more significantly, by associating the picturesque with popular ethnology, Watson allows us to not only identify where to locate the primary arena of the picturesque but also to identify what the

¹⁰⁷ John Forbes Watson. *On the Measures Required for the Efficient Working of the India Museum and Library: With Suggestions for the Foundation, in Connection with Them, of an Indian Institute for Enquiry, Lecture, and Teaching* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1874), 10.

POI publication ultimately evolved into as a cultural product. Examining later popular ethnology publications makes obvious the historical link between the work of the POI and the eventual popular ethnographic form. In the preface of a 1902 publication entitled *The Living Races of Mankind: A Popular Illustrated Account of the Customs, Habits, Pursuits, Feasts and Ceremonies of the Races of Mankind Throughout the World* (featuring 648 illustrations), we find a clear demonstration of this legacy:

It is of the highest importance that the British public should possess the widest possible knowledge of the peoples and races included in its great and worldwide empire.... What is required is not a scientific treatise on Ethnology—a science as yet in its infancy, and presenting many problems that can only be solved by long and patient accumulation of facts—but a thoroughly popular book, presenting information in a concise and readable form.¹⁰⁸

The exchange sphere Hutchinson references is centered firmly in the metropole, was unregulated, with a mass audience, and characterized by a diffuse and long-lasting circulation and repurposing of images. It makes sense that the exchange sphere that has the greatest capacity to disseminate knowledge is primarily responsible for establishing a collective cultural imagination. Though the official spheres of the academy and colonial administration were imbued with authority, the unofficial popular realm had the means of dissemination, in addition to being solely fueled by what the masses wanted, that is to say it was governed by whatever stood to generate the most profit.

Another connection between *The Living Races of Mankind* and the POI is that Hutchinson's publication includes a photograph by a POI contributor, Charles Shepherd. When we go back and examine Shepherd's work in the POI, the link between the picturesque and the

¹⁰⁸ Henry Neville Hutchison. *The Living Races of Mankind: A Popular Illustrated Account of the Customs, Habits, Pursuits, Feasts and Ceremonies of the Races of Mankind Throughout the World* (Appleton, 1902), ii-iii.

popular is confirmed. With highly formulaic compositions treating human subjects as props for optimal visual appeal, Shepherd's photographs exemplify the convention.¹⁰⁹

There isn't very much by way of biographical data on Shepherd, nor is there documentation of his early activity. What is known is that in 1862 he was in partnership with Robertson¹¹⁰ forming the Agra-based studio of Shepherd & Robertson. In 1863, Shepherd & Robertson disbanded as Robertson appears to have left India. Shepherd subsequently partnered with fellow British photographer Samuel Bourne later that year. Bourne and Shepherd appropriated the inventory of Shepherd & Robertson and continued to market Charles Shepherd's "native types" series under the name of the new studio.

Bourne and Shepherd would go on to become the most successful nineteenth-century commercial studio in India, as well as the oldest continuously operating commercial photographic firm in the world. As a result, Shepherd's portraits were continuously marketed for no less than half a century following the production of the images.¹¹¹ This is in part why his images are without a doubt and by far the most often reproduced images from the POI.

¹⁰⁹ In this genre, the identity of the represented individuals is always up for question. For instance, in *Group of Yogis*, a Bourne and Shepherd photograph, circa 1880, a group of men with standard yogi attire and attributes are posed against a painted jungle scene amid potted plants and a grass mat. Though a seemingly straightforward image of religious practitioners, the tall, bald character second from the right may not be a yogi at all. He sports white body markings—four horizontal stripes—that bear no relationship to any Hindu tradition. The dubious marks throw the subjects' identities and the elaborate staging into question. Without specific expertise regarding Shaivite *tilaks*, one would have no way to recognize this.

¹¹⁰ First name is debated, however not the same Robertson who accompanied Beato to document the Crimean war.

¹¹¹ The 1911 Bourne and Shepherd catalog lists a number of photographs from the 1862 Delhi series under the heading, "Mixed Types."

The other reason for the frequency of reproduction of Shepherd's photographs stems directly from his mastery of the picturesque composition. In a POI review on volumes VII and VIII published in the *Times*, the columnist remarks:

Among the groups remarkable for their picturesque character mention may be made of No. 343 "Jat Sirdars;" of 344 "Jat Zemindars;" of 347 "Khanzades;" of 350 "Meos;" and of 348 "Sadhs."¹¹²

Each photograph was taken by Shepherd. It is not by happenstance that the *Times* article singled out his photos in the POI. Rather, this selection underscores the fact that Shepherd was the only non-amateur (i.e., commercial) photographer specifically hired in response to the government call for photographs.

In 1862, Charles Shepherd was commissioned to produce a series of views in Bharatpur; these appear in the POI as plates 343-353 Volume VII. The decision was later made to also purchase prints of portions of Shepherd's Delhi series. Shepherd was the only professional photographer hired, and, while other professionals were certainly available for hire, additional professional photographers were not employed due to financial considerations. The total cost of the Shepherd commission including prints was 1200 Rupees, a substantial amount at the time.¹¹³ It is important to keep in mind that cost was a significant driving force behind the project, and utilizing amateurs was an effective way to keep costs down. That there was even the single instance of Shepherd's professional commission was simply due to there being no amateurs

¹¹² "The People of India," *Times*, December 2, 1876.

¹¹³ "There are 20 copies of each print, or 200 in all, and Messrs. Shepherd and Robertson's bill for the same is Rupees 1,200, being Rupees 20 for each negative and 5 for each copy" (Lieutenant C.K.M. Walter, Officiating Political Agent of Bhurtpore, to Colonel H.M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 11-43, dated Camp Agra, 16 May 1862. India Foreign Proceedings (General), June 1862, No. 5, IOR/P/205/10.)

available at the time photographs were required.¹¹⁴ Taking into consideration Shepherd's status as a professional photographer in the longest continuously running photographic studio in the world, it is not surprising to find that his images are reproduced with exponentially more frequency than any other POI contributor.

Conclusion

Having repositioned and significantly enhanced the historical understanding of the POI, an argument is made to divorce fully and finally from the notion that the POI publication successfully functioned or meaningfully influenced as a discrete total unit. As a discrete publication, the POI was unable in both structure and execution to have a significant historical impact. Chapter 2 demonstrated this by providing historical documentation surrounding the poor reception of the volumes across all arenas. Though its physical qualities would suggest importance (comparable to other influential historical works), the chapter demonstrated that the POI's objecthood—the way it looks and appears—does not represent the creation of a masterpiece, but a product of chance and unfavorable circumstance.

Chapter 3 has endeavored to address the implications of our new historical findings, beginning by revisiting the historiographic misdirects articulated in Chapter 1. The publication's idiosyncratic qualities, combined with the initial difficulty in finding historical data regarding its purpose and function, led to the erroneous assumption that the publication was a work of great

¹¹⁴ "The delay in procuring these pictures for Government is owing to the great difficulty I have had in obtaining the services of a photographer. I had at first wished to have the likenesses taken by an amateur, but, finding that impossible, I was obliged to employ a professional. The pictures are, I consider, very good indeed, and I trust will meet with the approval of His Excellency the Governor General in Council." Ibid.

import, both historically and continuously through into the present. Chapter 3 situated the POI in its own place and time and explicated its historical function within those terms, thus eliminating the need to retroactively apply significance to the POI using present-day markers of value. The POI can now be viewed as an object that functions emblematically in the twenty-first century, rather than being instrumental in the nineteenth century.

Such an unexpectedly anticlimactic historical conclusion begs the question: Is there any greater value to be salvaged from our inquiry into the POI? In historical fact, only a fraction of the total photographs contained in the POI were ever displayed or reproduced with any regularity. Technically speaking, then, it is a very small number of individual images (not the publication and not even the specific authors/photographers) that we could claim with any accuracy were responsible for a meaningful historical impact.

It is the images that allow one to see the true function of a process which has up to now been erroneously attached to the publication. We have in our contemporary scholarship identified a phenomenon that is very real, yet in order to fully see the functioning of that phenomenon, we must look at the images themselves. The creation of this phenomenon is dynamic; it takes place over time and cannot, and should not, be understood in a single frame of reference—POI publication or otherwise. Chapter 4, therefore, identifies and examines the “other lives” of these images, and elucidates the larger role of mechanically reproducible imagery.

Chapter 4

Ethnic history is especially rich in the suggestions which it offers for illustration. It seems to call loudly for drawings and type-pictures and charts, to the end of a clearer and more vivid apprehension of the subject under consideration.

-1893 preface to *With the World's People*¹¹⁵

The above preface to the popular publication: *With the World's People* speaks poignantly to the powerful role images play in populating knowledge within the collective consciousness. In a unique moment of historical convergence, the landscape of nineteenth century colonial Britain contained a singular interaction between the development of photographic technology, solidification of the disciplines of anthropology and ethnography, imperialist and colonial expansion, the rise of reproducible media, and an ever growing popular interest in “exotic lands” beyond the metropole.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the ways in which photographs functioned centrally in the POI, and provided several updated historiographic frameworks through which to more accurately understand the POI publication, that is, as a photographic album utilizing images that functioned independently of their single instance of use within the POI. Continuing this focus of the work of images, Chapter 4 provides an explication of the the specific functioning of images within the broader context of nineteenth century colonial British culture.

In fact, only a fraction of the total photographs contained in the POI were ever displayed or reproduced with any regularity. Technically speaking, then, it is a very small number of

¹¹⁵ viii *With the World's People* 1903-1911

individual images (not the publication and not even the specific authors/photographers) that we could claim with any accuracy were responsible for a meaningful historical impact. Though the work of Shepherd and Simpson comprise only 25% of the 480 images featured in the POI, their contributions account for no less than 90% of POI image display and reproduction outside of the publication.

Chapter 4 is therefore broken into two parts. Part 1 examines the trajectories of the photographs of Benjamin Simpson and Charles Shepherd in three key areas: circulation, textualization, and translation. Part 2 narrows the focus further to examine three of the most frequently reproduced photographs by Charles Shepherd. By detailing the specific behavior and application of these important images, critical insight can be gained into how these images exerted influence and impact, as well as the larger purpose images served as a means of furthering colonial and imperial ends.

Circulation/Access

The first significant line of comparison between Simpson and Shepherd can be found in examining the circumstances surrounding image circulation, access, and duration of use. In the case of Simpson's photographs, the potential for widespread circulation and dissemination were limited on two fronts. First, reproductions of Simpson's images were predominantly located in publications with an academic audience.¹¹⁶ Second, instances where Simpson's images *did* have a mass audience took the form of display. Simpson's images were prominently featured in

¹¹⁶ See Appendix Simpson

several international exhibitions. As an inherently ephemeral form, display allows images to be seen, yet leaves no permanent object, thus limiting potential to impact or influence across time and place.

A very different set of patterns emerge with respect to the dissemination of Shepherd's images. Overall, Shepherd's images had exponentially more instances of reproduction than ephemeral display, as well as a broad range of applications. Shepherd's photographs enjoyed a few instances of widely-viewed display, including international exhibitions and an installation in the entrance of the India Museum. Instances of reproduction, in contrast, comprise a huge number of publications across a wide range of publication types. A small list of applications of Shepherd's images include: illustrated periodicals, most notably the *Illustrated London News*, travelogues (both British and French), postcards, personal photo albums, and countless encyclopedias (British, American, and French). Such a broad range of applications makes sense, as Shepherd's commercial studio encouraged a wide range of applications to reach as many potential customers as possible. This general marketing practice is stated outright in a number of studio publications, including in the introductory statement to the Bourne and Shepherd catalogue c. 1936:

In introducing this Catalogue of Negatives in our stock, we feel they will be invaluable to newspaper Editors, Publicity Offices, Curators of Museums, and private individuals. They present the work of 100 years of effort and many of the pictures are of sites which have crumbled away with age, whilst the latest negatives show a record of things as they are at the present day. Pictures are available from the time of Warren Hastings to the present Viceroy"

The introduction is notable on several accounts. The range of potential customers listed demonstrates the democratic nature of the photographs; these images were considered equally

relevant to “editors” charged with presenting factual accounts of current events as to “private individuals” with personal interests in the photograph’s subject matter. Whereas images from other photographers (Simpson included) had a limited audience and relevance, Shepherd’s commercial practice produced images with an intentionally broad audience, with a wide circulation and accessibility that followed suit.

The introduction to the Bourne and Shepherd catalog also betrays an important hidden anomaly in relation to time. The date of the catalogue quoted above has been determined by the Viceroy list found on pages 81-83. The last person mentioned is “Lord Linlithgow,” a reference to Victor Alexander John Hope, 2nd Marquess of Linlithgow who served from 1936-1943. This catalogue, therefore, dates to the same period of his tenure. The reference to 100 years of effort most likely has to do with photographic offerings of pre-photographic era individuals, such as Warren Hastings via photos of painted portraits, a common tendency for commercial photo studios at the time.

Thus, the same images, which stem from photographs that dating as early as 1862, were actively deployed for nearly a century following their production. An old image manifesting as a new print was marketed as if the image dated to the same time as the print. This “passive re-dating” process also occurred when photographic images were translated into other formats. For example, the viewer of a postcard version of the Shepherd photograph, *Group of Afredees from the Khyber Pass*¹¹⁷ had no way of knowing that the photographic image dates to roughly half a century earlier. The incredible duration and seemingly-infinite applicability of Shepherd’s images can perhaps be considered to be a literal manifestation of the concept of “Timeless India.”

¹¹⁷ Appendix: Shepherd #2e

Textualization

A second line of comparison between Simpson and Shepherd's images is found in the differing patterns of textualization. While the photographers would have given each photograph a descriptive title upon its original creation, such titles were considered neither sacrosanct nor specifically authoritative. The process and effects of textualization—of providing any given instance of image use with its caption—reveals important insights into the variations of meaning ascribed to these images.

Beginning again with the images of Simpson, the photographs exhibit stable captioning throughout instances of display or reproduction, regardless of whether the context of use was “official” (i.e., academic or administrative in the form of international exhibitions or India Museum publications) or popular. For example, a number of Simpson's photographs¹¹⁸ were reproduced in the context of a popular publication, in this case, the *Illustrated London News* to commemorate the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exposition. In all documented instances of image use, captions are nearly identical to one another across reproductive/display contexts. The titles and captions of Simpson's photographs remain stable and consistent, regardless of the specifics of context, location, and type of use.

Shepherd's images, in contrast, exhibit wildly erratic captioning (a topic that will be explored in more depth later in the chapter), yet this instability also occurs regardless of whether the context in question is “official” or popular. For example, Shepherd's photograph of snake

¹¹⁸ Appendix Simpson #1,2,4 & 6

charmers appears in the Bourne and Shepherd commercial catalogs from c.1870¹¹⁹ and c.1936¹²⁰ with the title *Snake Charmers*. For reasons unknown, this same image appears as plate #199 in Volume IV of the POI with the title, *Jogis*. This designation appears to have been created by whichever author was responsible for the entry, as in no other reproductive context is *Snake Charmers* titled as *Jogis*. The accompanying letterpress makes conscious strides to differentiate what the author considered to be trickster yogis as opposed to legitimate religious practitioners. Examples such as this demonstrate the fact that textualization of Shepherd's images was not dictated by the original photograph itself, but rather by the needs of any given surrounding context.

Translation

A third line of comparison between Simpson and Shepherd's images can be traced through the process of translation from the photographer's original photographs into other forms of reproducible media. This translation process is central to understanding the "other lives" of these images, as it was spectrum of mechanically reproducible media that enabled a large-scale dissemination of knowledge unhindered by the limited circulatory capacity of any single photograph. In shifting our focus away from the singular photograph, and instead considering the many lives of an image, we gain the unique opportunity to examine the process of translation itself. When we compare a photograph with its translated counterpart, we can see any

¹¹⁹ Appendix Shepherd #3a

¹²⁰ Appendix Shepherd #3b

modifications made, as well as pursuing answers to *why* those modifications were made. This augments our understanding of the historical function and value of these images, and gives us a unique opportunity to chart the mechanics of images along a new dimension.

Like other elements of Simpson's images, the translation of his photographs is a fairly regular and consistent process. One of many examples can be found in the lithograph of Simpson's *Korewah Group*¹²¹ published in Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* and titled *A Group of Korwas*.¹²² There is very little variance between the photograph and its lithographic cognate. Indeed, both the core attributes and aesthetic details of Simpson's photographs are preserved in translation, resulting in regular and consistent image cognates across various media.

Once again, there is a stark contrast to Simpson when examining Shepherd's images with respect to translation. There is a huge range and extent of modifications to Shepherd's photographs in the translation process and frequently involve multiple versions that display significant artistic liberties taken during the process.¹²³ *Snake Charmers*¹²⁴ provides a clear illustration of such multiple alterations and differing versions that result from the translation process. The modifications are at times so extreme, as in the case of *Serpent-Charmers of Madras*,¹²⁵ it becomes difficult to recognize a given image as being based on the photographic counterpart.

¹²¹ Appendix Simpson #3

¹²² Appendix Simpson #3c

¹²³ Appendix Shepherd #s 1,2,3,6

¹²⁴ Appendix Shepherd #3

¹²⁵ Appendix Shepherd ##3i

By comparing the works of Simpson and Shepherd in terms of access/circulation, textualization, and translation, w the great differences between them emerge. Taken together, it is clear that there exists incredible consistency between individual photographs within the corpus of a single photographer, yet drastically different trajectories when the corpus of Simpson is compared with that of Shepherd. It is important to note that in many of the cases of reproduction presented above, the photographer was not identified, which suggests that it is not the author of the image who acts as the determining factor by way of reproductive patterns, rather having more to do with some quality of *the image itself*. This prompts us to approach the images as entities in their own right. Thus, the following section, Part 2, examines Shepherd's photographs in more detail to understand the characteristics that made certain images particularly prime for utilization, as well as able to uniquely serve any range of disparate purposes.

Part 2

The implementation of Shepherd's images exposes a critical mechanism in the means through which images were utilized to generate and perpetuate the colonial imagination. The following section comprises three case studies of Charles Shepherd photographs in order to elucidate the role, function, and power of images in the nineteenth century colonial landscape.

Snake Charmers

The first major feature of Shepherd's images lies in their ability to seamlessly absorb a broad range of textualization. As mentioned earlier, in addition to private collectors, Bourne and

Shepherd marketed their views for reproduction in publications and illustrated periodicals. A notable instance of this type of application can be observed in the case of *Snake Charmers* as it appears in the December 4th, 1875 issue of the *Illustrated London News*, commemorating the Prince of Wales' visit to India. Here, there is no apparent correlation between the image and the Prince's visit to Bombay; in fact, the scene is not referenced in articles covering the voyage, despite the fact that the illustration occupies a significant portion of the page. *Snake Charmers* can be observed to function as a nineteenth century equivalent to the modern day stock image; in this case, intended to represent the Indian populace. It is important to note that in the absence of contextual specificity (in the form of an article or descriptive caption), nearly any photograph listed under Bourne and Shepherd's "Native Type" sub-heading could have easily fulfilled the same purpose.

Both historically and at present, a critical feature of stock imagery is its ability to be repurposed. In a nineteenth century market-driven commercial context, one reason for using the same images was to allow publishers and media outlets to keep costs down. While the mode of consumption and intended message differed in each reproductive context, the treatment of the image remained the same. Thus, one key quality of these images within a stock imagery function was their ability to appear directly relevant to (and an enhancement of) the topic at hand, without requiring direct or specific explanation—or even mention—within the text.

Rajpoots

*Rajpoots*¹²⁶ serves as the second case study of Shepherd's images. Like *Snake Charmers*, *Rajpoots* also functioned as a nineteenth century stock image, ever ready for repeated use. In the case of *Rajpoots*, this is particularly true as the photograph is among the most frequently reproduced of any images in Shepherd's oeuvre.¹²⁷ As such, there is a long line of application instances that yield meaningful information upon comparison, both to the original photograph and to each other. Moreover, in one instance,¹²⁸ *Rajpoots* was modified in application, and this offers yet another source of critical insight as to how such images functioned in a nineteenth-century colonial context. As such, the following case study examines the relationship between image modification in the process of translation and the socio-political context at the time of reproduction.

Though *Rajpoots* frequently underwent modification before it was reproduced, the significance of the manner of alteration is not readily apparent when the translated image is compared to photographic counterpart. Rather, the potential meanings of the modifications become apparent only when any given instance of reproduction of the translated image is situated and examined according to object's proximity to historical events, specifically campaigns of war. Each manifestation needs to be analyzed in regard to its own historical moment.

When *Rajpoots* in the POI is considered in relation to the 1857 Rebellion (which the POI introduction itself says is a main impetus for the creation of the volumes), it can be understood to

¹²⁶ Appendix Shepherd #1

¹²⁷ The other being Appendix Shepherd #2

¹²⁸ Appendix Shepherd #1i-m

operate as a parable of sorts.¹²⁹ Here, *Rajpoots* serves to remind its reader of the need to be ever vigilant of the potential for future uprisings, thereby justifying the allocation of resources, human and material, as well as public support for continued occupation. One can read this message amongst the elements of the image: None of the subjects engage with the viewer, so in that respect they are subdued, at least for the time being. This, however, is a tenuous peace with a formidable opponent as relayed by the prominent display of weapons. The accompanying letterpress states:

The figure on the right has a broad shield at his back, which is slung over his left shoulder, and can be disengaged in a moment.... Every Rajpoot is a master of his weapons, and most of them perform daily gymnastic exercises, of a difficult and arduous character, to an advanced period of life.¹³⁰

Within the POI, the photograph of *Rajpoots* serves as an apt illustration of the stability of British rule, along with the ever-present imperative to be at the ready to quell hostile forces.

Rajpoots also served as the basis for a lithograph published in an 1876 issue of the *Illustrated London News*.¹³¹ Just as it is possible to gain insight from examining the POI's *Rajpoots* in conjunction to proximity to 1857 Rebellion, the same can be done in this instance. However, in this case, the modification should be considered according to the temporal proximity of this specific issue of the *Illustrated London News* in relation to beginning of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880).

¹²⁹Appendix Shepherd #1d

¹³⁰ POI Vol. IV #199

¹³¹ Appendix Shepherd #1i

Though the figures themselves have not been noticeably modified, their transplantation from a palace courtyard to a fort-like setting in a landscape reminiscent of the northwest frontier does alter the message that is relayed via the necessary attributes, in this case, the weapons. Instead of being subdued mutineers, these figures have transformed into faithful soldiers of the British empire watching out for the encroaching enemy. The previously threatening military prowess that necessitated caution and diligent control in the post-Rebellion period, here functions to provide a measure of comfort and much needed confidence that the British empire will in fact prevail.

The driving force behind the background modification of *Rajpoots* likely involves two factors. First, the rebellion happened two decades prior so collective memory of the sensationalized events, groups, and individuals involved had at least to some degree faded in intensity. Second, and more importantly, in 1876 the British were on the threshold of another military engagement; throughout the 1870s, Britain was in the midst of managing a growing threat that culminated in the Second Afghan War from 1878-1880.

Group of Afredees from the Khyber Pass

The final case study examines Shepherd's *Group of Afreedes from the Khyber Pass*,¹³² that further elucidates the process of—and motivation behind—image modification. As a point of advantage in our study of this image, *Afreedes* is the photograph in Shepherd's oeuvre that matches *Rajpoots* in terms of reproductive frequency. An examination of reproductive instances of *Afreedes* demonstrates the extent by which both textualization and translation were actively manipulated to communicate a specific message.

Photographic reproductions of *Afreedes* from this period¹³³ are commonly framed by text and captioning with amongst the most extreme and inflammatory rhetoric we find anywhere in the historical record. A particularly poignant use amongst countless examples is illustrated in a 1902 publication titled, *The Living Races of Mankind*:

Even among his own nationality (the Pathan) he is accounted the faithless of the faithless, and is held on all sides to be the most fierce and stealthy of all enemies. As we know him, merely in the character of an independent neighbour, he is a wily, mistrusting, wolfish, and willful savage, with no other object in life but the pursuit of robbery and murder, and the feuds they give rise to."¹³⁴

One can also see in the textualization of *Afreedes* a strong parallel to the treatment of *Rajpoots* in the POI; both visually communicate the need for constant monitoring of a group, combined with the hope to realize future potential function as faithful and adept soldiers of the British empire:

The Huzareh are tributary to the Afghan princes, but they rarely pay their stipend except under compulsion of arms. They are an exceedingly immoral people, having many of the

¹³² Appendix: Shepherd #2e

¹³³ Appendix Shepherd #s 2c & 2d

¹³⁴ p. 214

vices of ancient paganism. They are, however, good soldiers when reduced to discipline, exhibiting the proverbial courage of mountaineers.¹³⁵

Even as an unmodified photograph, *Afreedes* functioned as an image capable of embodying in visual form the most extreme. Examining the same image as translated into an engraving results in a critical turning point: a marked divorce from the contents of the original photograph, and a complete untethering between the translated image and any trace of indexicality afforded by a photographic reference.

The engraving was created by prominent artist Emile Bayard, who beginning in 1864 worked as an illustrator primarily of current events for newspapers and popular literature.¹³⁶ It is clear that at some point c. 1870, Bayard acquired a set of Bourne and Shepherd photographs to produce a series of native types.¹³⁷ It is important to note that *Afreedes* is singular in the sense that Bayard selected only this image to indulge an alarming number of artistic liberties—a decision he did not make in any other translations of Bourne and Shepherd photographs.

Regardless of the impetus for Bayard's colorful rendering, subsequent textualizations reflect the same extent of fabrication.¹³⁸ Whereas the photograph is clearly identifiable as a staged scene, the extreme modifications in engraved form are accompanied by captions that suggest engagement in real time. One need only compare captions to see the stark difference in basic understanding one would take upon viewing the image: the title of the photograph in the Bourne and Shepherd catalog is, *Group of Afreedes from the Khyber Pass*. In high contrast,

¹³⁵ 634-635 With the World's People 1916

¹³⁶ Bayard's most notable work is the iconic illustration for Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables."

¹³⁷ Appendix Shepherd #2f-j and #6d-h

¹³⁸ Appendix Shepherd #2f-j

captions accompanying Bayard's modified engraving include, *Afridis Attacking the English Troops*,¹³⁹ and, *Afridis Firing on British Troops*.¹⁴⁰ The difference lies in representation of a potential threat versus actualized conflict. In other words, Bayard's adaptation literally manifests what Shepherd's photograph only suggests.

The effect that this imbuing of action would have had on the viewer is considerable. Readers were now impacted by a sense of urgency, viewing a troubling depiction of present danger, of "what's happening right now." This quality and immediacy of response is very different from an experience of viewing the photograph. Indeed, Bayard's image elicits an emotional response, so whereas the original photograph likely stirred something akin to active concern, it likely fell shy of provoking immediate outrage. As such, in all of its variant permutations, *Afredees* stands as a powerful demonstration of the myriad ways images were manipulated.

Conclusion

The radical manipulations of *Afridees* exemplify a hereto unexamined role that images served in the shaping the popular understanding of colonial India. Yet, reflecting upon those manipulations themselves, they are simply too extreme to be random or incidental in their impact. *Afredees* is truly singular in both the extent and nature of modifications made across its various iterations. Then, what was it about the this image that prompted such extreme fabrication, and why was the image such a base material for such efforts? Answers to these

¹³⁹ Appendix Shepherd #2g

¹⁴⁰ Appendix Shepherd #2i

questions lie in *Afredees*' particularly strong (but by no means singular) ability to function seamlessly and relevantly as part of a larger political-martial effort. In the case of *Afredees*, that connection to a larger context was *the* context of the era, the more than century-long conflict known as, "The Great Game."

The Great Game refers to the strategic, covert battle of strategy and clandestine operations involved in the competition between Russia and Great Britain to dominate Central Asia, which spanned from the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1813 until the mid 1920s. The stakes, however, involved much more than Central Asia; in the pursuit of the treasure trove of physical resources throughout Asia, India was the "jewel in the crown." As a gateway to India, Afghanistan served as a critical theater to this "game," with the Khyber Pass especially significant as one of only a few points of access through the Himalayas into the subcontinent.

It is critical to note that unlike overt wars, the Great Game functioned covertly on nearly all fronts. One socio-cultural arm of the Great Game functioned through cultivating favorable conditions through popular media, creating a wide range of social, cultural, financial, and economic environments that furthered Britain's advantage in the unspoken war for dominance. The utilization of images, therefore, did not function as propaganda; these were not images dispersed in an unified effort from a central authority to systematically program popular consciousness. Rather, the power and impact of these images—as was true of the Great Game itself—was born of the cumulative effect of individual instances and events that functioned covertly over time.

There is also another important link between the Great Game and the study of images at hand. The coining of the term itself has typically been attributed to Arthur Conolly (1807-1842),

an intelligence officer of the British East India Company, with credit for its introduction to mainstream consciousness via Rudyard Kipling in his 1901 novel *Kim*. However, in his 2012 book, *The Imperial Security State*, James Hevia, professor of history at the University of Chicago, suggests that while Conolly may have been the first to refer to the conflict as a game, it was in fact Sir John William Kaye's interpretation and deployment of the term that Kipling appropriated and expanded upon in *Kim*.^{141 142}

Whereas the role of POI editor and museum administrator Dr. John Forbes Watson has been examined in POI scholarship, that of the other editor, Sir John William Kaye, has been for the most part neglected despite the fact that he credited himself as originating the idea and was also responsible for all of the written elements of the POI. Kaye was perhaps even better-known than Meadows Taylor as an author on Indian topics; however, he was an author of a different sort. Whereas Taylor was a journalist best-known for popular novels, Kaye was a historian whose works include, *The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress* (1853), *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative* (1859), *History of the Sepoy War in India* (1864), and *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851) (republished in 1858 and 1874) among multiple articles and essays.

Perhaps it should come as no surprise to find an uncanny resonance between the two most frequently reproduced Shepherd images, the themes addressed in this dissertation, and a statement in an article by Kaye:

¹⁴¹Hevia, James Louis. *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-building in Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 11.

¹⁴²In addition to the aforementioned work by Hevia, another comprehensive analysis of the Great Game is provided in: Sergeev, Evgeny. *The Great Game, 1856-1907: Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

There is nothing more poetical than war. War is the grand staple of poetry in its highest form of development...Science has deprived war of much of its old poetical aspect. The bow, the spear and the sling are all poetical...Modern European warfare has put on too scientific a front. It has been more an affair of skill than of strength and gallantry; the clear head has done more than the stout arm and the brave heart...But whilst it has somewhat decayed in the West, the poetry of war seems to have kept its freshness in the East. There is a halo of barbaric romance ever surrounding our oriental wars...the environments of an Afghan or Punjabi war are necessarily romantic and picturesque. The nature of the country, the character of the people, their mode of warfare, their dress — are all surrounded with poetical associations. The bright skies, the great rivers, the wide plains, the lofty mountains, the deep defiles, the rugged splendour of the eastern cities, the picturesque costumes, even the very wickedness and vindictiveness of the people, their unscrupulous ferocity, their wild lawless deeds, their eternal unrest, are all so many poetical adjuncts.¹⁴³

The article from where this statement derives is entitled, “The Poetry of Recent Indian Warfare.” It was published in 1849, nearly a decade before the Rebellion and two decades before the release of POI Volume I. In the covert battle waged by individual actors and events over more than a century, Kaye served as a key player in the establishment and extension of British imperialism—not as a *de facto* military figure, but as an individual deeply and intimately acquainted with the art of narration, both history and present. It is therefore critical that future scholarly inquiries take a more careful look at these images, including their application in the POI (but especially outside of it) through the lens of Kaye’s influence (and those charged with responsibilities of the like) to point us towards deeper connections to the larger narratives, events, and influencers that defined the era that precipitated our own.

¹⁴³ "The Poetry of Recent Indian Warfare" (article p.220-256), Calcutta Review Vol XI (Jan-June 1849) Article #VII, Calcutta: Sanders, Cones & Co. Quote found on p.221-222

Conclusion

In reframing the POI as a photographic project and explicating it in terms of images circulating in a broader public sphere, this dissertation has endeavored to identify commercial media in a popular Western arena as an extremely significant yet largely unarticulated mechanism in the formation and establishment of colonial knowledge. It is imperative that we consider the popular commercial arena as a discrete yet interrelated sphere in the overall network of nineteenth century colonial exchange. Centered firmly in the metropole, the popular sphere of commercial media was unregulated, with a mass audience, and characterized by a diffuse and long-lasting circulation and repurposing of images. It is reasonable to believe that the exchange sphere with the greatest capacity to disseminate knowledge to the masses played a crucial role in the establishment of a collective cultural imagination.

The POI stands in our historiographic imagination as a seminal text through which colonial authorities established the technical and conceptual practices that would shape the photographic activity on the subcontinent for over a century. And while there is no doubt that the bigoted attitudes and cultural misconceptions manifest in the volumes do exemplify a very real and persistent phenomenon, the publication itself was not a substantial factor in the formation and establishment of the notions intimated in its text. The 1868 POI is the epitome of an object with limited access, scope, and reach; a single-edition publication, with no more than 300 sets produced, was a documented disappointment with chronically limited circulation, even with some measure of worldwide distribution. The low production numbers and lackluster reception of the volumes necessarily restricted both access and its ability to propagate knowledge.

However, to dismiss the POI as a work of great historical significance on the grounds that it was not a direct agent in the codification of the legacy would be tantamount to throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Once the project is approached in terms of individual images with the potential for multiple manifestations and modes of textualization, scholarly enquiry is no longer limited by the dearth of historical evidence regarding the application and reception of the volumes.

Chapter 1 provided an overview of literature and identified the sequence of scholarly influences that have shaped our present understanding of the POI. This chapter demonstrated that our current understanding of the nature of the volumes as well as the project's infamous legacy does not stem from the POI's original historical value. Rather, our modern conception of the POI legacy is a decidedly historiographic construction, as much of the current literature has been based on a common set of problematic foundational presuppositions due to the difficulties involved in locating evidence on the work's historical intent and reception. To that point, I argue that the troubled legacy of historicizing the POI is not in fact due to a dearth of historical evidence, but rather to our flawed approach in seeking evidence. I concluded the chapter by identifying three misdirects that necessitate a reconceptualization of the POI project and our approach to locating its historiographic legacy. Explications of the POI have been sought in (a) the wrong time period, citing cultural institutions that postdate the project; (b) the wrong type of object, considering the POI primarily as a publication, rather than a collection of photographs; and (c) in the wrong receptive arena, focusing only on official networks of exchange applied to the subcontinent, instead of a popular commercial focus located in the metropole. These misdirects function as a guide for the remaining chapters.

Chapter 2 addressed outstanding questions regarding the POI's history and considered newfound evidence of POI reception in conjunction with that which had been identified in earlier scholarship. What becomes clear after a more detailed examination of the history of the POI is that at no point did the project have a singular purpose or a direct path to production. On the contrary, it shifted course on multiple occasions. What began in 1861 as the brainchild of Lady Canning's desire to provide Queen Victoria with a suitable alternative to a first-hand experience of India (tantamount to a *carte-de-visite* album on an imperial scale) ultimately manifested, after a series of upsets and shifts to scope and outlay, as a multi-volume photographically illustrated publication distributed worldwide in addition to being marketed to a British purchasing public. In terms of reception, we see something we would perhaps not expect in regard to the POI's varied audiences and their reaction to the volumes. While there is certainly more documentation of critical review in the popular commercial arena than in the academic or administrative, it is essential to understand that the context of the reviewer did not in any way affect the conclusion of the review; the POI was considered an inescapably flawed work of inferior photographs. In addition, upon closer investigation of POI reception both in terms of display and reproduction, it becomes clear that at no point were the photographs understood to be a single cohesive unit. Rather, the images were presented as a grouped entity only once--as the eight-volume publication--through a much longer life cycle.

In stark contrast to the fate of the publication, images by certain POI contributors were consistently repurposed and reproduced in a variety of seemingly disparate contexts for over half a century following the initial commission. Key images reappear in shifting formats and with subtle compositional changes as lithographs, displayed in museums and international exhibitions,

collected as photographs to suit a variety of needs, for an extended period of time, in various forms of reproductive media, for both public and private consumption. In this process, POI images were not deployed uniformly, or for a singular purpose. If some photographs appear only in the publication, others were prolifically reproduced. This is a critical historical detail, as the images that appear with the most frequency directly overlap with those marked by the more dubious and exoticizing cultural categorizations contained in the publication.

Chapter 2 signaled two conceptual shifts in how we approach studying the POI. First, instead of thinking of the publication as a culmination or driving force behind the project, it is more in line with historical findings to conceptualize the POI as a fundamentally photographic venture, the eight-volume published work being a single iteration among a multitude of varied instances of display or reproduction. Second, it is imperative that we consider all exchange spheres, in particular the unofficial realm of popular commercial media. These insights set the stage for Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 revisited the historiographic misdirections articulated in Chapter 1 in light of the historical insight provided in Chapter 2 in order to suggest conceptual shifts and alternative methodological frameworks that allow us to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the POI and its relationship to the pervasive and long-lasting legacy. My goal in this chapter was to reconcile the dissonance between the historiographic myth of the POI and the historical reality of the object.

I argued in Chapter 3 that it is not enough simply to think of the POI project in a different way, but rather that the act of reconceptualization necessitates an alternative cataloging method as well as a more quantitative approach to historical analysis. This is because reframing the POI

and approaching it in terms of the photographic is not as simple as tracing a cohesive collection over time, as there was no cohesion whatsoever. However, when the images of the publication are reorganized according to photographic contributor, clear and significant patterns emerge that can be consistently tracked throughout the publication and beyond. The contributor provides the distributional intersection that governs the observable patterns by which POI images were used and reused. By assigning photographer attributions, we come to understand that what topically appears as random and arbitrary reception of the POI is in fact a very specific discussion of only certain photographs by a small set of notable photographers. Furthermore, photographer attributions are critical to this early period of photography in India. In a moment that predates the formal institutions that would later dictate the tenets of photographic practice, we see instead the work of individual practitioners--independent actors who were free to create images in accordance with their own subjective understanding of the ideal end product. In reconceptualizing the object of the POI as a collection of photographs created by unrelated individual agents, we uncover the earliest foundations of colonial institutions, developed through, within, and alongside photography in India.

Chapter 4, then, departed from the publication to engage with the multiple iterations of single POI images within the broader context of nineteenth century colonial British culture. The chapter drew on the appendices, which represent a sampling from a larger catalog that addresses each of the 480 POI photographs. Upon charting the dissemination and circulation of POI images in a variety of display contexts and modes of reproduction, it becomes clear that the prolific repurposing of individual POI portraits in contexts of popular mass circulation—rather than the formal publication— is primarily responsible for the transformation of the arbitrarily

constructed “native types” contained in the volumes into recognizable and functioning categories.

Chapter 4 began by examining image reproduction along three lines of inquiry, access/circulation, textualization, and translation into other visual forms. The second part of the chapter narrowed the focus to examine three of the most frequently reproduced photographs by Charles Shepherd. The reason I chose to focus on his images is that, although the work of Benjamin Simpson dominated official display, Shepherd’s photographs in fact account for over 90% of image reproduction. Furthermore, whereas Simpson’s images demonstrated consistently stable methods of textualization and image translation, those by Shepherd exhibited wildly erratic and arbitrary methods of captioning and drastic artistic liberties in instances when his photographs served as the basis for translation into other visual forms.

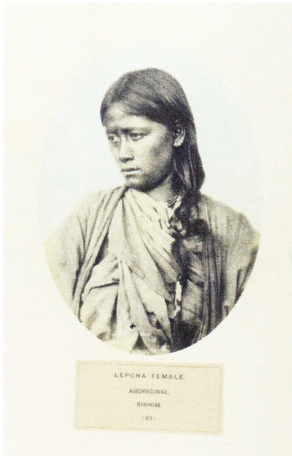
The case studies on Shepherd’s most frequently reproduced images contained at the end of Chapter 4 provided the key that allowed us to reconcile the historical object of the POI publication with its infamous historiographic legacy. This key concerns the critical role of popular media in fomenting imperialist fervor among the masses. In the case of the eight-volume publication, the agent primarily responsible was Sir John William Kaye, and the context involved the century-long strategic conflict known as “The Great Game.” Whereas the role of editor and museum administrator Dr. John Forbes Watson has been examined in POI scholarship, that of Sir John William Kaye has been for the most part neglected despite the fact that he credited himself as originating the idea and was also responsible for all of the written elements of the POI.

This dissertation has only skimmed the surface of the myriad ways in which the POI can function as a point of entry for future scholarly investigation, and my hope is to have provided useful resources for such work. The process of charting and examining patterns in POI image reproduction over a period spanning nearly a century has revealed a number of possible future avenues of research that fall far beyond the scope and purview of this dissertation.

The first issue, and perhaps the one with the greatest potential, involves the role of image dissemination and textualization in a popular environment as a significant factor in broader political phenomena such as “The Great Game.” A related theme is the transnational nature of popular image dissemination, specifically in regard to the potential for one political entity to shape the mass media tactics of an aspiring imperialist power. Another involves the role of indigenous photographers and the degrees of agency in the application, textualization, and repurposing of photographic portraits. In this regard, future scholars may be interested in examining the phenomenon of unauthorized repurposing and distribution of privately commissioned studio portraits, which came to serve in the context of commercially marketed “native type” photographic series. Finally, there is the tremendous potential to gain additional insight by tracing the various iterations of mechanically reproduced images and by conducting quantitatively based historical analyses that engage with the many manifestations of these images and that consider the possibility for multiple contexts and layers of meaning.

Appendix Simpson

1. Simpson: *Lepcha Female*



A. 4465.[8026] Lepcha Female (Sikkim)

Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. p.202

B. Lepcha Female, Aboriginal, Sikkim

Volume I #43 (1868)

Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



C. Lepchas (Sikkim)

Plate #24 (right)

Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



D. Lepcha Girl

Illustrated London News, July 26 1886, p.101



E. Lepchas (Sikkim)

Plate #10

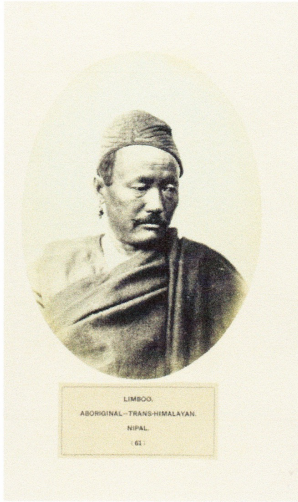
Risley, *The People of India*. 1908.

F. Lepchas (Sikkim)

Plate #10

Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

2. Simpson: *Limboo Male*



- A. 4477.[8038] Limbo (Nepaul)**
Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. p.202
- B. *Limboo, Aboriginal- Trans-Himalayan, Nipal***
Volume II #61 (1868)
Watson et al., *The People of India*. 1868-1875



- C. *Limbu Male and Female***
Plate #25 (left)
Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



- D. *Limboo (of Nepaul)***
Illustrated London News, July 17 1886, p.69



- E. *Limbu, Male and Female***
Plate #12
Risley., *The People of India*. 1908.
- F. *Limbu, Male and Female***
Plate #11
Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

3. Simpson: *Korewah Group*



A. 4528.[8089] *Korwah Group, Chota Nagpore*
Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. 1862. p.203

B. *Korewah Group, Aboriginal, Chota Nagpore*
Volume I #21 (1868)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



C. *A Group of Korwas*
Plate #30
Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



D. *A Group of Korwas*
Plate #17
Risley., *The People of India*. 1908.

E. *A Group of Korwas*
Plate #16
Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

4. Simpson: *Dooranee, Cabul*



A. 4508.[8069] *Dooranee, Cabul*

Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. p. 203

B. 973. Frame No. 14 (title not provided)

Parkinson, *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865*. p.348

C. 764. No.23 *Dooranee. Cabul.*

Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865. p.46

D. *Dooranee, Soonnee Mahomedan, Kabool*

Volume V #266 (1872)

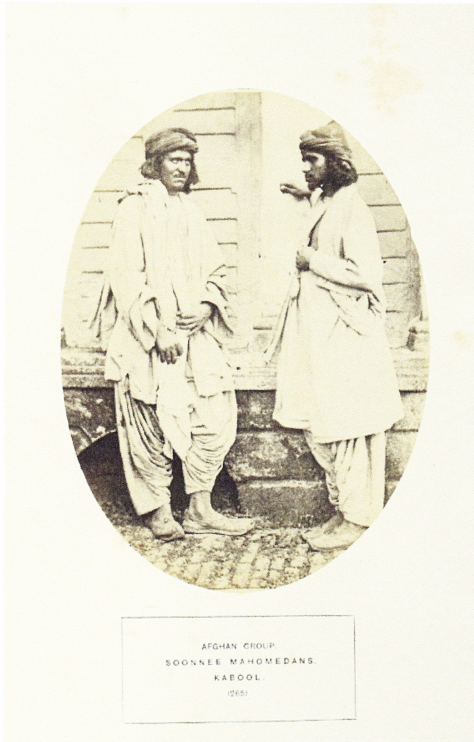
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



E. *Duranee (of Cabul)*

Illustrated London News, July 17 1886, p.69

5. Simpson: *Affghan Group*

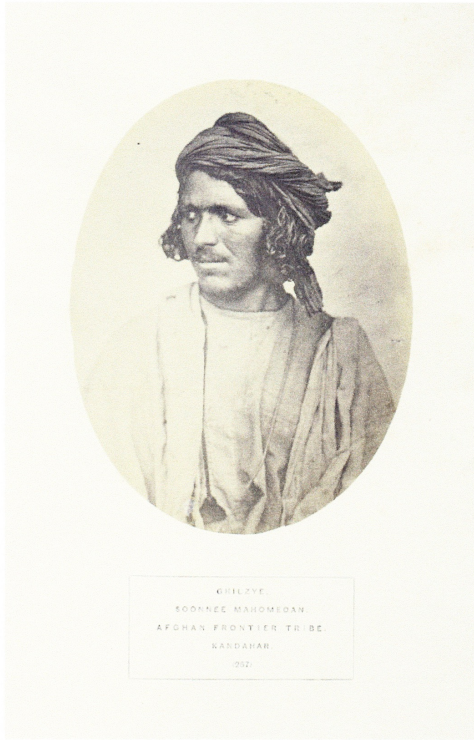


- A. 4527.[8088] *Affghan Group, Cabul***
Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. 1862. p.203
- B. 973. Frame No. 14** (title not provided)
Parkinson, *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865*. p.348
- C. 764. No.20 *Afghan Group, Cabul***
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865*. p.46
- D. *Afghan Group, Soonnee Mahomedans, Kabool***
Volume V #266 (1872)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



- E. *Mussulman Coat of Medium Length with Wide Trousers (Afghan Group)***
Plate 3 #20 (facing p.22)
Watson, *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*. 1866.

6. Simpson: *Ghilzie, Kandahar*



A. 4507.[8068] *Ghilzie, Kandahar*

Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. 1862. p.203

B. 973. Frame No.14 (title not provided)

Parkinson, *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865*. p.348

C. *Ghilzye, Soonnee Mahomedan, Afghan Frontier Tribe, Kandahar*
Volume V #267 (1872)

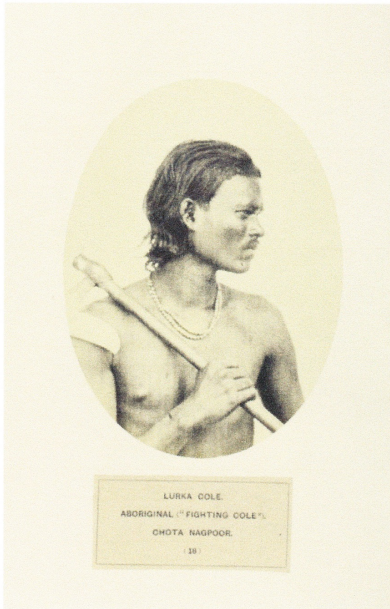
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



D. *Ghilzye (of Candahar)*

Illustrated London News, July 17 1886, p.69

7. Simpson: A 'Ho' or Kol of Singhbum



A. 4510.[8071] Lurka Cole, Singhbhum

Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. 1862. p.202

B. Lurka Cole, Aboriginal ("Fighting Cole"), Chota Nagpoor

Volume I #18 (1868)

Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



C. A 'Ho' or Kol of Singhbum

Plate #16 (right)

Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



D. A 'Ho' or Kol of Singhbum

Plate #14

Risley., *The People of India*. 1908.

E. A 'Ho' or Kol of Singhbum

Plate #13

Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

8. Simpson: *Oraon Cole Female*



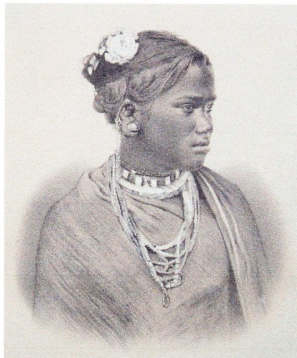
A. 4483.[8044] Oraon Cole female, Chota Nagpore

Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. 1862. p.202

B. Oraon Cole Female, Aboriginal, Chota Nagpore

Volume I #16 (1868)

Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



C. Romia, an Oraon girl of Chutia Nagpur; age, when the picture was taken, 15.

Plate #31 (left)

Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



D. Oraons

Plate #18

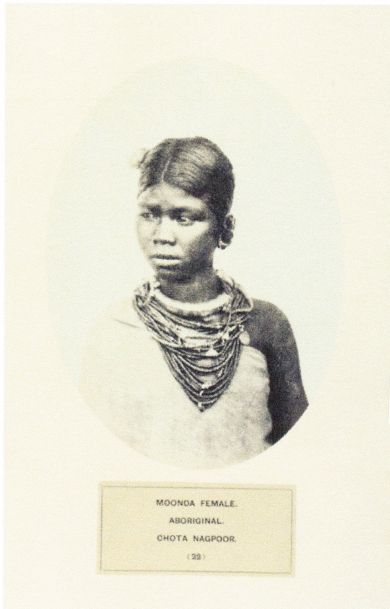
Risley., *The People of India*. 1908.

E. Oraons

Plate #18

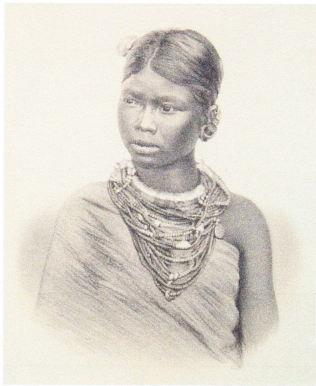
Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

9. Simpson: *Moonda Female*

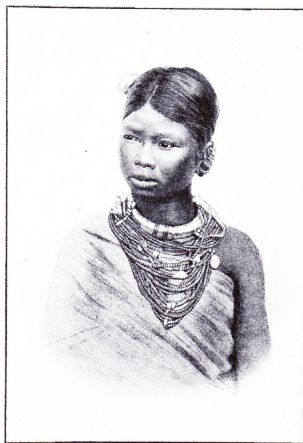


A. 4486.[8047] Moonda female, Chota Nagpore
Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862*. p.202

B. Moonda Female, Aboriginal, Chota Nagpore
Volume I #22 (1868)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*. 1868-1875.



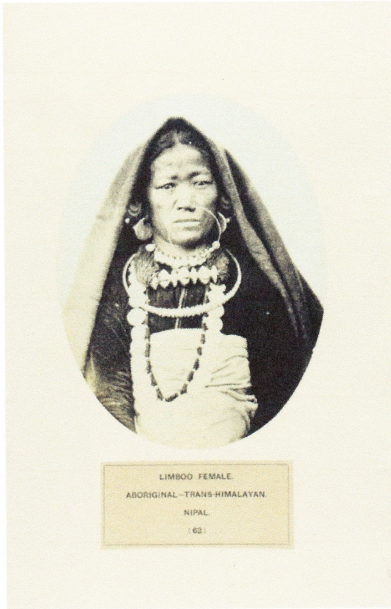
C. Mundas of Chutia Nagpur, male and female, spinster, aged 15.
Plate #27 (left)
Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 1872.



D. Mundas of Chutia Nagpur, Male and Female
Plate #16
Risley., *The People of India*. 1908.

E. Mundas of Chutia Nagpur, Male and Female
Plate #15
Risley and Crooke, *The People of India*. 1915.

10. Limboo Female



A. 4464.[8025] Limbo female (Nepaul)
Watson, *A Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Indian Department: The International Exhibition of 1862.* p.202

B. Limboo Female, Aboriginal- Trans-Himalayan, Nipal
Volume II #62 (1868)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India.* 1868-1875.



C. Limbu Male and Female
Plate #25 (right)
Dalton., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal.* 1872.



D. Limbu Male and Female
Plate #13
Risley., *The People of India.* 1908.

E. Limbu Male and Female
Plate #12
Risley and Crooke, *The People of India.* 1915.

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The Illustrated London News. July 17, 1886.

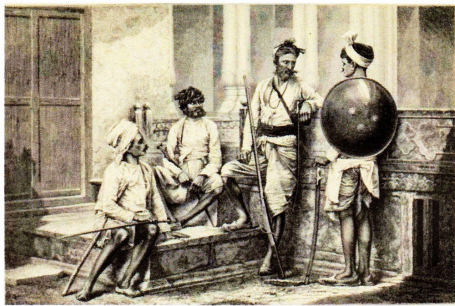
The Illustrated London News. July 26, 1886.

Appendix Shepherd

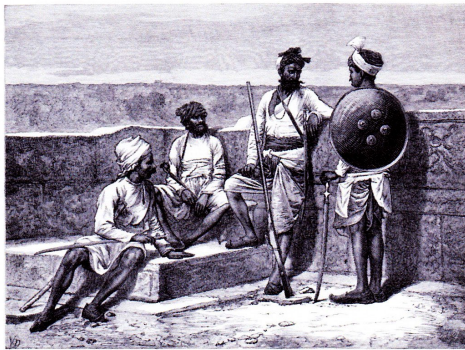
1. Shepherd #1120: *Rajpoots* 1862



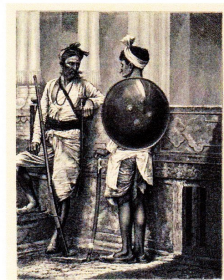
- A. #1120 *Rajpoots*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1120 *Rajputs*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935)
"Mixed Types" p.61
- C. 764. No.26 *Rajpoots. Delhi*
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865. p.47
- D. *Rajpoots, Hindoos, Delhi*
Volume IV #199 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875
- E. *Group of Rajputs*
Furneaux, *Glimpses of India*, 1895. p.26



- F. *Rajpouts*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, p.179
- G. *Rajpoots From Rajpootana*
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*, p.115
- H. *Group of Rajpoots*
Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India*, p.379



- I. *Rajpoots*
Illustrated London News, 12 February 1876, p.164
- J. *An 1876 engraving of Rajputs of Rajasthan from the Illustrated London News*
"Rajput." Wikipedia
- K. *An 1876 engraving of Rajputs from the Illustrated London News*
"History of Lahore." Wikipedia
- L. *Rajput soldiers holding talwars, from a series in the Illustrated London News celebrating the Royal Visit to India in early 1876*
"Talwar." Wikipedia
- M. *An 1876 engraving of Chauhan Rajputs of Punjab, from the Illustrated London News*
"Hindu Period in Lahore." Wikipedia



- N. *Rajpoots*
Rousselet, Louis, and Charles Randolph Buckle. *India and Its Native Princes*. 1882. p.156

**2. Shepherd #1387: Group of Afreedees from the Khyber Pass
c.1870**

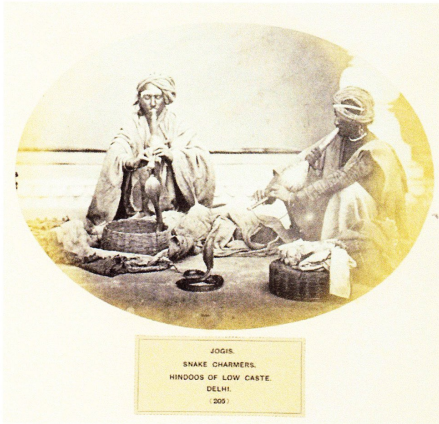


- A. #1387 Group of Afreedees from the Khyber Pass**
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue
(c.1870) "Native Groups- Peshawur" p.73
- B. #1387 Afridis from the Khyber Pass**
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue
(after 1935)
"North West Frontier Province Types" p.64
- C. Group of Afridees from the Khyber Pass** Furneaux,
Glimpses of India, 1895. p.25
- Afridis**
- D. Hutchison, *The Living Races of Mankind*, 1902.**
p.214
- E. *Afredees from Khyber Pass***
Postcard, The Phototype Company Bombay



- F. *Montagnards Des Frontieres Du Nord-Ouest Combattant Contre les Anglais***
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, 1877. p.659
- G. #41 Huzareh Types- Afridis Attacking English Troops**
Ridpath, *Cyclopedia Universal History*, 1895. p.683.
- H. #41 Huzareh Types- Afridis Attacking English Troops**
Ridpath, *Great Races of Mankind*, 1893. p.683.
- I. *Afridis Firing on British Troops***
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*, 1900. p.273
- J. *Montagnards du Nord-Ouest combattant contre les Anglais***
Charton, *Le Tour du Monde*, 1870. p.345

3. Shepherd #1123: *Snake Charmers*
1862



- A. #1123 *Snake Charmers*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1123 *Snake Charmers*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935)
"Mixed Types" p.61
- C. 765. No.35 "*Jogies,*" or *snake charmers. Delhi*
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865, p.47
- D. *Jogis, Snake Charmers, Hindoos of Low Caste, Delhi* Volume
IV #205 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



- E. *Charmeurs de Serpents*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, 1877. p.493
- F. *Snake Charmers*
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*. 1892. p.109
- G. *Serpent Charmers*
Rousselet and Buckle, *India and Its Native Princes*, 1882. p.417



- H. *Serpent-charmers of Madras*

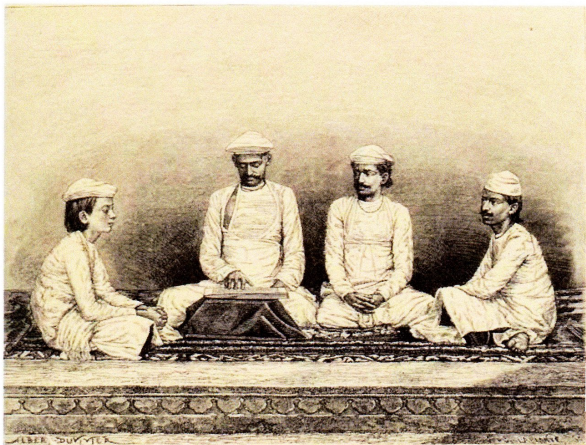


- I. *Snake Charmers of India*
Illustrated London News, December 4, 1875

4. Shepherd #1117: *Brahmins (Pundits)*
1862



- A. #1117 *Brahmins (Pundits)*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1117 *Brahmins*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935)
"Mixed Types" p.61
- C. *Brahmins, Hindoos, Delhi*
Volume IV #200 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875

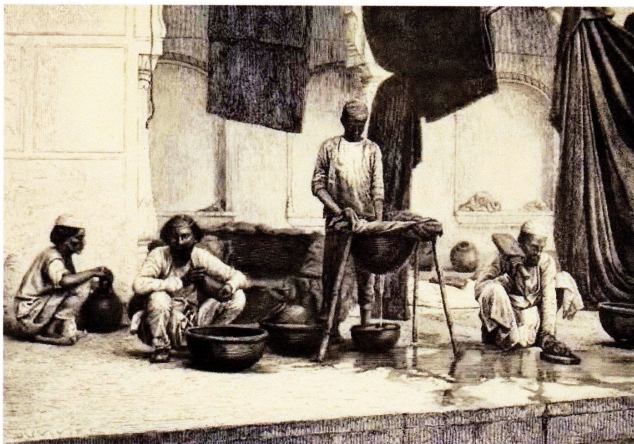


- D. *Brahmanes Du Bengale*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, 1877. p.751.
- E. *Group of Brahmins*
Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India*. 1880. p.211
- F. *Brahmins of Bengal*
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*, 1892. p.64.
- G. *Brahmins of Bengal*
Rousselet and Buckle. *India and Its Native Princes*. 1882.
p.601

**5. Shepherd #1103: *Rungrazes (Dyers)*
1862**



- A. #1103 *Rungrazes (Dyers)***
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1103 *Rangrazes (Dyers)***
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after
1935) "Mixed Types" p.61
- C. *Dyers, Mahomedans, Delhi***
Volume IV #183 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



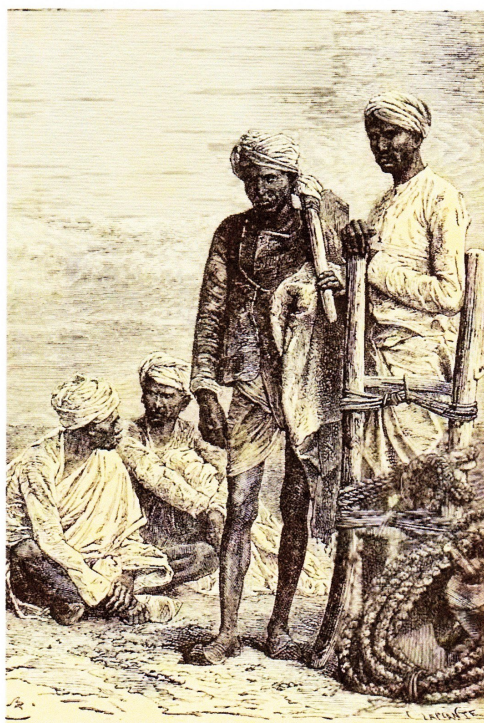
- D. *Teinturiers de Lucknow***
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, 1877. p.685
- E. *Dyers of Lucknow***
Ridpath, *Cyclopedia Universal History*, 1895. p.709
- F. *Dyers of Lucknow***
Ridpath, *Great Races of Mankind*. 1893, p.709

6. Shepherd #1119: *Lodas (cultivators)*
1862



LUDHAS
LOW CASTE HINDOO TRIBE
RAJPOOTANA
352

- A. #1119 *Lodas (cultivators)*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1119 *Lodas, Cultivators*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935)
"Mixed Types" p.61
- C. *Lodhas, Low Caste Hindoo Tribe, Rajpootana*
Volume VII #352 (1874)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



- D. *Paysans de Doab*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*. 1877. p.604
- E. *Peasants of the Doab*
Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India*. 1880. p.360
- F. *Peasants of the Doab- Types*
Ridpath, *Great Races of Mankind*, 1893. p.723
- G. *Peasants of the Doab- Types*
Ridpath, *Cyclopedia Universal History*. 1895. p.723.
- H. *Peasants of the Doab*
Rousselet, Louis, and Charles Randolph Buckle. *India and Its Native Princes*. 1882. p.504

7. Shepherd #1121: *Banya's Shop*
1862

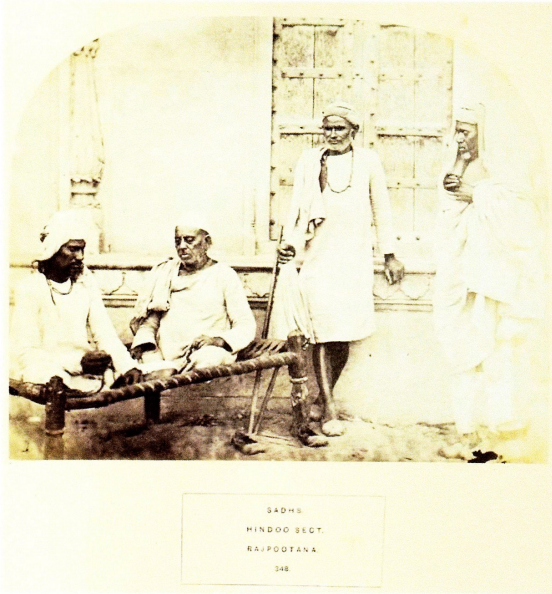


- A. #1121 *Banya's Shop***
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. 763. No 13 *Bunnya, or native banker. Delhi***
Watson, John Forbes. *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865.
p.46
- C. *Bunnea, Hindoo Tradesman, Delhi***
Volume IV #184 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



- D. *Marchand de Grains et Farines, A Patna***
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*. 1877. p.717
- E. *Rice Dealers of Patna, Behar Province***
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*. 1892. p.105
- F. *Corn-Chandler of Patna***
Rousselet and Buckle, *India and Its Native Princes*,
1882. p.577

8. Shepherd #1108: *Sadhs (Fakeers)*
1862

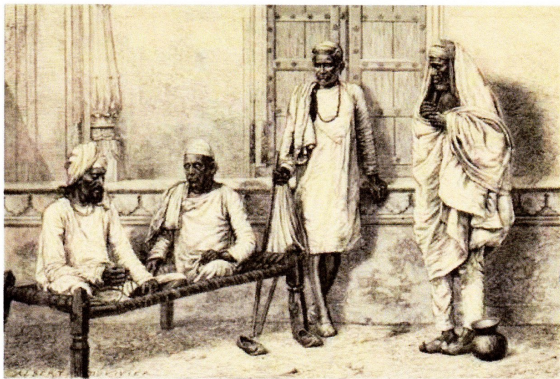


A. #1108 *Sadhs (Fakeers)*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73

B. *Sadhs, Hindoo Sect, Rajpootana*
Volume VII #348 (1874)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875

C. "The People of India" (review of vols. VII & VIII)
The Times. December 2 1876, p.4

Noted as, " Among the groups remarkable for their picturesque character", alongside POI #343, #344, #347, #350.



D. *Mendicants Religieux, A Benares*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*. 1877. p.709.

E. *Religious Mendicants at Benares*
Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India*. 1880. p.475

F. *Religious Mendicants, Benares*
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*, 1892. p.45

9. Shepherd #1116: *Jat Zemindars*
1862



- A. #1116 *Jat Zemindars***
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.74
- B. 763. No.11 *Khanzadahs. Bhurtpore***
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865. p.46
- C. *Khanzadas, Mussulmans, Rajpootana***
Volume VII #347 (1874)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875
- D. "The People of India" (review of vols. VII & VIII)**
Noted as, "Among the groups remarkable for their picturesque character", alongside POI, #343, #344, #348, #350.
The Times. December 2 1876, p.4



- E. *Jaut Zemindars and Peasants***
Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India*. 1880.
- F. *Jat Zemindars (Crown Lessees) and Ryots (Peasants)***
Brown, *The Peoples of the World*, 1892. p.32

10. Shepherd #1125: *Embroiderer*
1862

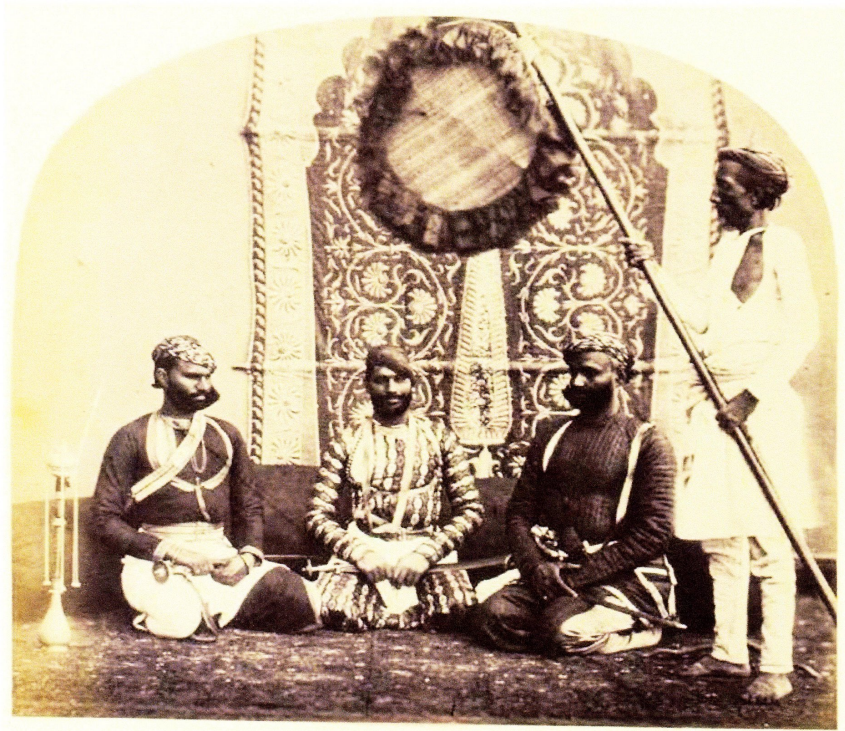


- A. #1125 *Embroiderer*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1125 *Embroiderer*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935)
"Mixed Types" p.61
- C. 763. No.17 *Scarf-maker, Delhi*
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865, p.46
- D. *Scarf Maker, Mussulman, Delhi*
Volume IV #188 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



- E. *Plain Red Turban (twisted folds)* [sic.]
Plate 1 #3 (facing pg. 14)
Watson, *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*. 1866.

**11. Shepherd #1118 : *Jat Sirdars (Bhurtpore)*
1862**



JAT SIRDARS
HINDOOS.
RAJPOOTANA.
343.

- A.** #1118 *Jat Sirdars (Bhurtpore)*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870)
"Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B.** 762. No.7 *Jat Sirdars. Bhurtpore*
Watson, *New Zealand Exhibition*, 1865, p.46
- C.** *Jat Sirdars, Hindoos, Rajpootana*
Volume VII #343 (1874)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875
- D.** "The People of India" (review of vols. VII & VIII)
Noted as, " Among the groups remarkable for their picturesque character",
alongside POI, #344, #347, #348, #350.
The Times. December 2 1876, p.4

12. Shepherd #1111: *Moulvies*
1862



- A. #1111 *Moulvies*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (c.1870) "Groups of Native Character" p.73
- B. #1111 *Moulvies*
Bourne & Shepherd Commercial Catalogue (after 1935) "Mixed Types" p.61
- C. *Moulvees, Mussulman Lawyers, Delhi*
Volume IV #198 (1869)
Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, 1868-1875



- D. *Mollahs de Bhopal*
Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, 1877. p.529
- E. *Moollahs of Bhopal*
Rousselet and Buckle. *India and Its Native Princes*. 1882. p.462

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