

Darbar, Music and Military: British Pride and Grandeur in Nineteenth-Century Exhibition Ceremonies

Hussain Ahmad Khan

Institute of History
Government College University, Lahore
hussainahmad@gcu.edu.pk

Abstract

Opening ceremonies of British exhibitions in the 1880s in Lahore, Calcutta and London were spectacular display of pride, pomp and show. These ceremonies were not only hiding the problems of the state but also giving a strong message to its enemies by displaying grandeur and power of the empire. These events reflected British belief that pomp and show was necessary in the Orient to legitimize their rule. Objects collected from the colonies were displayed, such as flags, royal chair, Indian gold cloth. Pre-colonial terminology specific to royal ceremonies, darbar was employed, giving a sense of continuation of Mughal tradition. In these events, central figures were either royalty or Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors greeted by traditionally dressed Indian princely rulers, notables and British officials. Carefully selected music played on the occasions was a political statement about the grandeur of Empire. Well built, smartly uniformed, equipped with modern weapons, soldiers gave guard of honour to the chief guest and sometimes to Indian princes.

Keywords: Darbar; Music; Military; British Empire; Exhibitions

The British officials employed two Persian terms, *darbar* (royal court) and *darbari* (courtier) —which were significant in the political and cultural context of India—to describe the ceremonies of the exhibitions and for special invitees. These terms were frequently used for the Mughal and princely courts and courtiers. In pre-colonial India, *darbar* functioned as an institution where rulers managed day-to-day affairs of the state, interacted with foreign and local delegates, displayed their

power through grandeur which was a source of legitimacy for their kingdom.¹ In the Indian society, *darbari* signified high social status because only selected individuals and officials could attend the proceedings. To get any justice or favours, village elites, religious communities and traders used to approach courtiers because of their access to the corridors of power.

The British believed that *darbar* was to represent grandeur, essential for gaining legitimacy and exercising authority. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the East India Company and the Raj officials used *darbar* for pomp and show despite many voices of dissent.² Even individuals such as John Lawrence—the first civilian appointed as the viceroy in 1864—had to give up “his ordinary self, and to exchange the privacy ... for the gorgeousness and circumstance and magnificence of an Eastern monarch,” because “in the East, pomp may often be power;” his biographer notes that “the splendors of his *darbars* was, undoubtedly, all the more impressive from the force of contrast which they presented to his daily habits”.³ Similarly, Lord Ripon did not like pomp and show. His ceremony of taking up the position of viceroy took place in a tent, in Simla, instead of the Governor House, and “his London cloths looking as though they had been used as a pillow in the *tonga* on the way up, or hastily pulled out of a much-packed Gladstone bag”.⁴

Many viceroys genuinely valued pomp and show. For instance, Marquess Wellesley noted: “India is a country of splendor, of extravagance, of outward appearances...[it must] be ruled from a palace, not from a counting house; with the ideas of a prince, not those of a retail dealer in muslin and indigo”. Lord Dufferin, who was appointed viceroy in 1884, “enjoyed Durbars, receptions and Viceregal progresses; he enjoyed sitting enthroned under a canopy of State surrounded by scarlet-clad attendants bearing the peacock fans and the other emblems of royalty. He enjoyed being the honoured guest of Princes: ‘several hundred young nauch girls danced before us,’ he noted with satisfaction during a visit to the Maharaja of Jeypore”.⁵ He built an Elizabethan-style Viceregal lodge in

Simla which cost well over 100,000 pounds and had electric lights and a tennis court.⁶

The Queen Victoria's appearance in the grand opening ceremony of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, was a political strategy to re-establish the confidence of British politicians, state officials and general public in the monarchy and to invoke their pride in the Queen and the empire. Unlike in India, her popularity significantly decreased in the 1870s in Britain. Due to her close discussions with soldiers and their families who fought in 1857, the Queen became more sympathetic than her countrymen towards Indians. In the 1880s, British officials were convinced that the Queen "had gone too far that way, instinctively taking the side of Indians in various disputes with the viceroys' rule".⁷ Similarly, in Britain, the Queen was facing increasing criticism due to her disapproval of many of William Gladstone's (1809-1898) policies related to the Irish question, franchise reforms and relations with the Ottomans. Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) helped the Queen to improve the image of the monarchy.⁸

The Imperial Assemblage in 1877 shows the British strategy for using pre-colonial symbols and grandeur for legitimizing the Raj in India. Preferring Delhi, the Mughal capital, over Calcutta, British India's capital, as the venue and organizing the ceremony adjacent to pre-colonial grand architectural spaces was an attempt to project the Raj as successor of the Mughals. Interestingly, the organizers avoided the term *darbar*, and chose 'Imperial Assemblage' because for them, holding *darbar* was an indoor activity. The assemblage was a "a great historical event", attended by sixty-three local chiefs, the Queen assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind (Empress of India), and the new territories were included in British India "exceed[ing] the combined area of England, Italy and France".⁹ The British officials spent 23000 GBP only on preparing military for the occasion, the amount was nearly equivalent to the annual military budget.¹⁰ The idea was to display grandeur to European powers and subdue rebellion in India, and to give

confidence and a sense of pride to the white community and to British officials in India.

The opening ceremonies of colonial exhibitions held in the 1880s, whether it was the Second Punjab Exhibition in Lahore, Calcutta International Exhibition in Calcutta and Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, followed the similar patterns. Even, when the organisers of the Second Punjab Exhibition were planning to conduct opening ceremony in a simple way, the government insisted on holding a “State Darbar”, “to give more importance to the occasion”.¹¹ Central figures in these ceremonies were the Queen, viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors. It was usual for the audience and special invitees to wait for some time for the chief guests. Waiting time depended on their social status. For instance, some special guests used to take seats fifteen minutes before the event, others had to sit one hour earlier. In the colonial context, it signified the importance of the chief guest and presenting others inconsequential. A particular sitting arrangement on the stage meant to underscore the centrality of the chief guests, who were surrounded by other dignitaries.

The Queen arrived with a grandeur to inaugurate the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. The Paddington terminus, the train which carried the Queen, arrived at the Railway Station at the fixed time, 11:45 am. Trumpets announced her arrival:

“Carpeting was laid down in front of the train; within the barricade near the exist were about a hundred ladies—priviledged spectators; with this exception the station was cleared of strangers. A guard of honour, composed of the 2nd Life Guards, faced the train. Six royal carriages, each drawn by four bay horses, were drawn up in line, the six facing the royal saloon...[when the train arrived] in an instant the platform was

covered with officers in Court dresses and servants in liveries, while Gollion, the guard, stood bareheaded, his hand upon the handle of the royal saloon”.¹²

In the opening ceremony of the Exhibition held at South Kensington, organizers used Indian objects and sitting arrangements to show the grandeur of the Queen. One contemporary source reveals:

“The Chair of State was placed on the dais in the Albert Hall. Above the chair was a canopy of Indian cloth of gold, surmounted by a baldacchino of rich gold-embroidered velvet, looped with chains and pendants of gold and silver Delhi-work, and slightly closed in at the sides with curtains of red embroidered velvet: on the back of the canopy, embroidered in gold letters and surmounted by the Imperial Crown, was the monogram of Victoria, Queen and Empress. The throne itself, of hammered gold, which was formerly in the possession of Runjeet Singh, was taken at the capture of Lahore”.¹³

The sitting arrangement stressed the centrality of the Queen, who sat in the centre surrounded by the members of the household and state officials according to their rank and importance, all were in “levee, academical, or court dress or uniform, [and] ladies were in morning dress”.¹⁴

“We could not [but be] struck by the fitness and significance of the spectacle”, one British periodical reported, when the procession of Queen Victoria passed “through the long line of thousands upon thousands of her subjects, gathered together

from every clime, and including natives of every shade of colour, and of every grade of civilization”.¹⁵ Overwhelmed by the atmosphere, one singer, who was to perform in the ceremony and had a close acquaintance with the Queen, writes in her autobiography:

“The Queen, the Royal Family, and the officials of the household were seated on the front part of the platform, a large orchestra and chorus, being arranged behind them. The immense hall was full to overflowing, a great part of the audience consisting of representatives of the British Colonies and colonials visiting or living in England, and it was a most striking thing, and one never to be forgotten, to see our late Empress-Queen surrounded by nine thousand or ten thousand people belonging to every race and every religion on the face of the earth, and yet who were all her subjects. It brought home to one the extent and power of the British Empire...I shall never forget this day, nor shall I ever forget the Queen’s reply to the Address read to her by HRH the Prince of Wales. Her Majesty read her reply herself, and the effect in the great space of the Albert Hall was marvelous. Every word was heard distinctly and clearly; her voice was sweet and possessed of the splendid carrying power. I am sure that not one word was lost to any one of that vast audience”.¹⁶

Music in Exhibition Ceremonies

In nineteenth-century Europe, British like Germans and French musicians began using music for invoking pride in their ‘national’ identity.¹⁷ Their efforts to find “Englishness in music” led to what has been termed the English Musical Renaissance.¹⁸ Along with societies and companies, the Royal College of Music (1883) was established to “promote Imperial unity by inspiring among fellow-subjects in every part of the Empire those emotions of patriotism, which national music is calculated so powerfully to evoke”.¹⁹ Music in streets, churches, educational institutions, military departments large concert halls, theaters and festivals, began to bridge gap between various classes and ethnic communities by emotionally associating them with an idea of empire. Due to better transportation, societies, companies and bands, musicians and composers travelled across the Empire to perform in exhibition ceremonies and music concerts.

What Henry Cole called, an “innocent amusement”, ceremonial music of nineteenth-century British exhibitions had a political message of pride in the empire. Audience in these ceremonies came from vastly different backgrounds: civil and military officials, Indian princely rulers, tourists, journalists, craftsmen, traders, women, academics and students. Curators employed music—a cultured entrainment of a modern and civilized empire—for paying gratitude to the Queen and empire in two ways: diversity in the selection of singers and musicians; thematic songs.

Curators selected many non-English singers and musicians, which could be unintentional, but it projected the image of an empire comprising diverse races and cultures. For instance, in the Calcutta International Exhibition, Italian opera along with some amateur singers performed Signor Enrico Golisciani’s (1848-1919) cantata, which Herr Mack composed. In the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, a Canadian singer, Emma Albani (1847-1930) and an Irish origin musician, Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), performed. These singers and musicians genuinely loved the Queen, had strong influences of the British civilization and felt pride in their association with the empire.

Organisers probably selected Emma Albani for singing in the opening ceremony of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition due to her global popularity and close relationship with Queen Victoria who deeply appreciated her singing.²⁰ Albani loved her so much that she always had her small portrait. She writes in her autobiography:

“I venture to say *friendship*—which ended only with her [Queen Victoria’s] life...I deeply felt and as deeply reciprocated Her Majesty’s generous attachment to me, of which I can never be sufficiently happy to have had the privilege of enjoying. It was not alone the distinguished honour bestowed by a great and extraordinarily gifted Queen; it was ever higher moral support and love for those for whom she cared which seemed to radiate from Queen Victoria”.²¹

Privately, Albani used to sing for the Queen, those songs which she or her deceased husband, Prince Albert Consort, liked.²² The Queen’s recommendation letter to crown prince Frederick for Albani showing her deep appreciation for Albani.²³

Albani eulogized British culture and public. Albani, wanted to remain in an atmosphere of art to “enlarge the mind and ideas”, greatly learnt “from pictures in the National Gallery and engravings at the South Kensington Museum”.²⁴ She was impressed with London Opera House, Convent Garden Theatre and “wonderful collections and sights” in London—“the most considerable city in the world”.²⁵ In Convent Garden, she performed with “greatest artists of the day ... established in the affection of the British public”. For her, the English people “take those who serve them well to their hearts, and never forget, even after long years, any who once have won their admiration and, above all, their esteem”.²⁶

One of the important musicians in colonial exhibitions was Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), who “perfectly embodies the constellation of ideas that makes up the British imperial identity: patriotism, monarchism, chivalry, Protestantism, hero-worship and racial superiority”.²⁷ Irish by origin, his grandfather was a soldier from County Clark, and his father was chief professor at Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall. Mary Clementina Coghlan, his mother, was half Italian and half Irish. On many occasions, he asserted his identity as an English. In 1882, during his visit to Cairo, an English officer ran away from duel, when an Australian baron challenged him. Upset over this incident, Sullivan wrote to his mother: “It has been a humiliation to all of us English here...Is not it enough to make one’s blood boil”.²⁸ In 1884, Sullivan called the appointment of Hans Richter, a German musician, as conductor of the Birmingham Festival, “a bitter humiliation to all us English...[Others] would have done the work well—a hundred times better than a German who cannot speak the language, who had never had any experience in dealing with English choruses...”.²⁹ Sullivan’s love for Britain took his life. Despite suffering from bronchitis, he went to see volunteers returning from South Africa, fell seriously ill and died within one month.

Sensitive about the ‘lack of English music’, Arthur Sullivan’s compositions aimed at constructing English and imperial identities. He was bitter about the use of Austrian, German and French music, when Prince of Wales inspected colonial troops at Buckingham Palace. To reflect historicity in English national identity, he turned to Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, *Henry VIII*, *The Tempest* and *Merchant of Venice* for incidental music, and for his opera, *Ivanhoe*, he made use of Walter Scott’s works. His ballet, *Victoria and Merrie England*, shows the transformation of British kingdom to an Empire and employed mythic figures such as Druids, Robin Hood, and Herne the Hunter. Sullivan composed Rudyard Kipling’s poem, *The Absent-Minded Bagger*, which “took England with storm...The Queen wrote to Sullivan for a copy; troops marched away to the troopships singing it”.³⁰ His *Onward, Christian Soldiers, Imperial March*

and *Boer War Te Deum* show his love for Christianity and Empire.³¹

Indian musicians and singers performed at the Colonial and Indian exhibition. They were housed in the *nakarkhanna* or drum-house, which the Maharaja of Jeypore had donated. The drum-house was made of delicately carved wood and stone, pillar of which closely resembled with Turkish Sultana's house in Fatepur Sikri, Agra.³² In a traditional setting these musicians played different songs praising their patron/sovereign or gods. It was the occasion, they were playing music for the empire and for the Mahajara of Jeypore, who was their patron and an ally of the British. These musicians performed for three days giving an Indian touch to the environment. Sources do not mention who they were and what they played. The absence of these details is significant: it shows the inaccessibility of the British organizers and journalists to Indian music and their lack of interest in knowing about it, or even if they knew, they do not indicate it in official reports and newspapers, yet, the organizers thought it important to display Indian music to show the grandeur of the empire.

It was the context—available resources, venue, and audience—which made the organisers to decide about themes of songs to assert their pride. In India, organisers kept music segments short by playing national anthem in the Second Punjab Exhibition, and Italian Opera and national anthem in the Calcutta International Exhibition. It was a general sense among English scholars that the main function of music was refinement and enlightenment. They considered music “the mightiest among the Arts and one to which we must look for the largest refining and enlightening influence”.³³ It was an intellectual and cultured pursuit, which only well-versed persons could appreciate.³⁴ Since Indians had ancient musical instruments, virtually lost poetic tradition, English music would be higher art for uncivilized people. In Britain, as in the case of 1871 International Exhibition at South Kensington, and Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the organisers made elaborate arrangements for music.

In the music, the organisers also invoked the theme of peace (which should be understood as colonial order). In the context of Franco-Prussian war, this message of peace became more important in the 1871 International Exhibition at South Kensington, in which thirty-two countries including India participated. The organisers wanted to promote peace among the European powers through this event. Sullivan invoked the emotion of pride in Christian identity—which he believed should resonate in the empire’s identity—by composing a cantata about the bravery of sixteenth-century Christian Genoese against North African Muslims. The cantata, *On Sea and Shore*—suggested that “the sorrows and separations [are] necessarily incidental to war”.³⁵ It began with the singing of the Genoese sailors, who were leaving for a war with the Moors: “Joys of the shore we must forego/ But ours are the joys of the sea/ To brave the storm and to sink the foe/ And the spoil of victory”. At the end, the Moors overpowered the Genoese, who in chains, sang: “Hold to Christian manhood, firm in Christian faith/ Faithful hearts make fearless hands, and faithful hearts have we/ The Christians ‘against the infidel, and chained though we be”. Then the Genoese rebelled and overpowered the Moors and returned home singing cheerful songs. The cantata ended with a message of “the blessedness of Peace, and invitation to all nations to her Temple”.³⁶

Sullivan’s choice shows his love for the Christian identity of the empire, and his desire to conquer heathen lands to bring them under the flag of the British Empire. Though set against the sixteenth-century conflict, the cantata also symbolically represented contemporary British conquests, and some of the possessions of the British colonies, including India, were also put on display visually complementing the idea of conquering heathen territories. Did this really invoke pride among the English audience? As press reviews suggest, he probably did not. He was criticized because he “laid the action in an Italian port, on the Mediterranean Sea, and among the barbarians of North Africa”.³⁷

In the Calcutta International Exhibition, the idea of conquering heathen land did not appear in music. In the opening ceremony,

attended by the Viceroy, high rank civil and military officials, Indian princely rulers, journalists, students, academics and European visitors, an Italian opera performed the cantata underscoring that God had chosen the British to rule India. British rule would promote arts and crafts and would bring wealth to the lands of the Ganges. The cantata ended with a prayer: God Save our Queen-Empress.³⁸ Here, feelings of pride and loyalty were invoked by highlighting the blessings of empire such as peace, wealth, joy and equality. These were the same ideas which British officials mentioned with respect to the exhibition, and promotion of arts and craft: The British empire brought peace in India which was facing internal wars for quite sometime, now it was encouraging Indian products for export which would bring wealth, joy and happiness in the colony.

In the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, emotional content such as love and sacrifice for the nation, Christianity and loyalty to the Queen figured prominently in songs. The dominating theme was represented in the last lines of Lord Tennyson's Ode, especially written for the occasion on the request of Prince Consort, it was composed by Sullivan: "One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne/Britons, hold your own! And God guard all!"³⁹ The "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's *Messiah* was sung. Handel, a German by origin and a naturalized English, wrote oratorio, *Messiah*, which remained most popular among the composers in the nineteenth century. "The whole structure of requiems, te deums and Anglican Church music, plus the host of hymns, Anglican and Nonconformists, established a definite and indisputable musical Protestantism as one key aspect of English identity".⁴⁰

In all these songs, whether sung in India or in Britain, themes of "God's elect," "Divine help", "God's blessings", sacrifice for a better world, wealth, prosperity, happiness and justice remained prominent. These ideas were not limited to the British community, in fact, some peoples in India, especially the shrine-based communities also associated these ideas with the empire. Many Sufis told their followers that God had decided to give the crown of India to the British Queen. They asked their followers not to fight against the British, as the Sufis saw angles helping the British. They genuinely believed that the

British would enforce “justice” in India and this idea circulated among those shrine-based communities which had grievances against the Sikhs. For instance, Makhdoom Mahmood, the leader of Suhrawardy Sufi community in Multan, and custodian of the Sufi shrine of Bahadud-din Zikkeriyya, helped the British forces in fighting against the Sikhs in 1848. Similarly, Shah Muhammad Hassan Sabri, a renowned Chishti-Sabri Sufi of nineteenth century, in his work, *Hakekat-e-Gulzar-e-Sabri*, explained that the Mughals could not do justice in India and God had decided to give the crown of India to the Queen.⁴¹ So the themes of “Divine help”, “God’s blessings on the Queen” and “justice”, though reflected through songs during the ceremonies, also resonated in local traditions.

Did this arrangement invoke pride among the audience? Though audience experienced emotions according to their context, age, gender, knowledge and culture but due to ceremonial setting of these events, in most of the events, people gave similar gestures of appreciation, reported in the exhibition reports and newspapers. In a way, ceremonial settings and music imposed a particular order which made listeners to express similar feelings of appreciations on the occasion.⁴² This is especially true in an event, where organisers and audience shared language, culture and music tradition.

If curators and audience had different cultural contexts, as in the case of colonies, probably music could not invoke pride. In the Second Punjab Exhibition, only national anthem was played when the convoy of lieutenant governor was approaching the stage. The absence of any information in the exhibition report regarding emotions suggests that the music did not generate any emotion. Similarly, in Calcutta International Exhibition, the audience does not seem to have appreciated the music played during the ceremony. The opening ceremony was delayed due to rain, the chairs were wet, the proceedings began a few hours late because of the late arrival of the Viceroy and audience—mostly Indians—kept on waiting. In such a situation, an Italian opera playing to an Indian audience could hardly invoke any emotion of pride, despite the fact that the cantata was translated after the performance. One British journalist who attended the ceremony, reported that the event ended with “little

manifestation of feeling”.⁴³ The exhibition report is also silent about the reception of the music, leading us to believe that the music part of the ceremony ended in failure.

Carefully selected songs, singers and musicians in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition did invoke certain emotions, i.e., pride in race, hope, happiness, and loyalty to the Queen and empire. Moreover, the British audience and the organisers shared the same culture and context. One newspaper reported that the vastness of the empire, as understood by the display, showed the people in colonies and “at home”, what the British nation had done and could do. “Readiness [of the colonized] to regard her [the Queen] as the natural symbol of that union which is strength—the visible head uniting these heterogeneous elements into one harmonious whole—testifying, too, their willingness to join in the sentiment of ‘Home, sweet home’, and their determination to uphold the unity of the Empire of which they form a part. *One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne*. It was a noble sight and full of suggestiveness”.⁴⁴

While portraying the feeling of pride of the Queen and audience, one journalist writes: “The National Anthem, with full orchestra, organ and chorus pealed through the hall. The musical effect was something grand, the last verse particularly being sung with exquisite taste and feeling. It was remarked that during its delivery tears were seen to flow down the Queen’s face”.⁴⁵ When Albani sang Lord Tennyson’s Ode, her “lovely voice was heard to the greatest perfection. The sentiment conveyed in the closing lines evoked a perfect tempest of applause”.⁴⁶ Probably English audience remained composed and did not give too many gestures, as was the culture in Britain.⁴⁷

Military on Display

British India was not a unified entity as peoples had different religions, hundreds of languages, divided into tribes. Their food, dress, language, architecture, rulers and worldviews were very different from each other as if they belonged to different regions of the world. Till the end of British rule, there were 600 different princely states besides British controlled Indian

territory. Indians were more closely associated with their villages and cities than with an idea of India. We will see, how military spectacles developed association of Indians with the British army. The British Indian army till 1902, when Lord Kitchener became Commander-in-Chief of the Army, remained largely divided between three presidencies: Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The process of unification of the army began in 1885 by Frederick Roberts, the first Commander-in-Chief of the British Indian Army. This integration of the British military ran parallel to its representation as a proud unified institution in the exhibitions held in the 1880s.

Nineteenth-century exhibitions were a site where the colonial state used military's guard of honour and material objects—uniforms, badges and weapons—to show pride of the empire. The military display showed two inter-related phenomena, modernization—disciplined, well-dressed and trained Indian and European soldiers—and industrialization—the display of weapons.⁴⁸ For the external and internal enemies, these displays were a political statement of superiority of the largest empire the world had ever seen. At the same time, modernization and industrialization, which the military represented, were also the premises the British organisers discussed in the exhibitions.

The participation of military department in various exhibitions varies depending on the objectives of the organisers: We see a significant participation of the military in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Naval and Military Exhibition of 1889. In the Second Punjab Exhibition, a European Infantry presented a guard of honour, while battery of artillery was a saluting battery. The Lt.-Governor came with a native cavalry.⁴⁹ In the Calcutta International Exhibition, the Royal Warwickshire Regiment “with band and colours” presented the guard of honor to the viceroy and other guests.⁵⁰ While in the closing ceremony a European infantry with band and colours presented the guard of honor to the viceroy and other dignitaries. Besides this, for the first time in India, the military department displayed its exhibits.

For presenting the guard of honour, soldiers were trained by their respective commanders. Myerly suggests that military

parade in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century was believed to be a science.⁵¹ Drilled bodies of European and Indian soldiers with varied height, weight and colour, showed aesthetically ordered movements, they learnt under the supervision of the British officers.⁵² These soldiers were representing all the virtues of empire—efficiency, discipline, modernism and power. The main guiding principle in recruiting Indians was to “catch the recruit young. Feed, train and develop him yourself”. They were ideally between 17-18 years, a perfect age for inculcating military values. So displaying soldiers in public spaces was meant to show the discipline and grooming by the colonial authorities.

For Indian soldiers, the duty of guard of honor in both exhibitions was a matter of pride, which should be understood in the larger context of two deeply rooted emotions—*izzat* (honour) and *beizzat* (dishonor). Considered as an unwritten code, Indian soldiers attached *izzat* with every task, whether it was drill, fighting in a battle or performing duties in ceremonies. It was even more important for them to perform well in public displays because many spectators knew them personally. Anyone, who could keep his honour by perfectly performing the tasks had a pride (*fakher*) for himself, his regiment, family and villagers.⁵³ However, if someone could not take care of his *izzat* by failing to obey orders; deserting his fellow soldiers; showing negligence in public display or ceremonial duties, his fellows considered him dishonoured. Faithfulness, trustworthiness, bravery, death in battlefields, always standing with fellow-soldiers were the attributes of a pride soldiers and through the guard of honour, the Indian soldiers were publicly displaying these virtues.

The British used the emotions of honour and disgrace for making loyal, brave, disciplined and efficient Indian soldiers. George MacMunn, a Lieutenant-General in the British army, writes: “The English soldier does not always come to the ranks because it is the most honourable career he knows. In India, on the other hand, military service is a source of much honour and prestige”.⁵⁴ During the process of recruitment, training and wars, the British invoked honour and pride among some tribes

and communities such as Punjabi Muslims, Pashtoons and Sikhs, who, they believed, were martial races—a theory propounded in the 1880s—which overwhelmingly influenced the recruitment process and shaped the emotions of Indian soldiers.⁵⁵ The result of invoking pride and honour was the Indian soldiers began to associate more with their institution than their close relations. David Omissi, in his work, shows many examples of colonial Indian soldiers who refused to leave battlefields to see their dying parents, they criticized their deserted fellows, and eulogized those who died bravely in wars.⁵⁶

Along with soldiers' drilled bodies performing rhythmic movements, military uniforms, badges and flags were important material objects, which attracted the audience. Carefully designed uniforms, badges and flags of European Infantry, Battery of Artillery and the Royal Warwickshire Regiment distinguished them from others, and were meant to impress onlookers and dignitaries from other countries on the occasions. The British believed that "some military display" was "necessary in oriental country".⁵⁷ In the later half of the nineteenth century, the British officials designed uniforms keeping in the view the local traditions and climate, hence "more regiments adopted turbans, flowing jackets and loose pantaloons" to "preserve the distinction between different nationalities and races" which, was "very necessary" for the British "security".⁵⁸ At the same time, it was displaying a variety in the loyal subjects to the Queen, a site which could make any British feel pride.

Material objects such as flags and badges produced strong bond among the soldiers belonging to the same regiment. Some historians suggest that British soldiers in the nineteenth century had more association with their regiment, colours, badges and flags than the British army as a whole.⁵⁹ These material objects represented their victories and sacrifices, thus, invoking pride among them. To keep the soldiers attached with their regiments, these material objects, thus played significant role. The administrators made it sure to display symbols and flags not only on ceremonial occasions but also in the barracks, mess

and offices, which kept reminding soldiers their new identity (as a British soldier), and kept invoking pride in this association.

It was in the Calcutta International Exhibition, on the proposal of Brigadier-General HC Wilkinson, Commander of the Presidency district, that the curators decided to display the military exhibits. Wilkinson had just returned from Afghanistan after the second Afghan campaign in which he as a brigadier-general of the Cavalry Brigade of General Phayre's Division, and led the advance from Quetta to Kandahar. He had seen violence, bloodshed, bravery and fears and wanted to exhibit material objects which could reflect pride of the British military. He selected material used for making soldiers' uniforms, which included buttons, furnishings and cloths, which The Army Clothing Agency at Alipore had sent. He also exhibited "a sample pattern of every uniform in the service, specimens of soldiers under-clothing, boots, shoes, medals, ribbons, colours, standards, ornamental drum-belts, batons, &c."⁶⁰

The similar strategy in a more aggressive manner was adopted in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, in which the curators displayed a variety of life-size models of Indian soldiers, wearing complete uniforms equipped with weapons. In the context of Afghan campaigns, and perceived threats of the Russian invasion, and criticism of some newspapers on the British government for uselessly involving in bloodshed, these models were meant to invoke pride in the British military and give a sense of security and surety to the British public.⁶¹ These models of real soldiers, with minute ethnographic details, such as their names, height, weight, date of joining the service, regiment and religion, were showing a wide variety of people faithfully serving the Queen and the empire. These soldiers were from the Punjab, Bengal, Balochistan region, Bombay, Madras and Nepal.⁶²

The models of Indian soldiers were also projecting an image of an expanding, reorganizing and developing military institution solidifying its control over India in the post-mutiny context. The regiments formed soon after 1857 were mentioned along

with the display of models. The information was meant to eliminate the fears of rebellion against the colonial rule but were also showing the reorganizing capacities of the institution after a major setback. For instance, in August 1857, Captain Wale raised a regiment, 11th (PWO) Bengal Lancers, at Lahore. It was previously known as the First Sikh Irregular Cavalry. Col. HW Gordon raised 20th (Duke of Cambridge's Own) Punjab Infantry in August 1857 at Nowshera. It was raised by collapsing 4th (Wilde's) and 5th (Vaughan's) Rifle Regiments. The Central India Horse, raised in April 1860, by merging two regiments of Beatson's Horse and the regiment of Mayne's Horse.

The exhibition complexes were also the site where the British military showcased its campaigns for making the largest empire the world had ever known. Models of Indian soldiers representing old regiments which fought in India, China, Egypt and Afghanistan were meant to establish the resilience of the military and to show the historical struggle spanning over two hundred years. For instance, a model represented 11th Bengal Infantry, raised in Cownpore in 1825. The regiment took part in various campaigns such as in Punjab (1848-49) against the Sikhs and had won medal with clasp; in China (1858-60) and had a medal; in Butan (1864-65) and had a medal with clasp; and in Afghanistan (1878-80) and had medal. In 1886 during the time of Exhibition, it was serving in Burma. The curators showcased 15th Ludhiana Sikhs which fought in the Mutiny (1857), in China (1860-62), in Afghanistan (1878-80), and in Egypt (1885), and was awarded medal and clasps. They also displayed 3rd Gurkha (The Kumaon) Regiment, which fought for the British in the Mutiny in Delhi (1857), Bhutan campaign (1864-66) and Afghanistan (1878-80). It was awarded medal and clasps in all these three campaigns.

The models of Indian soldiers who fought bravely during the British campaigns and were awarded medals were also put on display. Most of these soldiers fought in Afghanistan, the region which was, then, most challenging for the British. The models displayed included Lance-Duffadar Hoshyar Ali Khan's, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who served in Afghanistan and

was given a medal with clasps for his gallantry in the battles of Ahmed Kheyl and Kandahar, and a bronze star for efficiently marching from Kabul to Kandahar. A model of Havildar Azima of Merwara Battalion was showcased who fought in Afghan campaign (1878-80) and was awarded a medal. A model of Sowar Fazal Khan of 1st Punjab Cavalry was displayed, who fought in Afghanistan between 1878 and 1880. For courageously fighting in Ahmed Kheyl he was given a medal and clasp, for Patkau Shano Mahsud Waziri expedition (1881), he was given 3rd class order.

The British used objects such as flags and badges to invoke pride among the English visitors, British soldiers, and to display the soldiers' resolve to Indian and British public in Calcutta and London. For instance, in the Calcutta International Exhibition, they displayed, "a crimson and black standard belonging to the second squadron of the late 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, which performed all the arduous scouting and foraging duties with Sale's force at the siege of Jellalabad, 1841-42, after the remaining squadrons of the regiment had been cut down to a man in the Jagduluk Pass; the regimental colours of the late 35th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, carried at the siege of Allyghur and at Delhi, 1803".⁶³ The organisers also showcased "old colours of the Calcutta Volunteer Guards, the first flags ever issued to a European Volunteer Corps in India. They were presented to the corps by Lady Canning in 1857, and were carried up to the date of its disbandment in 1860".⁶⁴

The display of the enemies' flag, badges, uniforms, coins, weapons, was to show war trophies of the British military, the remnants of armies destroyed by the British. These objects were the witness of the British forces' physical and moral victories: Physical in a sense that these were possessed by the British and the people who used them were physically eliminated and conquered; moral in a sense that the communities which used these objects, shed blood for them, were now associated with the British empire and were doing every possible thing to please the Queen. In the Calcutta International Exhibition, the curators displayed "a triangular crimson flag with a green border, originally belonging to the

Sikh Khalsa and captured at the battle of Sobraon”.⁶⁵ They also displayed “a quaint horn, with the bell shaped like the head of a dragon, belonging to the body-guard of General Avitabile, Commander-in-Chief of the Sikhs at Peshawar, and captured by Sir W. Gilbert’s force in 1849”.⁶⁶ They also displayed coins, bullets and shot captured in the battle fields. They displayed a “collection showing every medal and decoration issued to the native armies of India” from 1750s to 1880s.⁶⁷ In the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, the British displayed *mahi maratib* the flag which the Mughals used to give to “highest nobility”. The Mughal banner consisted of “golden head of a fish and of two gilt balls, all borne on separate poles”. This banner was brought from India, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Faruskh Shah.

To establish their own greatness, the British showed the greatness of their enemies. The British curators displayed the enemies’ weapons seized during the wars. They displayed weapons captured during the Afghan campaigns: “An imitation Armstrong breech-loading 9-pounder rifled gun of 6 cwt., which was turned at Kabul by native workmen out of a single block or wrought-iron. This gun, which was said to fire very accurately, was one of an Armstrong battery used by Sardar Ayub Khan against the English at Maiwand, and afterwards in the siege of Kandahar. It was captured at Mazra”.⁶⁸ They also displayed “two guns cast in the Afghan Gun Foundry at Herat and captured from Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan at Mazra, near Kandhar”.⁶⁹ The labels of the guns prominently mention the name of British commander, Lt.-General Sir F. Roberts, under whose command the soldiers captured these on 1st September 1880.

In the opening ceremonies of the Second Punjab Exhibition and the Calcutta International Exhibition, use of “Native Cavalry” and artillery troops for the guard of honour and salute is symbolically significant. In British India, cavalry was trained for sudden and shocking action. In “training, equipment and employment they were assimilated as closely as possible to the European dragoons whose role, as mounted shock troops, they were intended to share”.⁷⁰ Similarly, “the technical advances in

the artillery equipment in the second half of the nineteenth century corresponded with the increasing industrialization and scientific progress of the European society”.⁷¹ It had remarkably improved the rate and range of firing. Scientific progress, industrialization were the catchy phrases which British used for establishing their pride over the Orient.

In the Calcutta International Exhibition, the military department’s exhibits were showing the transformation of the British Indian army. For instance, The Fort William Arsenal sent some old equipment which the East India Company’s soldiers used in the field, these included “flint muskets, carbines, and a wonderful hand mortar invented in 1818 as a light and simple means of projecting loaded shells at short ranges”. The modern equipment included “pattern of Martini-Henry rifle, revolvers, swords, and lances, improved water bottles, tools for entrenching, with *kajawahs* or carriages for their transport, leather accountrements, drums, bugles, gymnasium and fancing apparatus, harness, elephant equipment, saddlery of every kind in use in the service, and general service pack-saddles with litters for the transport of sick and wounded men”. In addition to these, “a machine for testing sights, war rockets, spikes, common steel and spring pattern lances” were also displayed.⁷²

To show its advancement over time, the military department exhibited the products of factories. The Ishapore Powder Factory sent various specimens of gunpowder it produced. The Indians were particularly attracted to this display, they were particularly interested in the “fineness of the grain [used for making gunpowder] in the pistol samples and the gradual increase in size to the cylindrical, prism, and Waltham Abbey grains as manufactured for use with heavy ordnance”.⁷³ Dum-Dum, a Small Arm and Ammunition Factory, sent finished cartridges and process of its making and specimen of every stage, “from the cutting of the brass sheet and the making of the bullet, to the finished article; detonators, time and percussion fuzes, and ammunition boxes in all stages of preparation. An instrument for measuring up to the 10,000th of an inch attracted great interest”.⁷⁴ Similarly, “the Cossipore Shell Factory

showed specimens of castings from the rough spray of a fuze body up to a muzzle derrick for a nine-inch gun and a 24-inch bell, the collection being very well arranged to attract the visitor's attention".⁷⁵

Interestingly, military equipment and weapons were not as much on display in the Colonial and Indian as compared to field equipment that gave a sense of the outdoor challenges of the British soldier, for instance, the equipment used in riding elephants and horses, food items, water bags and utensils.⁷⁶ For the British public, these exhibits were more important and admiring than the trophies of industrialization—modern weapons—that were shown in Calcutta. To give some sense about the war material government factories were manufacturing, Foundry and Shell Factory sent various kinds of shells and guns, Gun Carriage Factory in Fatehpur, sent cart, the Gun Powder Factory sent various types of chemicals used in making gunpowder. Small Arms Ammunition Factory sent various specimens showing various stages of making cartridges of different kinds. However, one journalist read it in a different way: "In all the magnificent display of arts and manufactures from our colonies, engines of war have no place...The defense of these vast possessions appear to be left entirely to the mother country; their manufactures are not those of great guns and weapons of offence, but those of peace only".⁷⁷

In the Second Punjab Exhibition and the Calcutta International Exhibition, military music was nominally used by the organizers. The military music bands were asked to play the national anthem when the chief guests were approaching the dais. It is surprising that the officers of East India Company, used music for lifting the moral of their soldiers,⁷⁸ and it enabled soldiers for bearing scorching heat of 'long, long Indian day,' and kept them healthy and away from drinking and other excesses,⁷⁹ but the organisers did not use military music for the occasion. In Lahore, this absence of military music during the exhibition ceremony could be because the organisers, probably, believed that the military music would not be appreciated by the audience. Furthermore, the curators wanted to have a simple opening ceremony but the government

insisted on holding a “State Durbar”, which increased administrative burden on the organizers. As mentioned above, in Calcutta, the organizers engaged Italian Opera for music, probably, letting organisers believed that the military music would be additional. The opening ceremony was delayed because of heavy rain, even if the organisers had any plan of using military band, it could have been abandoned.

In the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, military bands figured prominently, which shows how significant they were in the European context. By then, British military was probably the largest employer of professional musicians in Britain, who were regular soldiers with equal privileges. The bandsmen began to promote patriotic songs with strong feeling of pride in the empire. Performances of military bands in public spaces mean to invoke that pride among the audience and soldiers and to lift their morale.⁸⁰ Even in the 1850s, when people were dying because of cholera and war in Crimea, soldiers and general public used to gather around good military bandsmen for listening to music.

In the gardens of Royal Horticultural Society adjacent to the South Kensington museum, where the visitors were served refreshments by tea houses selling different drinks from the colonies, the organisers arranged the military music. Military bands—three regiments of Guards, the Life Guards, and the Royal Horse Guards, the Royal Artillery, the Royal Engineers, the Royal Marines, and the West India Regiment—were located on the upper terrace and in the south gallery, which performed in the afternoons and the evenings.⁸¹ The songs they probably played on the occasion included “Home Sweet Home”, “Rule Britannia”, “God save the Queen”, “To arms” and “Britons, strike home”. These tunes must have not only entertained the visitors but also invoked their pride in the empire. One English writer observed in the early twentieth century, WJ Galloway claimed that the military bands had strongly influenced the public taste by performing in exhibitions and fetes and in private gatherings.⁸²

Display of coloured uniforms, disciplined queues of soldiers, weapons, trained horses, regiments’ flags, badges, military

music band represented the superiority of British insitutionalisation and modernization. Scott Hughes Myerly has rightly pointed out, “utilized visual images to enhance their prestige—and hence power—in many contexts, including court life and culture, art, and architecture, because visual images can exert a profound impact upon human emotion and thus significantly influence belief and action. This ability to arouse people's emotions, and thus affect behavior, is a potent source of power. Because the most vital manifestation of state power is the army, the military's adoption of visual images is thus a phenomenon of considerable importance”.⁸³

The military spectacles were also a moment of pride for the princely rulers. The Rajas, Maharajas, and Nawabs had given the responsibility of defending their states to the British in exchange for money. Each princely state had a British resident officer, who commanded small armies of these states, maintained for law and order and ceremonial purposes.⁸⁴ The displays were also a strength for the princely rulers who depended on the British army for keeping up their authority, at the same time, the displays was a message for them to remain loyal to the British state. The Indian princes respected the soldiers because the latter were “an upholder of the established order, and the exponents of the military virtues of physical courage and skill-at-arms, virtues to which an aristocrat himself aspired”.⁸⁵ The honour or *izzat* given to these rulers during the ceremonies was a significant incentive for them to feel pride in their association with the colonial state. For instance, in the Second Punjab Exhibition, the Raja of Faridkot came fifteen minutes before the proceedings, a battery of artillery fired the salute and a European Infantry presented the arms.

The display of military pride in the exhibitions also concealed the serious issues which the British armed forces were facing. The largest empire on the planet was over-stretched, facing the issues of desertion, lack of equipment and infrastructure and always had less number of soldiers than required.⁸⁶ Though the Indian soldiers were more disciplined but still the British Indian army faced fifteen small scale mutinies between the 1880s and 1930s. For some time in the nineteenth century, Indian soldiers

had to use less advanced weapons as the British officers did not trust them. Perceived threats of Russian invasion and resistance in the north western region bordering Afghanistan had demoralizing effects on the Indian and European soldiers. Through public display, which certainly invited people's appreciation, the British military administration boosted morale of the soldiers and ensured their loyalty to the institution and empire.

Conclusion

British organisers used precolonial traditions in opening ceremonies of nineteenth-century exhibitions to display grandeur and pride of the empire. They employed pre-colonial vocabulary such as *darbar* and *darbari* to signify the importance of these events. Use of material objects such as “canopy of Indian cloth of gold, surmounted by a baldacchino of rich gold-embroidered velvet, looped with chains and pendants of gold and silver Delhi-work, the throne of hammered gold, which was formerly in the possession of Runjeet Singh”, and presence of traditionally dressed princes gave the impression of a Mughal *darbar*.

At the same time, the organisers introduced many new traditions such as music. Nineteenth century was an age of inventing English music, which reflected current social and political realities. Though termed as an innocent amusement, songs selected for the ceremonies were highly political, stressing the sacrifices of soldiers for establishing God's selected rule of the Queen, and bringing blessings, prosperity, wealth, peace, knowledge and true religion to the heathen lands. Impressed by the Queen, non-English musicians and singers, who came from various parts of the empire, praised the empire and English civilization and evoked pride among the audience.

Another tradition, which was invented was in these ceremonies, was the military display. The military display reflected two interconnected features on which the empire took pride: one was modernization or institutionalization and the second was industrialization. Well-drilled, disciplined bodies of soldiers in

colourful uniform remained alert during the whole proceedings, and gave the guard of honour, to the chief guest and sometime to Indian princes. This showed institutionalization of the empire. The soldiers of princely states were in no match with the British soldiers. Largely produced in ordnance factories in India, the display of modern weapons, such as guns, gun-powder, colourful military uniforms showcased the industrialization of the empire.

To participate in the public display of military was a matter of honour and pride for Indian soldiers. It was more important for them to perform in public display as many people in the audience had acquaintance with them. Their good performance in these ceremonies and bravery during wars were a matter of pride for their family and whole village. In fact, such emotions were institutionalized during the course of training. Soldiers were initiated in taking pride in their ethnic group, regiments' flag, badges, colour and band. Many of these objects were displayed in these exhibitions evoking pride among the soldiers. In the 1880s, the British military was facing various challenges in Afghanistan and Africa. The military displays were one of the many ways of hiding those challenges and to showcase sacrifices of soldiers. Models of soldiers who were awarded various medals for their gallantry were displayed in the exhibitions. This strategy not only evoked pride among the soldiers but also among British audience.

References

- ¹ For politics and culture of royal courts, see Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Satish Chandra, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- ² KG Curzon, *British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, Vol. 1 (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1925), 202-259.
- ³ Reginald Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. 2 (London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1901), 371. Also see Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- ⁴ Lord Ripon's first private secretary, Charles George Gordon, resigned on seeing State banquets because "he would not, could not, stay aimed all this splendor and luxury, while so many millions had not daily bread". Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroys of India* (London: Constable, 1982), 113, 114. In a letter to his wife, Ripon writes: "I am cutting down the swagger as much as I can, and walking about in a shooting jacket and dispensing with body guards as much as possible. It is absurd to keep up much of that sort of thing up here—a certain amount of state is necessary at Calcutta, and when you have big carriages and 4 horses, outriders and guards come naturally—but up here it is quite different, and I am trying to revert, as much as I am allowed, to the older and simpler precedents." Lucien Wolf, *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon*, Vol. II (London: John Murray, 1921), 13.
- ⁵ Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroys of India* (London: Constable, 1982), 142. For the description of another Darbar held in honour of the Amir of Afghanistan, see Charles E Drummond Black, *The Marquess of Duffrin and Ava: Diplomatist, Viceroy, Statesman* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1903), 225-226.
- ⁶ It was "Elizabethan-style mansion of greyish stone its towers and cupolas rising above the trees...the rooms seemed so grand and so plentiful that Harriot wondered how they would ever be filled. They were also very sumptuous having being finished and decorated by Maples of London. In tremendous hall, which rose through full height of the house, everything was of teak, walnut of deodar elaborately carved and moulded. The big drawing room was furnished with gold and brown silks; the ballroom decorated in a lighter shade of yellow; the State dining room hung with Spanish leather in rich dark colours. An unusual

feature, for India, was a large, white tiled basement kitchen, very different from the tradition cook-house". Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroy of India* (London: Constable, 1982), 143.

- ⁷ Miles Taylor, *Empress: Queen Victoria and India* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), 6-7.
- ⁸ See for a discussion, Paula Bartley, *Queen Victoria* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 202-264.
- ⁹ Miles Taylor, *Empress: Queen Victoria and India* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), 179.
- ¹⁰ Miles Taylor, *Empress: Queen Victoria and India* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), 179.
- ¹¹ JL Kipling writes in his report: "The Central Committee, when consulted by Government as to the opening ceremony, accepted the alternative of a State Darbar in preference to an ordinary assemblage of the public, as being calculated to give more importance to the occasion". "From JL Kipling, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1881, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab," No. 673, Dated March 1882, Lahore, in *Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82, Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies*, New Series—No. XXII (Lahore: Punjab Government Secretariat Press, 1883), 35.
- ¹² "Opening by the Queen of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition," *Reynold's Newspaper* (9 May 1886).
- ¹³ Frank Cundall, ed., *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1886), 9.
- ¹⁴ "Upon the procession entering the Albert Hall, Her Majesty's Commissioners, the Executive Commissioners, and the Members of the Committees took their seats reserved for them in the arena of the hall. The Queen took her place in front of the Chair of State, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on her left, the other members of the Royal Family standing on either side, with the great officers of State and the ladies and gentlemen of the household around them. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, all of whom had previously arrived, stood on the left side of the dais, near Her Majesty. The Heralds were placed in front of the dais". Frank Cundall, ed., *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1886), 9.
- ¹⁵ "Art. III.---The Colonial and Indian Exhibition," *Westminster Review* (Jul. 1886, **126, 151**): 29.

-
- ¹⁶ Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Limited, 1911), 196-198.
- ¹⁷ David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 32-85; Sanna Pederson, "AB Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 18 (Fall 1994): 87-107. Jim Samson, "Nations and nationalism," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [2002]), 577.
- ¹⁸ Establishment of companies and societies, such as The Carl Rosa Opera Company (1875) to popularize Opera in Britain and The Purchell Society (1876) to popularize the music of Henry Purchell who was then considered a genius musician significantly helped in shaping the British music. George Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-89) became the Bible of English musicians.
- ¹⁹ Due to the efforts of Prince of Wales and Dukes of Edinburgh and Albany, the Royal College of Music (1883) was established. The Prince of Wales said this in his address while supporting the establishment of the music College. Cited in Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 12. One of the leading contemporary British academic journals, *The Musical Times*, which was founded in 1844, called the nineteenth century "an age of revived national feeling". The editorial stated: "On every hand we behold signs of a mighty movement of peoples towards a fuller appreciation of blood relationship, a common origin, and as in fond hopes, a common destiny...The roots of national music...lie deep down in the nature of the people to whom it belongs, and can only be eradicated by destroying the nationality". *The Musical Times* (1 January 1887).
- ²⁰ Born to a family of musicians who migrated from Quebec, Albani studied music in Paris and Milan, learned to play piano, harp and organ, sang and composed songs. She began professional singing in 1870 by performing in an Italian Opera, *La sonnambula* (*The Sleepwalker*), and instantly became popular. In her illuminating career spanning over forty years, she performed in Europe, America and Canada and extended her expertise to Italian, French and German Operas. She performed for royal ceremonies in Russia, Germany, Austria and Britain. See for her profile. Gerald Hallowell, *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- ²¹ Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Limited, 1911), 90-91.

- ²² The Queen listened Mendelssohn in particular which Prince Albert Consort liked, Scotch songs, and M. Gound's *Faust* which he composed just before Prince Albert's death.
- ²³ While recommending her to crown prince Frederick, the Queen wrote a letter: "Am anxious to recommend Madame Albani to you. She is my Canadian subject, an excellent person, known to me, a splendid artiste, and I take much interest in her". Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Limited, 1911), 162-163.
- ²⁴ Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Limited, 1911), 42-43.
- ²⁵ Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Limited, 1911), 50-51, 55.
- ²⁶ 63-64.
- ²⁷ Jeffrey Richard, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 19.
- ²⁸ Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018 [1992]), 175.
- ²⁹ Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016 [1993]), 207.
- ³⁰ Jeffrey Richard, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 37.
- ³¹ For his sacred music, see Ian Bradley, *Lost Chords and Christian Soldiers: The Sacred Music of Arthur Sullivan* (London: SCM Press, 2013).
- ³² "Indian Decorative Art, Provincial Screens of Carved Wood or Stone," *The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Supplement to the Art Journal* (1886), 10.
- ³³ Frederick J. Crowest, *Phases of Musical England* (London: Remington and Co., 1881), 143. For a discussion on morality and music in nineteenth-century Britain, see Ruth A. Solie, "Music", in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, Francis O'Gorman, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 114-117.
- ³⁴ Sir Joseph Barney, in a lecture delivered at London Institute, in December 1894, said that music could be intellectual "in the fineness of its inspiration". An intellectual musician, well-versed in poetry, would

have more emotional feelings than those who were “smaller-men”. The emotions of intellectually informed musicians would be intellectual-emotions, quite different from those generated by ordinary senses or smaller men. For an intellectual, “music may be said to be intellectual in a sense, but the effect it produces is not mere mental curiosity and desire of analysis but a poetic emotion, which, in its breath of mood and transcendent sublimity, passes the bounds of intellect, and arouses those feelings which man, with his finite language, cannot frame into speech”. “Emotion in British Music,” *The Musical Standard* (8 December 1894), 439-440.

- ³⁵ “On Shore and Sea: Dramatic Cantata,” *Composed Expressly for, and performed at, the opening of the London International Exhibition, May 1st, 1871*, words by Tom Taylor, music by Arthur S. Sullivan (London & New York: Boosey & Co., 1871), 1-4.
- ³⁶ “On Shore and Sea: Dramatic Cantata,” *Composed Expressly for, and performed at, the opening of the London International Exhibition, May 1st, 1871*, words by Tom Taylor, music by Arthur S. Sullivan (London & New York: Boosey & Co., 1871), 1.
- ³⁷ Cited in Michael Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Duel Biography* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- ³⁸ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 7-8.
- ³⁹ *Britain’s myriad voices call,
Sons, be wedded, each and all
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul!,
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne!
Britons, hold your own! And God guard all!*
- “Unofficial Account from *Colonial Trade Journal*,” in *Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, A Revelation of Canada’s Progress and Resources, Extracts from British Colonial Journals* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1888), 5.
- ⁴⁰ Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 13.
- ⁴¹ Shah Muhammad Hassan Sabri, *Hakekat-e-Gulzar-e-Sabri* (Rampur: Husni Press, 1856 [1st ed.], Lahore: Nadeem Younus Printers, 1983 [6th ed.]).

- ⁴² For theoretical discussion, see Anthony Storr, *Music and the Mind* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1993).
- ⁴³ *Times of India* (5 December 1883), 5.
- ⁴⁴ “Art. III.---The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,” *Westminster Review* (Jul. 1886, **126**, **151**): 29-30.
- ⁴⁵ “Unofficial Account from *Colonial Trade Journal*,” in *Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, A Revelation of Canada’s Progress and Resources, Extracts from British Colonial Journals* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1888), 5.
- ⁴⁶ “Unofficial Account from *Colonial Trade Journal*,” in *Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, A Revelation of Canada’s Progress and Resources, Extracts from British Colonial Journals* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1888), 5. For complete song, see Lord Tennyson Alfred, “Britons, Hold Your Own,” *Songs of England Glory*, comp. W. Canton (New York, NY, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, n.d.), 182.
- ⁴⁷ It is mentioned by Sir Joseph Barnby in his lecture on “Emotion in British Music” in 1894: “It is perfectly true that one of our national characteristics is an innate dislike of appearing foolish, and it has been decreed that to exhibit what one feels is very foolish indeed”. Emotion in British Music,” *The Musical Standard* (8 December 1894), 439.
- ⁴⁸ From Foucauldian point view, for the development of British Army and the Empire building see James Hevia, *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- ⁴⁹ “A Guard of Honor, consisting of a company of European Infantry, was drawn up facing the entrance of the Darbar tent, and a Battery of Artillery was in attendance as a saluting battery. The usual salute was fired, and the arms were presented by the Guard of Honor on the arrival of the Faridkot Chief. When all were assembled, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, assembled by his staff and escorted by a detachment of Native Cavalry, arrived with the customary honors”. “Extract from the Punjab Government Gazzett of the 2nd February 1882,- -General Department, No. 117, dated 25th January 1882,” in *Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82, Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies, New Series—No. XXII* (Lahore: Punjab Government Secretariat Press, 1883), 14.
- ⁵⁰ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 5-6.

-
- ⁵¹ See for discussion, Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
- ⁵² Soldiers' activity was strictly monitored: letters to barracks and hospitals were strictly monitored, if they contain any dissenting material, they were censored. The officials did not conducted recruitment in the areas where rebellion took place. Military cantonments isolated the soldiers from civilian population. The cantonment areas were strictly monitored and newspapers and any other material that could provoke the soldiers against the Raj were strictly forbidden. David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 102-103.
- ⁵³ For the idea of *izzat* among Indian soldiers, see David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 77-82.
- ⁵⁴ GF MacMunn, *The Armies of India* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911), 142.
- ⁵⁵ See for a discussion on martial race, Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
- ⁵⁶ David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 82-84.
- ⁵⁷ In 1857, one of the reasons of Indian soldiers' difference with their officers was European-style military uniform, which made difficult their body movement. David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 93.
- ⁵⁸ David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 93-94.
- ⁵⁹ Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 8; Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 219-220.
- ⁶⁰ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 226.
- ⁶¹ One newspaper reported in January 1880, on the Afghan campaign: "The present [Conservative] Government is utterly lost to any sense of

shame...We are destroying every vestige of native Government in Afghanistan and Zululand, and in South Africa we are destroying a republic...we are creating a necessity for setting up a Government beyond our scientific frontier". *Reynolds's Newspaper* (January 1880), 1.

- ⁶² Models from 11th Bengal Infantry, Governor General's Bodyguard, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, 15th Ludhiana Sikhs, 11th (PWO) Bengal Lancers, 3rd Gurkha (The Kumoon) Regiment, 20th (Duke of Cambridge's Own) Punjab Infantry, Merwara Battalion, Deoli Irregular Force, 5th Bombay Light Infantry, 2nd Bombay Lancers, 29th (DCO) 2nd Baloch Regiment, Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, 1st Madras Pioneers, Kohat Mountain Battery, 3rd Sikh Infantry Punjab Frontier Force, First Punjab Cavalry, 1st Madras Light Cavalry, Central India Horse, Malwa Bhil Corps, 4th Regiment of Infantry Heyderabad Contingent. *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886. Empire of India. Special Catalogue of Exhibits by the Government of India and Private Exhibitors* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1886), 45-49.
- ⁶³ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 228.
- ⁶⁴ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 229.
- ⁶⁵ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 228.
- ⁶⁶ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 228.
- ⁶⁷ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 229.
- ⁶⁸ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 228.
- ⁶⁹ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 227.
- ⁷⁰ T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of the British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (London: David & Charles, 1974), 38.
- ⁷¹ T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of the British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (London: David & Charles, 1974), 45.
- ⁷² *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 227.

-
- ⁷³ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 226-227.
- ⁷⁴ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 227.
- ⁷⁵ *Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-1884*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885), 227.
- ⁷⁶ *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, Empire of India, Special Catalogue of Exhibits by the Government of India and Private Exhibitors* (London: William Clows & Sons, 1886), 49.
- ⁷⁷ Art. III.---The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,” *Westminister Review* (Jul. 1886, **126, 151**): 58
- ⁷⁸ “Whenever it is possible, have music to march to. If the band is broken up, the drums and bugles should play together. Nothing is more martial in sound, and the men march a hundred per cent. better to it than in silence. If you have nothing else, get your men to sing by companies. During long night marches in India at the beginning of the mutiny, I found that with singing we got on admirably, whilst, when we marched in silence, as men will do after the first half mile at night, they almost went to sleep, lagged behind, stumbled and fell. The moment a song was struck up the men stepped out briskly”. Wolseley, *The Soldier’s Pocket-Book for Field Service*.
- ⁷⁹ In the 1870s, a bandmaster of the Queen’s Regiment serving in India wrote: “It is at most Colonial stations and in India that regimental bands ...strikingly evidence their value. Those of you who have experienced Indian summers at Dinapore, Allahabad, Jhansi, Cawnpore, and similar stations, with the thermometer, in the shade, hovering at the three-figure mark, for at least two or three months of the year, will appreciate the enlivenment of the ‘Long, long, Indian day,’ when the regimental band at the station bandstand or in the regimental gardens at the close of day, discourses the latest music from home. The band performances vary the dreary monotony of cantonment life and help to dispel the depression (p.259) consequent thereon. Their effect upon the general health and tone of the troops is incalculable. During epidemics of cholera or fever ...daily programmes of light and lively music have acted as a wholesome tonic to the community, and in many cases have helped to restrain the men from indulgence in drink and other excesses”.
- ⁸⁰ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12-13.

- ⁸¹ *Official Guide to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886), 50.
- ⁸² WJ Galloway wrote in *Musical England*: “At the present moment no other country has more good military bands than England...The employment of military bands at places of public entertainment enables them to appeal to larger audiences than can be reached even by the leading metropolitan orchestras. At exhibitions and fetes, as well as at private gatherings, they have enormous opportunities for influencing public taste, and if in turn public taste has reacted on them, it is only fair to say that the musicians of the army in the past—and still more in the present—have taken full advantage of the educational openings put before them”. Cited in Henry George Farmer, *The Rise and development of Military Music* (London: WM Reeves, 1912), 141.
- ⁸³ Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 9.
- ⁸⁴ For discussion, see DH Limaye, *Some Aspects of India’s Military Defence* (Bombay: New Book Company, 1938), 120-128.
- ⁸⁵ T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of the British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (London: David & Charles, 1974), 114.
- ⁸⁶ The Royal Commission was appointed to make proposals for the reorganization of the British Indian Army after 1857. In 1863, the process completed with 62000 British troops and 135000 Indian troops became part of the British Indian Army. In 1857 during the mutiny, the Indian soldiers were 313,500 while the British were 38000. See SL Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour: The Indian Army from the Seventeenth to the Twenty First Century* (New Delhi: Viking, 1993), 189.