

IMPERIAL STANDARD-BEARERS: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARMY
OFFICERS' WIVES IN BRITISH INDIA AND THE AMERICAN WEST

A Dissertation

by

VERITY GAY MCINNIS

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2012

Major Subject: History

IMPERIAL STANDARD-BEARERS: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARMY
OFFICERS' WIVES IN BRITISH INDIA AND THE AMERICAN WEST

A Dissertation

by

VERITY GAY MCINNIS

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Co-Chairs of Committee,	R.J.Q. Adams J. G. Dawson III
Committee Members,	Sylvia Hoffert Claudia Nelson David Vaught
Head of Department,	David Vaught

May 2012

Major Subject: History

ABSTRACT

Imperial Standard-Bearers: Nineteenth-Century Army Officers' Wives in British India and
the American West. (May 2012)

Verity Gay McInnis, B.A., Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi;

M.A., Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi

Co-Chairs of Advisory Committee: Dr. R.J.Q. Adams

Dr. Joseph G. Dawson III

The comparative experiences of the nineteenth-century British and American Army officer's wives add a central dimension to studies of empire. Sharing their husbands' sense of duty and mission, these women transferred, adopted, and adapted national values and customs, to fashion a new imperial sociability, influencing the course of empire by cutting across and restructuring gender, class, and racial borders. Stationed at isolated stations in British India and the American West, many officers' wives experienced homesickness and disorientation. They reimagined military architecture and connected into the military *esprit de corps*, to sketch a blueprint of female identity and purpose. On the physical journeys to join their husbands, and post arrival, the feminization of formal and informal military practices produced a new social reality and facilitated the development of an empowered sisterhood that sustained imperialist ambitions. This appropriation of symbols, processes, and rankings facilitated roles as social functionaries and ceremonial performers.

Additionally, in utilizing dress, and home décor, military spouses drafted and projected an imperial identity that reflected, yet transformed upper and middle-class gender models. An examination of the social processes of calling and domestic rituals confirms the

formation of a distinct and influential imperial female identity. The duty of protecting the social gateway to the imperial community, rested with a hostess's ability to discriminate — and convincingly reject parvenus. In focusing on the domestic site it becomes clear that the mistress-servant relationship both formulated and reproduced imperial ideologies. Within the home, the most intimate of inter-racial, inter-ethnic, and inter-class contact zones, the physiological trait of a white skin, and the exhibition of national artifacts signaled identity, status, and authority. Military spouses, then, generated social power as arbiters, promoters, and police officers of an imperial class, reaffirming internal confidence within the Anglo communities, and legitimizing external representations of the power and prestige of empire.

To my sons, Tristan, Joshua and Tobias

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II IMPERIAL BUILDERS: MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND THE AMERICAN WEST.....	18
III IMPERIAL <i>ESPRIT DE CORPS</i> : NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARMY OFFICERS AND WIVES.....	51
IV IMPERIAL JOURNEYS AND ARRIVALS: ARMY OFFICERS' WIVES AS TRANSNATIONAL COURIERS OF EMPIRE.....	80
V IMPERIAL WOMEN: MILITARY ADJUNCTS, STATION SISTERHOODS, AND SENIOR LADIES.....	110
VI IMPERIAL PAGEANTRY: OFFICERS' WIVES AS PUBLIC ACTORS AND CEREMONIAL PERFORMERS.....	145
VII IMPERIAL GENDER CROSSINGS: OFFICERS AND WIVES DRESS AND HOMEMAKING ON THE EDGES OF EMPIRE.....	182
VIII IMPERIAL GATEKEEPERS: OFFICERS' WIVES AS SOCIAL ARBITERS OF EMPIRE.....	225
IX IMPERIAL WIVES' PREJUDICE: ATTITUDES OF RACE, ETHNICITY, AND CLASS TOWARDS DOMESTIC SERVANTS.....	265
X IMPERIAL STANDARD BEARERS: CONCLUSION.....	316
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	325
APPENDIX A.....	356

APPENDIX B.....	366
VITA.....	367

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is true saying – one that should never be far from the minds of Englishwomen in India – that for the upholding of British prestige in the East, far more credit is due to the individual men and women who have carried out their lives the loftiest conceptions of English truth and virtue, than to the collective wisdom of the office in Downing Street.
Maud Diver.¹

Nineteenth-century novelist Maud Diver portrayed the “men and women” stationed in British India as active agents of empire. In so doing, she attempted to dispel contemporary understandings of feminine weakness and caprice by portraying military wives as social ambassadors of European civilization. In identifying themselves as sharing their officer husbands’ military roles, these women understood the expectation to represent, and espoused a willingness to undertake work for, the British Empire. Despite the availability of journals, letters, and travelogues by military wives, scant scholarly attention has been paid to these documents. Similarly, despite increasing numbers of attempts to interpret the role of the American frontier officers’ wives, these women, thus far, have remained ethereal historical actors.²

At a time when women held no authority outside the home, the impact of nineteenth-century army officers’ wives stationed in British India and the American West adds a new perspective to studies of empire. In centralizing and comparing the transnational female experiences of the army officers’ wives during the period 1818-1910, and by incorporating interdisciplinary approaches, it becomes clear that imperialism is *not* simply a masculine

This dissertation follows the style of *Western Historical Quarterly*.

¹ Diver, *Englishwoman in India*, (London, 1909), 87-8.

² Diver, *Englishwoman in India*, 18, 21, 27-8, 59-60.

preserve. Acting as imperial ambassadors, these women generated empowerment to shape and sustain an empire. In sharing their husbands' imperial duty and sense of mission, army officers' wives designed and promulgated ambitions of empire. By transferring, adopting, and adapting cultural values and customs, they fashioned a new imperial reality, influencing the course of empire by cutting across and restructuring gender, class, and racial borders. In interpreting landscapes, feminizing military practices, and by designing social representations of empire, military women held pivotal roles as cultural standard-bearers of empire. By appropriating male spaces and applying an adaptive model of sociability, these women constructed a new social reality — an imperial reality — within which they became power holders.

But what constitutes imperialism? In a novel that centers on a British symposium, conducted in Africa, of nine women and nine men, , who discuss the positive benefits and ideals of an empire, John Buchan attempted to answer this question. One character, Hugh states, “We need a definition I call myself an Imperialist, and so does the noisy fellow at the street corner; but if I am pressed to explain I can give no summary statement of my creed.” “Is not the reason because it is not a creed but a faith?” Lady Lucy's clear voice had a peculiar power of compelling attention. ‘You cannot carve an epic on a nutshell or expound Christianity in an aphorism. If I could define Imperialism satisfactorily in a sentence I should be very suspicious of its truth.’” “No,” declared the character of Carey, “we don't want a definition. By its fruits ye shall know it. It is a spirit, an attitude of mind, an unconquerable hope. You can phrase it in a thousand ways without exhausting its content. It is a sense of the destiny of England. It is the wider patriotism which conceives our people as a race and not as a chance community.” This spirit of destiny and patriotism may provide an ideological ideal,

but Michael Doyle offers a more practical classification. He instructs, “Empire, then, is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved with force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire.”³

Imperial history traditionally recounts global rivalry, benevolent assimilation, cultural conflict, and economic gains to justify territorial conquest. Hence, as Linda Colley observes, imperial studies were a “comprehensively masculine enterprise taught by chaps ... overwhelmingly studied by chaps ... [and] centrally concerned with what chaps in the past, mainly of the pale variety, did to, or for, yet more chaps who were not pale.” To further advance emerging cross-disciplinary scholarship, however, she insists that researchers adopt a comparative approach, explore the connexity between time and space, power systems, and actors, and lastly, be aware of the demanding challenges of such endeavors. Indeed, she fully endorses the shift to incorporate “cultural histories of empire and the retreat from the excessive economic determinism.”⁴

The exploration of the experiences of wives who joined their military husbands on the outposts of empire adds a new dimension to studies of “pale chaps.” Research has discovered that the nineteenth-century American officer’s wife who accompanied her husband on his tour of duty faced extreme challenges in the West. Enjoying no officially recognized status, they created a unique military community. Rather than simply accepting the prescribed domestic role, many of these women defied such limitations and recorded episodes that

³ John Buchan, *A Lodge in the Wilderness* (London, 1906), 28; Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, 1986), 45. For the purposes of this project I use Michael Doyle’s definitions of empire and imperialism. Doyle is a historian.

⁴ Linda Colley, “What is Imperial History Now?” in *What is History Now?* ed. David Cannadine (London, 2002), 132, 134, 144.

demonstrated the development of more nuanced codes of female behavior. They recounted carrying and using pistols, commanding garrisons, and enjoying unaccompanied lunch dates with lightly clad American Indian chiefs. By centralizing these actors within the Western military experience, the narratives reflect significant modifications to contemporary gender, racial, and social structuring, and illustrate the instability of nineteenth-century norms and stereotypes. The wives of the frontier army officers created, at the very least, a façade of refinement and influence from which to view their imperial horizons.⁵

By comparing the American military wives' experiences, with those of the officers' spouses in British India, a global analysis identifies similarities and differences to argue that both sets of women understood they held an imperial role. This study does not replace conventional understandings, but contributes to a greater understanding of the imperial experience. To be sure, written by a small number of women, the accounts tell nothing of those who returned home disillusioned with the dislocation of military life, nor of the enlisted soldiers' wives. It does not seek to challenge existing methodologies or gender, race, and class interpretations, but makes visible a set of women who, thus far, have remained generally underappreciated. In raising the profile of these historical actors, and by comparing two international locations a compelling narrative emerges from this group of women writers that needs to be added to the erstwhile masculine historical record. Officers' wives influenced and sustained the prestige and legitimacy of the empire, as the designers and arbiters of a distinct imperial sociability.

There is no dispute concerning the description of Great Britain as an empire. Due to scholars' general hesitancy, however, about describing America in similar terms, a brief

⁵ See Verity McInnis, "'Ladies' of the Frontier Forts," *Military History of the West* 35 (2005): 35-56; Verity McInnis, "Expanding Horizons: Officers' Wives on the Military Frontiers, 1846-1903" (Master's Thesis, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 2006).

survey of the historiography establishes that imperialism and expansionism can be considered one and the same. Richard Van Alstyne advises, “in the United States it is almost a heresy to describe the nation as an empire. [Yet] the founders so regarded it . . . and the word continued to be accepted usage through the middle of the nineteenth century.” He argues, despite scholarly resistance, that conceptions of an American Empire originated in 1775. Global rivalry, benevolent assimilation and economic interests commonly justify territorial annexation. The aggressive expansionism of the period 1890-1900, however, signaled to some an evolving American empire. Yet, despite this consensus, scholars who examine the western experience from the 1700s recognize imperialist overtures and cast the United States Army as an agent of this process. To connect army officers with their role as imperial representatives, Paul Johnson suggests that during the period 1815-1830, “the world was becoming one, the wilderness was being drawn into a single world commercial system, but there was as yet no acknowledged law. Who,” he asks, “was to play the world policeman?” The United States Army, although not policing an intercontinental landscape, nonetheless served this role during the nineteenth century on the American frontier. As such, it acted both as an arm of imperialism and as a mechanism to maintain social order, containing and resolving disputes to answer the needs of an expanding and reforming American nation. As Michael Tate and Thomas T. Smith explain, the men who dominated the army officer commissions during the period 1802-1890 held frontier postings as civil engineers, fort builders, combatants, topographers, and explorers. Informal mentorship in the realities of frontier life provided by veterans at dances, dinners and parlor visits assisted the newly commissioned men, an invaluable process that Smith terms “folkways.” Thus, formal

and casual instruction created “nation-builders,” professional officer class who acted as ambassadors of empire.⁶

“The absence of empire in studies of American culture” has led Amy Kaplan to argue that, “multiple histories of continental and overseas expansion, conquest, conflict, and resistance ... have shaped the cultures of the United States.” She suggests that frontier studies have undergone revision to understand this geographic location as producing hybrid cultures. The encounter between diverse identities attests to the inseparability of imperialism and cultural discourses of gender, race, class, and ethnicity. Donald Pease builds on this interpretation by acknowledging that American imperialist ambitions were predicated on military superiority, economic wealth, and political organization, yet noting that the efficacy of these imperial encounters depended upon “cultural technologies” to succeed. Building on this idea of public and private imperialism, Ranajit Guha provides a point of entry by examining the military wives as cultural standard-bearers of empire. He advises, “There is something uncanny about Empire. The entity known by that name, is in essence, mere territory ... As such, it requires no homes, if only because the authority, the imperium [sic],

⁶ Richard W. Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire* (New York, 1974), 1, 6; William E. Weeks, *Building the Continental Empire: American Expansion from Revolution to the Civil War* (Chicago, 1996), 13; Kinley Brauer, “The United States and British Imperial Expansion, 1815-1860,” *Diplomatic History* 12 (1988): 32; Norman A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion* (New York, 1955), vi, 217-8, 228; Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca, 1985), x-xi, 257, 261; Jack E. Eblen, *The First and Second United States Empires: Governors and Territorial Government, 1784-1912* (Pittsburgh, 1968), 239, 318; Walter LaFeber *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansionism, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, 1963), 24. Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830* (New York, 1991), xvii, xix, 58, 285, 911-2, 923-4; Michael L. Tate, *The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West* (Norman, 1999), 308; Thomas T. Smith, “West Point and the Indian Wars 1802-1891,” *Military History of the West* 24 (Spring 1994): 25, 28, 32-4, 43, 45, 55; Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865* (New York, 1968), 169. Fred Anderson and Andrew Clayton, *Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500-2000* (New York, 2005), xiv-xv, xxiii. For the purposes of this project “culture” will be simply defined as “a distinctive heritage of ideas and values, providing people with nonmaterial resources to cope with life and a world view to make sense out of it. Society is defined “as a structure of relationships among people.” See Daniel W. Howe, “Victorian Culture in America,” in *Victorian America* (Philadelphia, 1976) and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

from which it derives its form, function, and purpose, is easily sustained by forts and barracks.” He concludes, “Yet as history shows, empire is not reconciled for long to this abstracted condition. Caravans seek the shade of camps, markets their custom in the garrisons ... settlements grow, as empire too is seized by the urge to make a home of its territory.” This idea is explored by Joan M. Mickelson, whose study of British women in India during the period 1757-1857 argues that an exaggerated model of English domestic virtues developed in India. Even though her status relied upon her husband’s rank, this “cult of home” provided the dislocated spouse with a sense of purpose and authority as an ambassador of Empire.⁷

In placing the location of “home” as central to discussion of empire, Betty Joseph de-centers mercantilist and anthropological models that trace resources, populations, and territories. Following examination of the East India Company during the period 1720-1840, she argues that “culture and lifestyle became reified objects to be possessed and transmitted.” The creation and maintenance of a home became “a test for the empire’s own future, its successful continuance.” Additionally, interdisciplinary scholar Sharon Marcus innovatively connects feminist theory, geography, architecture, and urban history to argue that “space” should be considered, not as a passive backdrop to past events, but “as a fully historical and political dimension.” She posits that “crossings (a fluid relationship between residential and public buildings)” link the interior female domestic to the exterior male public space. In examining the relationship of imperialism to the late nineteenth-century feminist movement,

⁷ Amy Kaplan, “Left Alone with America: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, 1993), 4, 16; Donald Pease, “New Perspectives on U. S. Culture and Imperialism,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, 1993), 22-3; Ranajit Guha, “Not at Home in Empire,” *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Spring 1997): 482; Joan M. Mickelson, “British Women in India 1757-1857” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978), 162, 258.

Antoinette M. Burton provides useful indicators explaining how understandings of empire fueled such female self-awareness of female empowerment. Imperial consciousness cannot be accurately measured, yet Burton argues that “a sense of national and racial superiority based on Britain’s imperial status was an organizing principle of Victorian culture.” In identifying domestic space as a location of imperialism, a landscape emerges within which to view military wives as active agents of empire.⁸

To frame the discussion of officers’ wives’ behavior, the parameters of the “Cult of Domesticity” and “Separate Spheres” provide a baseline from which to explore the British and American female experiences. The existence of fluid social and physical boundaries at the military outposts facilitated the creation of a distinct imperial reality. Barbara Jeanne Fields offers a useful analysis that explores such a cultural construction as the negotiation of a social terrain through ritualistic discourse. She argues, “Ideology is best understood as the descriptive vocabulary of day-to-day existence, through which people sought to make sense of the social reality that they live and create from day to day ... human beings live in human societies by negotiating a certain social terrain, whose map they keep alive in their minds by the collective, ritual repetition of the activities they must carry out in order to negotiate the terrain, if the terrain changes, so must their activities, and therefore so must the map.” The “terrain” of the isolated military garrison presented an unknown environment. Therefore, the officers’ wives created an exaggerated model of Victorian domesticity to accommodate their new geographical, social, and racial situation. Rigid class distinctions were forged from military rank. For example, the wife of a garrison commander controlled the sociability of,

⁸ Betty Joseph, *Reading the East Indian Company: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago, 2004), 93-5,122; Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, 1999), 5, 7; Antoinette Burton, “The White Woman’s Burden: British Feminists and the ‘Indian Woman,’ 1865-1915,” in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, 1992),137-9. Joseph is a literary critic and Marcus an interdisciplinary scholar.

and access to, the imperial set. This senior lady vetted aspiring members and was afforded deference at all official and unofficial events. In some instances she commanded a garrison, issued orders to enlisted men, acted as a magistrate in military legal affairs.⁹

In considering American army officers' wives and their experiences, Glenda Riley acknowledges that "scores" of these women assisted in "building and operating" the frontier garrisons, their lives "shaped" by the military occupations of their husbands. Anni P. Baker's analysis places these women at the center "of the values and traditions of the army" by identifying the "sturdy and vigorous military culture, viewing themselves as an essential element of that culture ... embracing the masculine and martial values of that institution: self-sacrifice, duty and honor, toughness and stoicism, courage, and a love of adventure." In recognizing key differences in civilian and military social identity, Baker suggests that officers' wives identified themselves distinctly as "members of the regiment." The narratives of the elite spouses who joined their officer husbands confirm the existence of this distinct military-centered community.¹⁰

Michele J. Nancy argues, in accord with Baker, that American women expressed unique social and gender characteristics. Despite efforts to maintain the traditional values of home, frequent moves redefined the physical and social domestic space to encompass entire garrisons. Because of this modification, officers' wives "intensified their commitment to the other members of the regiment, the Army in general and the frontier garrison in particular."

⁹ Barbara J. Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* (May-June 1991): 101, 110, 113; Sandra Myres, "Frontier Historians, Women, and the 'New' Military History," *Military History of the Southwest* 19, no.1 (Spring 1989): 36-7. For a full discussion of nineteenth-century female roles see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174, <http://pinzler.com/ushistory/cultwo.html>, accessed on 17 February 2002, and Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9-39.

¹⁰ Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairies and the Plains* (Lawrence, 1988), 13, 62, 93, 99, 176, 195-6; Anni P. Baker, "Daughters of Mars: Army Officers' Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier," *The Historian* 67 (March 2005): 22-3.

In bringing “civility, propriety, and domesticity ... the ladies brought an air of refinement to the frontier garrison ... [and] equally striking is the fact that this officially masculine institution not only tolerated but accommodated their efforts ... officers’ wives became so important to the successful functioning of the Army that their role became slowly and subtly integrated into the Army mission.” This absorption suggests that both the women and their military spouses understood a joint imperial responsibility.¹¹

Similarly, Annabel Venning examines the lives of military wives as they sought to understand their roles in the British Empire. Using published journals, memoirs, and oral testimonies, she argues that military wives combined domestic duties and imperial responsibilities. Selected vignettes convincingly demonstrate that army spouses contributed to the military experience by creating comfortable and stable homes for their soldier husbands and children, an attempt to recreate England on foreign soil. Adherence, at all times, to an austere military code of behavior positioned the wives as ambassadors of “the society from which it recruits,” thus placing the military wife as a central contributor to imperial history.¹²

In developing these assertions regarding American and British military wives, it is apparent that in coming to terms with the dislocation and isolation of life in distant locations women attempted to reconstruct familiar class hierarchies through social rituals. Communal activities offered an avenue to forge bonds of friendship and encouraged the formation of practical and emotional support mechanisms. Generally from middle-class families, officers’ wives understood the importance of maintaining social roles and duties. The women sought

¹¹ Michele J. Nacy, *Members of the Regiment: Army Officers’ Wives on the Western Frontier, 1865-1890* (Westport, 2000), 10, 12, 104-5, 107.

¹² Annabel Venning, *Following the Drum: The Lives of Army Wives and Daughters, Past and Present* (London, 2005), 1, 11, 57, 290, 321. Venning is a journalist.

each other's company through many forms of amusement, strengthening their own version of status and conduct based on the privileges of their husbands' rank. Dinner parties, masked balls, picnics, billiards, and croquet offered polite entertainment on the American frontier. Engaging in similar events, the ladies of British India likewise acted as Victorian hostesses and attempted to design a social life that recreated the ambiance of home. The women stationed at the military posts redefined their social realities acting in tandem with their husbands' military level. Expected to attend countless social and military functions, and to act as a symbol of their husbands' status, officers' spouses represented and communicated male authority. Thus, these wives utilized social rituals to design a genteel public culture that showcased and maintained their husbands' status and imperial authority.¹³

However, this female gentility did not mean the abandonment of transported class divisions. Annegret Ogden suggests, "Like a chess game where the action is prescribed by the board and by the moves permitted to each figure, the American military wife ... moved according to the military's prescribed social structure." Patricia Stallard advises that wives of commissioned personnel followed their husbands out of a sense of marital devotion, upholding most Victorian social expectations in the process. Edward Coffman, however, argues that an officer's position signaled his wife's status, reflecting a distinct caste system that divided officers from enlisted men. This rigid code of conduct forbade association with wives of the ordinary soldiers. If one of these "lower sorts" married an officer, acceptance was possible, but according to Coffman, only as a "half-way lady." Undeniably, wives lived highly regulated lives and were expected to observe codes of conduct appropriate to their partners' position in the imperial hierarchy. Social custom prevented fraternization across

¹³ Patricia Y. Stallard, *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army* (Fort Collins, 1978), 64; Margaret MacMillan, *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (1988; reprint, London, 2007), 180-1.

the uncompromising class system; thus, even within the new social reality created by imperial dislocation, class divisions held firm.¹⁴

In comparing these two groups of women, it becomes clear that imperialism is not simply a male political or economic preserve. To illustrate female participation, a survey of imperial architecture provides a landscape within which the officers' wives operated, and began constructing an imperial identity and purpose. Chapter II, "Imperial Builders: Military Architecture in India and the American West," considers the identity and image manifested by the forts and stations of British India and the American West. An argument is made that many officers' wives interpreted military installations as symbolizing the authority, security, and stability of the empire. An overview of architectural trends, the impact of Army engineers who drafted plans and supervised constructions, and an account of the bungalow, act as a point of connection between the British and American experiences. The officers' wives, in interpreting buildings, as monuments of empire, articulated these edifices as tangible evidence of civilization, thus reaffirming Anglo authority. Within the security of these bastions of empire, the women identified a space within which they could develop a distinct imperial status.

Chapter III, "Imperial Esprit de Corps: Nineteenth-Century British and American Army Officers," captures the evolution of an imperial *esprit de corps*, generated by the training received at the military academies of Sandhurst, Addiscombe, and West Point. Learned behavior, and the establishment of the military figure — an officer and gentleman— explains the development of a distinct imperial mindset. After receiving commissions to

¹⁴ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 2, 56; Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York, 1986), 289; Annegret Ogden, "Queen or Camp Follower? The Life of the Military Wife in Early California," *Californian* 2 (March-April, 1984): 11, 15; Darlis A. Miller, "Foragers, Army Women, and Prostitutes," *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives* (Albuquerque, 1986), 56, 148.

British and American outposts, former Academy graduates dominated the nineteenth-century British, Indian, and United States military presence. Many wives who accompanied their husbands' admired and connected with this model of respectability, voicing pride and admiration for their dashing officers. In so doing, they created a female counterpart, a genteel lady who could share in the mission to further ambitions of empire.

Chapter IV, "Imperial Journeys and Arrivals: Army Officers' Wives as Transnational Couriers of Empire," contends that during travel to join their military husbands, and after immediate arrivals, women practiced roles as imperial ambassadors. Officers' wives expressed homesickness and disorientation during voyages to India and the steamboat, rail, and stagecoach passages enroute to imperial holdings. To assure their identity, they voiced extreme patriotic nationalism and racial prejudice. They attempted to overlay familiar national qualities on landscapes; meanwhile, the indigenous peoples and their locales were viewed with racial prejudice, thus providing a foil upon which Anglo identity could be forged and solidified. To restore stability amid disorientation, these women crafted an imperial social reality, designed purpose and distinctiveness by considering themselves as national ambassadors who held a duty to endorse the legitimacy of the empire.

Indeed, with no official claim to official imperial status, the women who joined their husbands nonetheless played a central role in designing and maintaining an empire. Chapter V, "Imperial Women: Military Adjuncts, Station Sisterhoods, and Senior Ladies," argues that in reaction to such fragile positioning, officers' wives appropriated male military practices to design and display a powerful female identity. In so doing, they crossed conventional gender boundaries to occupy spaces of power in their husbands' professional environment. Adopting military-style language, titles, and attire, they generated a new social

and class reality by identifying themselves in terms of their husbands' rank. By incorporating and feminizing military markers, they forged a sisterhood, hierarchically arranged, supervised by a commanding officer's wife. Each woman understood herself to be duty-bound to uphold and sustain imperial prestige and power. Having constructed an identity, army wives then generated social power as arbiters, promoters, and enforcers of an imperial class. Chapter VI, "Imperial Pageantry: Officers' Wives as Public Actors and Ceremonial Performers," asserts that in such social roles, they maneuvered and power-bargained within formal spaces. As organizers and duty-bound attendees of formal dinners, soirées, and balls these women acted as imperial ambassadors. The thrilling, or sometimes dull and unpleasant, duty as representatives and documenters of the ceremonial pageantry both solidified female identity and sustained imperial aims and prestige.

Chapter VI, "Imperial Gender Crossings: Officers Wives Dress and Homemaking on the Edges of Empire," considers intimate selections of dress and home décor by the officers and their wives as historical texts. The women utilized these cultural features, which bridged male and female spaces, to negotiate authority. In so doing, they generated an imperial identity that mirrored, yet modified conventional gender models. Female efforts to construct and enforce dress codes and standards of interior design became commandeered as symbols and signals of imperial power and prestige. Going native (assimilation of indigenous cultural dress), within limits, became incorporated into male dress as component of benevolent imperialism. Military wives, however, as the embodiment of national civility, were forbidden to adopt native garments. These female representatives nonetheless adopted unpaid positions of imperial, male and female, image makers and regulators. The military male retaliated by acting as a fashion watchdog, coercing through ridicule an imperial style

of respectability. Hence, a fluidity of gender boundaries provided for the maintenance of imperial style and behavior.

Chapter VIII, “Imperial Gatekeepers: Officers’ Wives as Social Arbiters of Empire,” moves the discussion from the cultural artifacts of dress and décor, to social events based in the home. Officers’ wives, through the practices of calling and domestic rituals, policed the imperial set. In controlling the process of introduction, and by determining standards of suitability, they awarded admittance to whom they deemed fit, thus providing access to imperial currency of power and prestige. In refusing to see a caller they, sometimes damagingly, rejected unsuitable applicants. This power was not obtained without consequences. An institutional and national backlash of censure targeted and tarnished the reputation of the imperial woman, leading to accusations of female culpability in the downfall of empire.

Staying within the intimate space, Chapter IX, “Imperial Household Servants: Officers’ Wives’ Race, Ethnicity, and Class Prejudices,” examines prejudicial attitudes of officers’ wives towards their domestic servants. These women racially condemned East Indian, American Indian, Mexican American, African American, and Chinese servants, and utilizing class and ethnocentricity to denigrate Anglo employees. By such subordination the constructed female identity and role would remain socially elevated, to reinforce imperial superiority and prestige at closest of contact points.

An officer’s wife’s home and marriage, then, held a central position in affairs of the empire. An 1838 article published in the *Asiatic Journal* identified that “Every lady has a direct participation in her husband's advancement, and consequently a tenderer sympathy in his fortunes; — and this has an obvious tendency to strengthen her constancy and invigorate

her attachment.” The writer continued, “For, as he rises step by step in the service, — I refer more particularly to the civil branch,—he imparts to her that enviable distinction, which in limited spheres of society is the object of the warmest aspirations cherished in the female bosom. How many fair complexions have I seen ruined by unavailing and feverish competitions for the splendid plaything—the glittering toy, called rank!” Having established a reliance on her husband’s professional advancement, the contributor moved on to consider the social elements of imperial status. “How many an interesting dimple has been fretted into a downright wrinkle by the slow corroding pangs of envy, that Mrs. W*** should have a right to walk first, because Mr. W*** has just received an appointment at the Board of Trade! Hence it is, that having once embarked in, she adheres to, the vessel which not only carries the fortunes of Caesar, but the rank of Caesar’s wife, a circumstance of no slight weight in strengthening the links of the matrimonial chain, and identifying by a bland and harmonious assimilation the mutual ambition of the parties.” In a rather bizarre finale to this published editorial, the author mentioned, “It is astonishing what the love of rank will effect in the coteries of Anglo-India. I verily believe, there are some ladies that would rather crawl on their hands and feet, than not be allowed to go first into a room at all.” In repeating a rumor of two ladies of Madras whose carriages met on a bridge that could accommodate the width of one, the writer rounded off his ruminations with “it was only yesterday morning, that Mrs. O***** in her carriage met Mrs. D*** in her's, in the very middle of it (bridge), and there they stuck for a whole hour, quarrelling for *precedence* which should go backward.”¹⁵

Although this published essay satirized the British strict adherence to a social hierarchy built on rank, and portrayed the female as grasping and pretentious, it also alluded

¹⁵ Anonymous, *Anglo India: Social, Moral Political, being a Collection of Papers from the Asiatic Journal*, vol. 1, (London, 1838), 24-5. Emphasis is in the original.

to her role as Caesar's wife, a figure above suspicion. Thus, this writer adds support to the argument that a military spouse had a personal investment in her husband's career, and held considerable social power within the empire to effect advancement. Military wives, then, in British India and the American West dismissed limitations imposed by traditional gender roles, generating social power as arbiters, promoters, and enforcers within the Anglo communities. In so doing, they legitimized internal and external representations of authority, superiority, and prestige—as nineteenth-century models of Pompeia.

CHAPTER II

IMPERIAL BUILDERS:

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND THE AMERICAN WEST

“Fortification, or Military Architecture, is no other thing than an art, which teaches men to Fortifie [sic] themselves ... to the end that the Enemy may not be able to attack.”
Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban. De L’Attaque et de la Defense des Places, 1704

Captain Francis Bellew’s autobiographical character Frank Gernon, a newly commissioned Indian Army officer, described his first impressions of the nineteenth-century Calcutta shoreline. He observed, “The proud citadel of Fort William broke in view... like some Grecian capital of old, bespoke the City of Palaces, the proud metropolis of British India.” His exuberant rhetoric concluded with the flourish, “Here was a sight at which a Briton might honestly exult, and, young as I was, I gazed with pride on this magnificent creation of my country's civilization and power — the point from which she governs the countless millions of the dependent Empire which Providence, for the wisest of purposes, has submitted to her benignant sway. Old England! Mighty heart! Long may thy vigorous pulsations be thus felt to the utmost bounds of our earth!”¹

Less excitedly, perhaps, Mary, the wife of Captain Henry Sherwood of the Fifty-Third (Second Yorkshire, West Riding, The King’s Own Light Infantry) Regiment likewise marveled at her new Calcutta home. She noted, “Fort William is regularly built with its drawbridges, its ditches, its magnificent gateways ... all kept in the most elegant order ... I was surrounded with all the circumstances of military life ... such as denoted pomp, and riches, and past victories ... [the] handsome buildings [were] appropriated to the use of the

¹ Captain Francis J. Bellew, *Memoirs of a Griffin; or, A Cadet’s First Year in India* (1843; reprint, London, 1880), vii, 72; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 4, Templar Study Centre, National Army Museum, London, United Kingdom.

officers.” Both commentators interpreted the military buildings as powerful representatives of the British Empire, symbolizing authority and imperial command.²

Architecture reflects and projects identity. Used infrequently as source material by historians, it nonetheless provides an additional body of evidence with which to interpret the past. Established in the 1980s, “a new type of architectural history emerged where scholars recognized ... the existence of economic, racial, and gender distinctions in the built environment.” In analyzing the buildings of the American West, Thomas Carter argues that architecture provide a complex story, one of “romance and reality, of refuge and opportunity, of stewardship and exploitation,” across a multicultural landscape. In the struggle to promote identity, the minority group in this instance, the officers of the American and British armies, designed and co-opted indigenous structures and materials to confirm white supremacy. In considering the identity and image manifested by the forts and stations of British India and the American West, this chapter will argue that military installations represented and broadcast imperial power. By examining architectural trends, the influence of Army engineers who held responsibility for blueprints and constructions, and the history of the unassuming bungalow, the connections between the British and American experiences become clear. In offering a visible symbol of empire, the military building landmarked a haven of civilization, reinforced Anglo authority, and within its masculine arena provided a safe location for an officer’s wife to fashion an imperial identity.³

² Mary M. Sherwood, *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851): From the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood*, ed. F. J. Harvey Darton (London, 1855), x; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906), 387.

³ Alison Hoagland and Kenneth Breish, *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Identity* (Knoxville, 2003), xiii, xiv; Thomas Carter, ed., *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture in the Western United States* (Albuquerque, 1997), xii, xv. Carter is an architectural historian. Vernacular architecture is an unrefined construction style that reflects cultural, environmental and historic localism. Polite architecture offers stylistic design providing an aesthetic purpose beyond the buildings function.

Architecture usefully provides a socio-cultural context, allowing the historian to interpret bricks and mortar as reflections of the values and desires of a society. In discussing architectural theory, criticism, and history, Kenneth Frampton asserts that architecture, “having as its primary charge the creation of the public realm,” acts symbolically to represent societal values. Architects, he advises, do not invent design but “transform reality.” In building designs of the nineteenth century, he advises, “the space of public appearance ... [served] to house the public realm ... [and] represent its reality ... the public institution was exploited as an occasion to reify the permanent values of the society.” Thus, building “provides the basis for life and culture.” Additionally, he connects the private to the public sphere by recognizing that the intimate informs the external, and vice versa. Supporting Frampton’s argument, Christian Norberg-Schulz asserts that “environment influences human beings,” and that buildings act to symbolize life-situations. Dwellings provide a real sense of orientation, identification, and belonging. Synthetic structures “are reflections of man’s understandings of the natural environment and his existential situation in general.” He observes that enclosure is the most important aspect of the man-made place. It creates settlement boundaries that provide a *genius loci* prompting identification.⁴

More specifically, Shanty Jayewardene-Pillai examines the interface between nineteenth-century British and Indian architecture to contend that a hybrid construction style had developed in the eighteenth century. The East India Company, she contends, “was the

⁴ Kenneth Frampton, *Labor, Work, and Architecture: Collected Essays on Architecture and Design* (London, 2002), 6-8, 18, 27, 29; Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Architecture* (Cambridge, 1995), 27; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York, 1980), 5, 19, 22, 50, 58, 65. The Latin term *genius loci* translates as guardian of a place, or the distinctive impression a place transmits. Frampton and Norberg-Schulz are both architectural historians.

instrument by which the British state forged its empire,” and the military, with its “soldier-engineers,” acted as the imperial arm of conquest and control. Interest in the East by architectural historians, however, began in the 1960s with Sten Nilsson’s landmark work on European architecture in India. This descriptive work remained isolated, “in an art-history cul-de-sac,” until the 1980s, when Philip Davies surveyed Indian architecture. Davies argues that “the imperial impulse was chivalric yet bullying, self-seeking yet magnanimous,” and architecture reflected these qualities. Buildings were designed by “amateur architects, dilettanti, or more usually, by military engineers.” The early buildings represented the pedestrian function of commerce, yet, at the end of the eighteenth century, “the greatness of a civilization was expressed in its architecture,” and power became “judged by its outward expression.” Anthony King innovatively heralded the move from studying architecture as simply art history, to understanding the connections between urban developments and imperial history. In India, he illustrates that the use of military terminology within civil station (lines) clearly reveals its strong martial foundations. The colonial bungalow-compound complex, he asserts, acted as the symbol of British imperial power in her colonies.⁵

Nilsson has categorized and analyzed the construction styles of the Danes, French, and English as they established imperial “consciousness” in India during the period 1750-1850. He consults the first century BC writings of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, a Roman military engineer and architect, to reveal the “semantic” element of architecture. Vitruvius, a camp

⁵ Shanti Jayewardene-Pillai, *Imperial Conversations: Indo-Britons and the Architecture of South India* (New Delhi, 2006), xii; Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947* (London, 1985), 12-13; Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London, 1976), 83, 123. For a full discussion of methodological and theoretical approaches to interpreting manmade structures as historical texts see Iain Borden and David Dunster, eds., *Architecture and the Sites of History* (New York, 1995). For a biographical list of “principal architects and engineers,” see Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 253-7. Jayewardene-Pillai, Nilsson, and Davies are all architectural historians, and King is a professor of Art History and Sociology.

praefect often called the “father of architecture,” used geometry and proportion to argue column styles represented gender values. The Doric depicted strength and masculinity, the Corinthian reflected beauty and femininity, and lastly, the Ionic portrayed a gender-neutral utilitarian function. This “doctrine of character” persisted in architectural forms, and in India, according to Nilsson, the Doric style functioned as an expression of military autonomy. The shift to civic structures (such as the Madras Banqueting Hall and the Calcutta Mint) incorporating these neo-classical masculine features occurred around 1780, when the British became the dominant imperial presence in India. The symbolic message broadcast by the incorporation of Doric column orders suggested political, commercial, and military dominance.⁶

Although ambitious, Indian neo-classical designs, James Fergusson argued in the 1860s, offered poor imitations of contemporary projects in England. Training for the army engineers posted in India focused on practical fortifications, not aesthetic symbolism. Buildings needed to be serviceable and available for use almost immediately. The hastily drawn structures, therefore, developed from military fieldwork manuals, combined, perhaps, with a creative flair inspired by Colin Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus* or James Gibbs’s *A Book of Architecture*. Fergusson did nothing to hide his despair at the resulting colonial

⁶ Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (New York, 1969, 21, 161; Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris H. Morgan, 2d ed. (New York, 1960), 15. Nilsson uses the word “semantic” to imply social meaning or value. Vitruvius assigned gender values to the Doric, Corinthian, and Ionic orders, and as a military engineer, or camp praefect, held a critical role in the Roman Legionary Army, accountable for many aspects of administration. An excerpt from Flavius Vegetius Renatus, “De Re Militari (The Military Institutions of the Romans), 390 AD,” translated by Lieutenant John Clarke in 1767, <http://www.pvv.ntnu.no/~madsb/home/war/vegetius/>, accessed on 9 May 2010, illustrated the importance of his rank, he recorded “The Praefect of the camp ... had a post of no small importance.” His many duties included, “The position of the camp, the direction of the entrenchments ... raising parapets, sinking wells and bringing water into the camp ... This post was always conferred on an officer of great skill, experience and long service, and who consequently was capable of instructing others in those branches of the profession in which he had distinguished himself.” The Roman Praefect’s notes regarding geometry and proportion of the human body inspired “Vitruvian Man (a human male delineated within a circle and square)” drawn by Leonardo da Vinci in 1487. See *The Ten Books of Architecture*, page 72.

construction. He admonished, “Of late years several very important public buildings have been erected in Calcutta, such as the Martiniere, the Metcalfe Hall, the Colleges, etc; but they are all according to the usual recipe of English public buildings — a portico of six or eight columns in the centre ... and a plain curtain with ranges of unadorned windows, connecting the larger with the lesser porticoes.” He concluded, “it is the misfortune of Calcutta that her Architecture is done by amateurs — generally military engineers — who have never thought of the subject till called upon to act, and who fancy that a few hours' thought and a couple of days' drawing is sufficient to elaborate an important architectural design.” The result produced “poor models ... [of] bad classicism.”⁷

The construction of Calcutta’s Government House illustrates a shift, however, from this amateur execution of a, perhaps, proto-functionalist style to a more ostentatious display of imperial power. The progenitor behind the expansion of this tangible symbol of British superiority was Governor-General, the Marquess Richard C. Wellesley. The public building that became Government House began life in the seventeenth century as “a most regular piece of architecture” located at the center of Fort William, a regular tetragon-shaped fort built with bricks and mortar. With the arrival of the Marquis of Wellesley in 1798, the “regular” building no longer suited the imperial role of a Governor-General of India. Company architect Edward Tiretta and Lieutenant Charles Wyatt of the Bengal Army tendered in-house bids for the design. Despite Fergusson’s accusation of military incompetence in the field of architecture, Wyatt’s submission received approval.⁸

⁷ James Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture: Being a Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture* (London, 1862), 412-3; G. H. R. Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850* (New Haven, 1989), 4-5. For a full discussion of architectural training and the military engineer reference manuals, see Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 155-159. Fergusson was a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

⁸ Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture*, 6; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 101; Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, 412; Alexander Hamilton, “A New Account of the

Although modeling his design on Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, Lieutenant Wyatt incorporated indigenous elements, representing a new hybrid English-Indian design. Contemporary accounts stressed that these were “climatic” features. This seems a reasonable explanation but masks an important cultural hybridity. Wyatt’s plan included a central three-story structure that housed the state apartments, quadrant corridors extending in four directions to pavilions, all emulating the imagery of power and expansiveness akin to Lord Scarsdale’s stately home. Adaptations incorporated Indian-style verandahs, four pavilions, and a dome added to the South portico to increase a sense of elevation. A statue of Britannia wielding her sword and shield, however, built atop the domed roof reaffirmed British superiority. Erected on the Esplanade in the central district of Calcutta, the resplendent state building could be clearly seen from a distance. In 1809, Maria, the wife of Scottish naval officer Thomas Graham, described the Calcutta vista. “On landing,” she recorded, “I was struck with the general appearance of grandeur in all the buildings; not any of them are according to the strict rules of art, but groups of columns, porticos, domes and fine gateways . . . made the whole picture magnificent.” Fifteen years later Emma Roberts concurred, and in defense of claims that Government House was not quite “noble,” she concluded, “it is altogether, whatever may be the fault of its details, a splendid pile.”⁹

Mrs. Graham also included, as an appendix in her published journal, a report supposedly written by Ibrahim, the son of a Malayan merchant, who attended the Governor-General’s levée (formal court reception) celebrating the grand opening of the state building.

East Indies,” in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, vol. 8, ed. John Pinkerton, (London, 1811), 411-2; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 445; Hodson, *Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers*, Box 50. Functionalism, a European design movement in the early twentieth century, stressed utility and practicality.

⁹ Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 64-5; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 101, 142; Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture*, 5-6; Emma Roberts, *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society*, vol. 2 (London, 1835), 139; Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1812), 132; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 67.

Following his arrival in Calcutta, Ibrahim marveled, “How perfect and beautiful is the Fort! how exact all its proportions, its four sides, and all its angles ... I must describe what I have seen, that Malays may no longer be ignorant of this great country, but be acquainted with all its wonders ... Within this Fort, which is like a large city, how many are the stone store-houses for arms.” He excitedly continued, “When I entered the great gates ... I beheld the beauty and extent of the compound, the workmanship of the railings, and the noble appearance of the gates, of which there are five, and on the tops of which lions carved out of stones, as large as life ... were running without fearing to fall.” The merchant’s son recorded that he felt as though he had been transported to another world, and that he must record his experiences so “that men may know” what he had witnessed. This vignette clearly indicated that the Government House building showcased imperial power. If, as some critics have suggested, the “Report” was *not* written by a Malayan merchant’s son, but as a parody by an Englishman residing in Calcutta, the symbolism reflects an internal need to reaffirm British supremacy; if it was indeed written by Ibrahim and faithfully replicated by Graham, then the signaling of authority appears to have been successful.¹⁰

With the opening of Government House in Calcutta in 1824, Fergusson, the diligent nineteenth-century architectural surveyor, discovered a concomitant design shift to a Gothic phase. The “Strawberry Hill” school of design inspired Calcutta Cathedral, and other religious buildings replicated English parish churches. He added, “If used with freedom and taste, no style might be better adapted for Indian use than Gothic.” As Fergusson reported, “The late Bishop Wilson was ... determined ... to wipe the stain of Paganism from the Architecture of the Church ... to erect a proper Gothic Cathedral in the metropolitan city.” The surveyor continued, “To carry this out, he chose as his architect the late Colonel [Major-

¹⁰ Graham, *Journal* 201-2, 205, 207; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 142.

General William Nairn] Forbes, of the Bengal Engineers, a man of infinite talent, but who, like all his brother officers, fancied that Architecture was the simplest and most easily learned of the Arts.” He observed the transnational exportation of cultural conventions and admonished that the “English have been content to carry with them into India the strange creed of their native country.” Indeed, he reproved, “when they have set up an accurate model of some old church which adorns some rural village in the midland counties, they fondly fancy that they have satisfied all that is required of a true architect.” Despite this critique, he offered some praise for the efforts of Captain Markham Kittoe, “who, though not educated as an architect ... [did] better than most of his brother officers.” Although condemning his design for Benares College as an architectural failure, Fergusson admitted that the Captain’s building was the “most correct Gothic building yet erected in India.”¹¹

T. Roger Smith spoke to the British Society of Arts in 1873 and advised his distinguished audience of the awe in which a newcomer visiting India would find himself. Likening the development of British construction to that of the expanding Roman Empire, he reported, “we acted very much as the Romans acted; we built in India very much as we were building at home.” Remarking that the initial Company and military needs were entirely functional, he nonetheless advised, “We ought, like the Romans and the Mahommedans [sic], to take our national style with us ... In occupying India we have not become colonists: we have remained conquerors. We have not sought to divest ourselves of our national habits, or manners, dress, or laws ... let us ... be European in our art; for art, if it be true, is an

¹¹ Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, 412-3, 416; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box, 26; Charles Manby, and James Forrest, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Session 1860-61*, vol. 20 (London, 1861), 138. Strawberry Hill is a nineteenth-century London suburb whose neo-Gothic style emulated art historian and politician Horace (Horatio) Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford’s Gothic folly built in the early eighteenth century. This extravagant and bizarre building fused an external Norman fortification, complete with turrets and castellation, with a Gothic cathedral boasting stained glass windows.

expression of national individuality more intense and more truthful than custom, fashion, or government.” With regard to the existing civic buildings, he admonished, “All public works ... have been designed and carried out by military men, whose education as engineers has, perhaps, required them, in addition to learning military engineering and regimental duty, to become acquainted with the rudiments of architectural drawing and of construction.”

Although despairing of the utilitarian designs crafted by soldiers during their academy years, he admitted that work constructed in Bombay by Colonel Henry St. C. Wilkins and Colonel John A. Fuller, C.I.E. in Bombay, held some national artistic flair.¹²

Following the establishment of the Raj in 1857, the American Civil War (which provided a greater trade interest in Indian cotton), and the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, Thomas Metcalfe notes another shift to more visible signs of European construction projects. Tasked with railway, education, and civic design, architects planned the construction of a “Hospital, Elphinstone College, Post-office, Telegraph-office, Civil and Military Pay-offices, Government House, Official Residences, High Court of Judicature, Secretariat, University Hall, School of Art, Custom House, Police-court, Small Causes Court, Admiralty, enlargement of Cathedral, Markets, Public Fountains, Mechanics' Institution, Sailors' Home, several churches.” Among the parade of celebrated architects responsible for these works, both Colonel Wilkins and Colonel Fuller received building commissions. In summarizing these works, Smith finds that although not “perfect models” they combined English Gothic with Italian Renaissance styles to provide a construction that reflected England yet adapted to the warmer climes. The end result, he maintains, represented values

¹² T. Roger Smith, “Architectural Art in India,” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 21, no. 1,059 (March 1873): 278-280, 283-4; Joseph Whitaker, *An Almanack: 1899* (London, 1899), 106; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 452. Colonel Fuller held the chivalric order Companion of The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

of “justice, order, law, energy, and honour” embedded within the British Administration. Thus, it performed an imperial function “as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be held with respect, and even with admiration by the natives of the country.”¹³

Army engineers in India, then, played a central role in designing civic buildings. An examination of military establishments will provide additional insights into the way architecture broadcast imperial authority. In the late eighteenth century, British territorial holdings increased to such an extent that the erstwhile coastal forts could no longer guard the expanding empire in India. To allow rapid deployment of men, the army relocated from settlement centers to town peripheries, and cantonments answered the need for a more efficient geographical positioning. The Mughal model of “peripatetic government” inspired these military installations. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe, a “knight and gentleman of the Court,” received a Royal Commission from King James to establish peaceful trade and friendship with the East Indian “Great *Magoar*.” Roe provided a description of the Royal *Leskar* (from the Persian meaning camp) that acted as the model for English garrisons. The ruler’s accommodations occupied the central space, immediately surrounded by the nobles’ tents, and tradesmen’s and soldiers’ quarters formed the outer ring. The camp covered an area of approximately twenty square miles, with streets delineating the social hierarchy. The initial British cantonments, according to Philip Davies, featured “organized avenues of military tents,” based on the *laskar* model, and when made into a permanent station, brick bungalows,

¹³ Thomas Metcalfe, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain’s Raj* (Berkeley, 1989), 1, 96; Smith, *Architectural Art in India*, 284-6. The title “Great *Magoare*,” meaning ruler, appears to be an incorporation of the Portuguese title, from *magoar*, a verb meaning to hurt or stab. Metcalfe is a Professor Emeritus of History.

mess-rooms, and barracks replaced the canvas structures. This alteration in settlement patterns “had a profound impact on the whole social and spatial structure of British India.”¹⁴

Over the next two hundred years no exact blueprint controlled the layout of the cantonments. All nevertheless, featured segregated British and Indian lines (quarters), a grid pattern of officer bungalows with tree-lined avenues, and featured a central parade ground, church, and recreational buildings. This physical separation of the European and Indian societies, “at best,” advises Davies, “promoted an aloof incorruptible government,” and at worst signaled “arrogant ideas of racial superiority.” The military engineers held responsibility for the design and construction of cantonment buildings that broadcast imperial function. Sir Winston Churchill’s first posting was as a newly commissioned cornet (comparable to a U.S. lieutenant) in the Fourth Queen’s Own Hussars (after graduating from Sandhurst eighth in the 1895 class of one hundred and fifty). He described the Bangalore cantonment (as well as advising the reader of its correct pronunciation of ‘cantonment’) as located in “the Great triangular plateau of Southern India [that] comprises the domains of the Nizam and the Maharajah of Mysore,” and added that “the tranquility of these regions, together about the size of France, is assured in the ultimate resort by two British garrisons of two or three thousand troops apiece at Bangalore and Secunderabad.” With regard to the segregation of lines he remarked, “In each case there is added about double the number of Indian troops; so that sufficient forces of all arms are permanently available for every purpose of training and manœvre [sic]. The British lines or cantonments are in accordance with invariable practice placed five or six miles from the populous cities which they guard; and in the intervening space lie the lines of the Indian regiments.” The actual design and

¹⁴ Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 76-79; Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 77; William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619*, vol. 2 (London, 1899), 325, 550.

function of the garrison he recorded as “The British troops are housed in large, cool, colonnaded barracks. Here forethought and order have been denied neither time nor space in the laying out of their plans. Splendid roads, endless double avenues of shady trees, abundant supplies of pure water; imposing offices, hospitals and institutions; ample parade-grounds and riding schools —characterize these centres of collective life of considerable white communities.” The transportation of British vistas to represent imperial authority appears clearly communicated in the separation of lines, “imposing offices,” and “colonnaded barracks.”¹⁵

Mrs. Julia Maitland travelled with her husband, a circuit judge, to Bangalore on 12 October 1839 and found the cantonment “charming;” she “delighted” in the morning air as having “all the sweetness and freshness of an English summer.” After settling into the bungalow, she remarked, “It is altogether very pleasant, but a queer place — a sort of cross-breed between the watering-places of every country in the world.” The garrison she observed had “an English church, a Heathen pagoda, botanical garden, public ball-rooms, Dissenting meeting-house, circulating library, English shops, and Parsee merchants, all within sight of each other.” Emma Roberts concurred with Maitland’s assessment of the “pleasant” cantonment. Although not matching the splendor of British architecture in Calcutta, she noted, “Bangalore ... is prettily situated in a moderately-wooded and well-watered country; there are barracks for two King's regiments, one of cavalry and one of infantry; and in addition, the garrison consists of three Native Infantry and one Cavalry regiment, with a proportionate number of battalions of artillery, the requisite staff, &c.” To

¹⁵ Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 78; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 77; Sir Winston Churchill, *My Early Life, 1874-1994* (1930; reprint New York, 1996), 45, 89, 104-5; H. C. G. Matthews, Brian Harrison, Mike Macmahon, Peter Smith, and Gerard Carruthers, et al. eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, vol. 11 (Oxford, 2004), 653-685.

add an imperial flourish, she advised, “Bangalore has always been distinguished, throughout the Madras presidency, for its festivities. It possesses very handsome assembly-rooms, and a theatre.” The inclusion of a building for military entertainments — to provide a space for prestige to be displayed — appeared to be highly successful. So much so, according to Miss Roberts, that “persons, anxious to uphold the honour of the station, have been induced to make an authenticated report.” Both women provided a positive account of Bangalore, and each identified the racial divide. Mrs. Maitland, a civilian wife, provided a more racist account using the descriptors “queer,” “heathen,” and “cross-breed.” Miss Roberts, the captain’s daughter, did not find the buildings particularly noteworthy, yet found the entertainments honorable. Thus, by viewing Bangalore through filter of British memory, British military presence, and British culture, these women created a secure space to fashion a distinctly British identity.¹⁶

For example, the transient, tented, cantonment of Barrackpore became the “nerve-center” of British India to satisfy Governor-General Wellesley’s “need” for a summer residence that would display imperial affluence and authority. In 1801, he commissioned Captain Wyatt to build a summer palace. This construction represented the transformation of British interests from trade to imperialism. Tents were replaced by brick buildings in the early nineteenth century, and the garrison town developed as a purely military encampment. Harriette, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel William Ashmore of the Sixteenth Foot Regiment, observed, “Barrackpore, the country seat of the Governor-General, is very striking ... what adds much to its beauty, are the detached residences ... all are exquisitely placed.” Of the large park, she added, “if we had not ... or caught a distant view of the mighty elephant on

¹⁶ Julia Maitland, *Letters from Madras, During the Years 1836-1839, by a Lady* (London, 1843), 139; Roberts, *Scenes*, 319, 326-7.

which Lady William Bentinck [Viscountess Amelia Falkland] was taking the morning air, we might have imagined ourselves in one of the most interesting of our English nobleman's parks." Emma Roberts found Barrackpore "an irregularly-built station" and the Governor's mansion "a very elegant and commodious residence ... combining the grandeur of Asiatic proportions with the picturesqueness of European design." Additionally, she observed, "Many of the houses are as splendid as the mansions of the neighbouring city [Calcutta]; but the larger portion consist of bungalows ... built and fitted up in a superior style." Such "superior" style clearly projected imperial prosperity and power.¹⁷

The bungalow, a single-story dwelling with a verandah that became ubiquitous across the nineteenth-century landscape, originated in seventeenth-century Bengal. Both the name and building are hybrid forms of Indian and British culture. The word bungalow came into use in the seventeenth century and derives from the Hindu "*banggolo*," the term used for village huts in Bengal; the bungalow as a structure also originated from these rectangular homes with overhanging roofs that offered protection from the sun and rain. Here was a model that could be quickly mass-produced and constructed from local materials. New arrivals from England in the early nineteenth century transported with them Arcadian visions of a romantic rural life, reflected in the contemporary architectural vogue of the *cottage ornée* (picturesque cottage style). This transnational exportation of style, overlaid upon the *banggolo*, produced a hybrid single-story home with a covered verandah, complete with trelliswork and climbing plants to provide shade. Verandahs provided a solution to the hot

¹⁷ Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 80; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 77; Harriette Ashmore, *A Narrative of a Three Months' March in India; and a Residence in the Doob* (London, 1841), 85-6; Roberts, *Scenes*, 294-6; Major H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List for 1850*, (London, 1850), 167, <http://www.archive.org/stream/newannualarmylis1850lond#page/n7/mode/2up>, accessed 21 August 2010; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 142.

climate, replacing the tented shade of the earlier camps. The bungalow offered a residence ideally suited to life in tropical areas. Its popularity transported the design “all over the world ... from Rangoon to Adelaide, and from Durban to Toronto,” as a universal model of imperial housing. This uniform construction proffered a “great social leveler,” but structural elaborations presented a method to display status. Doric columns replaced wooden supports, and the addition of ornamental neo-classical balustrades and carriage porches broadcast and maintained English identity. A shift to incorporate Gothic stylistic features in 1870 showcased carvings, fretwork and pointed-hood canopies, and crested tiling. Thus, the bungalow became more than pedestrian housing; it became a site to reaffirm imperial status.¹⁸

Mrs. Fanny Parkes, daughter of Captain William Archer of the Sixteenth Lancers, accompanied her civil servant husband to an acting appointment in Allahabad on the frontier in 1825. Having spent three years in Calcutta, she anxiously investigated what her new home would be like. She reported, “The people in Calcutta abused the Upper Provinces so much, we felt little inclination to quit the city, although we had applied for an appointment in the

¹⁸ Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 78, 103-5; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 58; Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London, 1984), 1, 7. King asserts that, “the most significant fact about the bungalow is that the term, the ideology it represents and the reality in which that ideology is expressed can be found in many quarters of the globe. It is a physical, but also an economic, social, and cultural phenomenon.” John Nash orchestrated the late-eighteenth century Picturesque architectural style in England. This Romantic trend represented an emotional style based on nature and art. The small country homes with leaded windows, ornamental chimneys, and verandas reflected an English rural privacy and connected to the natural outdoors with an Indian verandah. See Terence Davis, *John Nash: The Prince Regent’s Architect*, (London, 1966) and James Malton, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture* (London, 1798). For representations of the Cult of the Picturesque see Batty Langley, *The City and Country Builder’s and Workman’s Treasury of Designs, or, The Art of Drawing and Working the Ornamental Parts of Architecture* (London, 1756), <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.CityCtryLang>. The American emulation of this Romantic style occurred in the early nineteenth century with Carpenter’s or Sham Gothic, a whimsical hybrid of Gothic and neo-classical orders, based on Langley’s pattern books, for summer country and seaside retreats. Two architects, Andrew Downing and Alexander Davis collaborated on the introduction of this trend. See Andrew Jackson Downing, *Cottage Residences: A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas*, (New York, 1856), and Alexander Jackson Davis, *Rural Residences, Consisting of Designs, Original and Selected, for Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas, and Village Churches* (New York, 1837), <http://www.vintagedesigns.com/architecture/ms/r/index.htm>, Langley and Davis accessed 15 May 2010.

Mofussil.” After seeing her first *dak* bungalow, she recorded in her journal a “good account” of the building. A later entry commented, “We travelled from bungalow to bungalow. They are built by government, and are all on the same plan.” Lady Anne Wilson, the wife of the Punjab District Commissioner, devoted a whole chapter in her memoirs to the Indian bungalow. She advised, “You see, individually we are but birds of passage in India, and have to build our nests of what material we can find. The result is simply wonderful, considering the absence of home appliances or skilled labour.” In describing the actual structure she commented, “Picture to yourself, then, a square one-storied, flat-roofed house, with a pillared verandah at each side; indoors, nine rooms ... each room opening into the other.” She concluded, “I have seen already how pretty they may be made to look ... with pictures, curtains, draperies, and feminine knick-knacks and devices. It is only the bare skeleton that seems so gaunt, and certainly it is not ‘when unadorned, adorned the most.’” Both women provided a “good account” of government housing, and with the additions of “feminine knick-knacks” expressed satisfaction. Thus, these officers’ wives’ transformed the standardized, basic accommodations into representations of a familiar and civilized nation.¹⁹

The importance of making connections to England in an alien environment becomes clear in the memoir of another officer’s wife. Following a tour of active duty, a “hot weather campaign” in the “Field Force,” Captain Douglas Muter of the Eighteenth Battalion of Royal Rifles returned to duty at Delhi. Before taking up this post, however, he and his spouse enjoyed a six-month furlough at the hill station of Murree. On arrival at their temporary home in the northwestern reaches of the Indian frontier territory, the captain’s wife reflected, “Gurgling streams came sparkling clown the slopes ... imagination carried me back to the

¹⁹ Frances Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, vol. 1 (London, 1850), 61-3; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 329; Lady Anne C. Wilson, *After Five Years in India* (London, 1895), 48-9.

days of my childhood; and in fancy I was again in an English dell.” On reaching the station proper, she advised, “The barracks are excellent, and are picturesquely placed near the centre. Considering the short time it has been established, the houses are good, and the roads are excellent.” The bungalow, however, did not impress her. “The house we were fortunate enough to secure was rented ... In England it would be considered a very small, very badly built, and very inconvenient cottage.” Mrs. Muter’s connections to all things English underscores the transportation of cultural values and expectations. The bungalow provided adequate housing with protection from the elements. It does not appear, in its unadorned state, to broadcast the desired *cottage ornée* status. Yet, an accommodation with the addition of “feminine knick-knacks and devices,” placed in a childhood dell, disorientation became somewhat appeased, and the bungalow became a “wonderful” home in the empire.²⁰

One British officer’s wife, however, found the accommodations less “wonderful.” The standardization of imperial quarters, and the inability to furnish her home with knick knacks from home caused her much frustration. In reality, furnishings encouraged the indigenous insects, arachnids, and reptiles to nest indoors, thus rendering excessive ornamentation a serious health hazard. Florence, the wife of Major-General T. Ross-Church of the Madras Army, grumbled, “The interior as well as the exterior of every bungalow in India is the same, which used to sicken me of trying to decorate any of them, for what is the use of trying to make "household gods" out of article fac-similes of which you may see next door, if you choose to enter it Every house has the stereotyped number of windows blinded with green Venetians.” Mrs. Marryat listed her complaints with “Every drawing-

²⁰ Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 381; Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley, 1996), 211; Mrs. D. D. Muter, *Travels and Adventures of an Officer’s Wife in India, China, and New Zealand*, vol. 2 (London, 1864), 112; Major H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List for 1862* (London, 1862), 328; Wilson, *After Five Years in India*, 48-9.

room is covered with Javanese or Indian matting can boast of a round table, a sofa, a piano, and other etceteras No favourite pictures hanging round the room; no cozy spring-stuffed armchairs; no soft carpets in which to lose one's footfall—above all, no mantelpiece! no fire-place; no dear old English poker and tongs, wherewith to vehemently attack the coals whenever one has just got the worst of an argument and feels in the humour to punch somebody else's head.” Considering such an unladylike outburst, the absence of a “dear old English poker” may have actually proved a blessing in disguise, for Major-General Ross!²¹

In addition to the search for the ideal imperial home, a quest for an imperial summer settlement that showcased British authority and superiority, found resolution in the hill station. Eighty such stations were built during the period 1815-1947, answering the need for health resorts and recreational centers at high altitudes to somewhat ameliorate the ravages of the hot climate. Covering four major areas, the Himalayan foothills in the North (Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Murree, and Dalhousie) acted as places of rest and recreation for military personnel stationed in the Indian Interior. The North-East stations of Darjeeling and Shillong similarly served Calcutta; westerly Poona and Mahabalesh provided resorts for Bombay; and in the Southerly Nilgri Hills, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kodaikanal held summer homes for the residents of Madras. Davies argues that despite idiosyncratic differences, the hill stations shared “an Arcadian setting, an informal layout and a strict social hierarchy — a recreation of English upper-class values in the Indian hills.”²²

The hill stations, according to Dane Kennedy, represented the “self-styled guardians” of British India. From “these cloud-enshrouded sanctuaries,” the imperial elite ruled the continent for at least six months of each year. The English rustic village, or seaside resort,

²¹ Florence Marryat, “Gup.” *Sketches of Anglo-Indian Life and Character* (London, 1868), 172-3; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 9.

²² Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 111-3.

provided a model for these places of sojourn. The Anglican Church stood as the centerpiece and main streets — malls — emanated outward. The architectural style in Simla, the summer capital, Davies labels “Wild West Swiss.” Captain Charles Kennedy built the first home there in 1822, and Jan Morris describes Kennedy’s structure as a “forest temple” built with local materials and by local workers. By mid-century, however, the buildings represented a smorgasbord of styles, including Strawberry Hill Gothic, cottage ornée, Georgian-Palladian, and Swiss chalet. Pamela Kanwar observes that homes combined bungalow and cottage styles, with rectangular floor-plans. “Add to this,” insists Morris, “ornamental woodwork ... porches and verandahs ... festoon everything with guttering ... down pipes ... convoluted chimney pots ... wrap it all up in the familiar imperial bungalow, and you have the fundamentals of the hill station style ... what might best be called Himalayan Swiss-Gothic.” The popularity of the fusion Indo-Saracenic style that dominated the mid-nineteenth century urban centers held no popularity in the elite enclaves of the hill stations. Here, the sojourners needed to reaffirm the familiarity of England, physically and morally, through improving “the character and conduct of society by creating structures that communicated through their lineage and design certain ethical and social messages.”²³

Percival Spear examined the social experience of Europeans in eighteenth-century India and concluded that despite initial adoption of indigenous styles and customs, in the 1780s colonial power grew stronger and tangible British symbols evolved to broadcast such domination. Spear remarks that it became fashionable to replicate the construction and planning styles of English towns. Nilsson agrees that architecture provided the medium to

²³ Kennedy, *Magic Mountains*, 1, 101, 106; Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 120; Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford, 1983), 52, 54; Pamela Kanwar, *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj* (Oxford, 1990), 90. For a full discussion of Indo-Saracenic architecture, see Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, 55-104. Kennedy is the Elmer Louis Kayser Professor of History and International Affairs, and Morris a travel writer and foreign correspondent.

display newly found status and ideals due to changing political and social conditions — a manifestation of imperialism. Designs symbolized “conquering militarism and a [superior] culture and race,” although adapted to suit the climate and building materials. This hybridity, he comments, always occurs when architectural styles are replicated in new environments.²⁴

To consider such designs in the United States, Anthony King usefully examines the physical, economic, social, and cultural phenomenon of the bungalow across a global landscape. In delineating the significance of this housing style in North America, he confirms that this single-story home originated in the 1860s as summer cottages for affluent Northeast city-dwellers. King asserts that the bungalow provided a perfect summer home that reflected the “Arcadian Myth,” a “back-to-nature” movement reminiscent of European Romanticism. But in investigating suburban homes and the evolution of the “California Bungalow” as a suburban phenomenon of Los Angeles in the early twentieth century, King has not considered nineteenth-century western military housing. The single-story homes with verandahs built at isolated garrisons clearly reflect this British-Indian imperial model. For example, in 1860 the intrepid global warrior Lieutenant Sir Richard F. Burton, while exploring the American West, arrived at Fort Kearny. He commented on the fort planning and buildings, “The quarters are of various styles; some, with their low verandas, resemble Anglo-Indian bungalows or comfortable farm-houses; others are the storied houses, with the ‘stoop’ or porch of the Eastern States in front; and low, long, peat-roofed tenements are used for magazines and out-houses.” Buildings were constructed, he added, out of adobe, brick, and timber, and the homes featured “whitewashed and clean-looking, with shingle roofs, glass windows, and gay green frames — that contrast of colors which the New Englander

²⁴ Thomas G. P. Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India* (London, 1963), 34; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, 164-6. Spear was a historian.

loves.” Having spent time as an army officer in British India, he made a global connection by concluding, “Had these cantonments a few more trees and a far more brilliant verdure, they would suggest the idea of an out-station in Guzerat.” Replicated throughout the farthest reaches of two formidable empires, despite its humble origins as a Bengal peasant hut, the transnational transmission of the *banggolo* can only be described as astonishing.²⁵

In considering not only the bungalow, but also fort construction in the nineteenth-century American West, a brief overview of architectural styles will serve to illustrate and connect the American and British experiences. Indeed, Alan Gowens recognizes a transatlantic architectural association in post-Revolutionary War North America. The Revolutionary Democratic substyle of neo-classicism represented cultural values of freedom and power, and the driving force behind architectural change was the third U.S. President. Thomas Jefferson acted as America’s minister to France during the period 1784-1789 and sympathized with the French revolutionary political ideology that swept away vestiges of the feudal system. In touring the European countryside he became enamored with Roman architecture, and after “staring for hours” at Maison Carée, Nîmes, found a model that he decided represented “all that America should and could stand for.” On his return to America, and acting in his new role as Secretary of State, he “immediately attempted to set the impress of classical architecture on the new government buildings.” In planning Richmond, he drew plans for the president’s house, the offices, streets, and public walks in a neo-classicist substyle, the “Revolutionary Democratic.” Uniform building height, a simplified and abstracted geometric form, and monochrome coloring identified this distinctive design. Englishmen

²⁵ King, *Bungalow*, 130, 132-3, 141-2; Sir Richard F. Burton, *The City of Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (1892; reprint, Niwot, 1990), xii-xiv, 12, 41-2.

Benjamin Latrobe, George Hadfield, and the Frenchman Maximilien Godefroy formed the vanguard of this avant-garde trend. Jack McLaughlin references as masterpieces Jefferson's Monticello and the University of Virginia, asserting, "Those who construct their own shelter replicate themselves ... They *are* what they build." The American use of neo-classicism in public and private buildings echoed Greek and Roman imperial authority. McLaughlin agrees with Nilsson to determine that the mixed use of Doric, Corinthian, and Ionic forms, represented "the strength of republican virtue, the beauty of discipline, and the wisdom of rule by law rather than men."²⁶

In 1792, Jefferson commissioned Pierre Charles L'Enfant (who studied at the French Royal Academy and served as a military engineer in the Continental Army) to design the capital city of Washington. The symbolism of the foremost American city, according to Gowans, provided a coherent display of "virtuous citizenry." Indeed, the January 1792 issue of the *Gazette of the United States* published L'Enfant's proposed project. His vision proposed Doric columns, five "grand" fountains, and a statue of Washington on horseback. Within the design, each state received a square parcel of land to commemorate and celebrate the union of the states. L'Enfant instructed, "The centre of each square will admit of statues, columns, obelisks, or any other ornaments, such as the different States may choose to erect, to perpetuate not only the memory of such individuals whose councils or military achievements were conspicuous in giving liberty and independence to this country, but those whose usefulness hath rendered them worthy of imitation, to invite the youth of succeeding

²⁶ Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression* (New York, 1964), 246-7; Alan Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression* (New York, 1992), 103-5, 107; Fredrick D. Nicols, *Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings* (Lunenburg, 1961), 5; Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (New York, 1988), vii-viii. The emphasis is in the original. Gowans was an architectural historian, and McLaughlin is Professor Emeritus of English.

generations to tread in the paths of those sages or heroes whom their country have thought proper to celebrate.”²⁷

At its height during the Arcadian period (1800-1840), this neo-classical form provided a social function of consciously “proclaiming” revolutionary values of democracy in both America and France. The Gothic Revival trend appeared in England in 1725 and in the United States during the period 1820-1860. It offered whimsical and often outlandish non-classical forms. Pointed arches, stilt-like columns, and castellated and pinnacled eaves provided a “collective synonym for imagination, emotion, faith, spontaneity, and naturalness.” In England, the social function of such apparent chaotic and asymmetrical styles displayed, according to Gowans, survival and stability, and functioned as the “de facto official style of the Empire” from 1820-1860. In America, however, it held “subversive associations” and an “anti-establishment stance,” eccentricity and what Gowan terms “apartness.” In the South, he argues that Georgia and Louisiana both incorporated Gothic plans for their state capitol buildings, as did various romantic intellectuals who wished to signal their status as “out of step” with “solid American citizenry,” such as “Episcopalians and lukewarm democrats.” In America, more so than England, Gothic promoted a return to religious devotion, a backlash against the scientific secularism of the Enlightenment, signaled by neo-classicisms obeisance to the symmetry and regularity of reason, law, and order.²⁸

²⁷ Gowans, *Images of American Living*, 259; Gowans, *Styles*, 94; L’Enfant quoted in *Gazette of the United States* as reproduced in Mary Clemmer, *Ten Years in Washington: or Inside Life and Scenes of Our Nation’s Capital, as a Woman Sees Them* (Chicago, 1882), 42-3, 46.

²⁸ Gowans, *Styles*, 59-61, 83, 91, 136-7, 139-142. Inspired by the sixteenth-century Italian writer Andrea Palladio, the Georgian-Palladian architectural era followed the neo-classical and spanned the reigns of three King Georges (1714-1820). The constant elements of regular and symmetrical constructions, elevations and fenestration symbolized and provided a visual metaphor of stable order and authority. The Arcadian era in art evoked the “classical paradise” of Arcadia, Greece. Gowans describes the “ideal landscape for the new [American] Republic” as “rolling pastoral hillsides dotted with neat temples and tidy groves, town streets lined with porticoes and arcades in classical orders and dotted with statues honoring civic heroes.” Two noteworthy

The Picturesque form originated in avant-garde European architecture between 1800 and 1810, reaching its height in the United States during the period 1870-1885. The basic feature of this style was display using lavish ornamentation, color, and pattern. Its social function served to broadcast, and legitimize, visual metaphors of wealth and conspicuous consumption as democratic. Additionally, according to Gowan, it affirmed egalitarianism at a time when the gap between the wealthy and poverty-stricken immigrant population grew concomitantly. The lack of definitive styles in what Gowan calls “hysteria” and “urgency of ... luxuriance,” allowed both the “colonial patrician” and the “raw immigrant” to exploit the Picturesque style to project equality. This progression of styles, from the Revolutionary Democratic sub style of neo-classicism, with its masculine Doric columns, to the highly ornamented Picturesque, emulated nineteenth-century European architectural trends. Upon the imperial western landscape, however, the U.S. military engineers, like their British counterparts in India, imprinted their, perhaps more prosaic, signatures. Although it is difficult to quantify the number of official American military forts built during the nineteenth century, a reasonable estimate of operational posts would be one to two hundred at any given time, with an average complement of 22,812 regulars. Francis Prucha argues that the army acted as “a sword of the republic,” and not only facilitated white settlement, but also acted as “agents of empire” by maintaining national honor in meeting challenges posed by foreign powers, and policing the often violent collisions between American Indians and Anglo pioneers. These “agents of empire” were required, as were their British counterparts, to

American artists of this style are George Caleb Bingham, whose works centered on Western vistas, and William Sidney Mount.

design and build the military installations in the West that represented imperial authority and power.²⁹

Colonel Jonathon Williams, the first U.S. Military Academy superintendent, designed initial American coastal defenses, resembling medieval castles. The move from a defensive to offensive stance occurred after the War of 1812, when Congress authorized employment of the French military engineer Simon Bernard. In partnership with American Joseph Totten, the pair designed a permanent system of national defense, to include pan-continental military locations and organization. Architectural design on the Eastern seaboard provided a symmetrical, bastioned fortification. On the western frontier, however, the military installation proved to be a very different architectural animal. No one model of fortification, style, or building would provide adequate adaptability to meet the needs of an extremely diverse geographic area. Military encampments came to resemble civilian structures, and functioned to provide security against American Indian raids. Constructed of local materials, a wooden stockade complete with bastions provided the only homage to the coastal, European-style castle. Military commander of the Department of Dakota Colonel Philip Régis de Trobriand recommended that when “dealing with such a contemptible enemy as the Indian, it is better for troop morale to depend on vigilance and breechloaders for protection than to hide behind palisades.” The frontier forts, then, served as a base for operations, offering (like the British cantonment) rapid deployment of men, and providing tangible bastions of imperial authority.³⁰

²⁹ Gowans, *Styles*, 171-4, Gowans, *Images*, 344; Francis P. Prucha, *Military Posts of the United States 1789-1895* (Wisconsin, 1964), vi, 144; Alison K. Hoagland, *Army Architecture in the West: A History of Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D. A. Russell, 1849-1912* (Norman, 2005), 252; Francis P. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (New York, 1969), xvi-xvii. Prucha is a Professor Emeritus of History, and Hoagland an architectural historian.

³⁰ Willard B. Robinson, *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function* (Urbana, 1977), 74, 86, 99, 133, 149, 183; Philippe Régis Denis de Kerendern de Trobriand, *Vie Militaire dans le Dakota: Notes et*

Henry Glassie advises, “Architecture studied as an expression of personality and culture may provide ... the best means available for comprehending an authentic history.” He attests that “bilaterally, symmetrical, tripartite structures mark Western quests for control.” Alison Hoagland investigates American army posts and determines, however, that no uniform design operated on the western frontier. She argues, nonetheless, that these military locations mimicked New England towns (derived from the British village model), and “through its monolithic presence,” she asserts, “the fort expressed its role in the development of the United States into an imperialistic world power.” She adds that “central parade grounds [replacing traditional greens], towering flagstaffs and orderly buildings made powerful statements to onlookers about the civilizing forces at work,” in a rectilinear, symmetrical, and orderly fashion. The design of the western fort was an ad-hoc affair, constrained by local materials and personnel availability. Indeed, the West Point trained line lieutenant, the acting assistant quartermaster (alternatively known as the post quartermaster), carried responsibilities akin to those of the Roman camp praefect. He supervised the provision of housing, transportation, and civilian hire, to name but a few of his varied and sometimes onerous duties. As the officer immediately responsible for the design and building of the garrison, he submitted plans, with estimated costs for endorsement at War Department level. Although these military installations commanded notice and broadcast “brute power,” they additionally reflected a “genteel side” that provided observable correlations to the Eastern seaboard cultural trends.³¹

Souvenirs, 1867-1869, ed. Mio Quaipe and translated by George F. Will (Chicago, 1941), 33; Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. 1 (Washington D.C., 1903), 370, 1041.

³¹ Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville, 1975), vii, 171, 181; Hoagland, *Army Architecture*, x, xii, 3-5, 58, 60-2, 243. Glassie is a Professor Emeritus of folklore specializing in vernacular architecture and material culture.

In 1866, Margaret, the wife of Colonel Henry Beebe Carrington of the Twenty-Seventh U.S. Infantry Regiment, recorded her observations of Fort Philip Kearny. She noted that “the fort proper is ... situated on a natural plateau ... about the parade ground ... are the officers and men’s quarters, offices, guard-house, sutler’s and band-building ... the stockade is made of heavy pine trunks eleven feet long ... pointed and loop-holed ... block-houses are at diagonal corners, and massive gates ... are on three fronts ... a flag-staff, surrounded by an octagonal band platform, stand, and seats, occupies the center of the parade.” She additionally observed, “But for the presence of hostile Indians, the country about Fort Kearney would be a charming field for hunting and picnic purposes.” Mrs. Carrington’s ability to develop an identity as a middle-class, genteel, officer’s wife depended on interpreting the post as a reflection of civility.³²

In describing Fort Abraham Lincoln’s layout in similar terms in 1873, Elizabeth, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer of the Seventh Cavalry, recorded, “The barracks for the soldiers were on the side of the parade ground nearest the river, while seven detached houses for the officers faced the river opposite.... Outside the garrison proper,” she observed, “nearer the river were the stables for six hundred horses. Still farther beyond were the quarters for the laundresses ... Some distance on from there were the log huts of the Indian scouts and their families.” Mrs. Custer added a visual representation of the military system of housing allocations, the officers enjoying centralized quarters with the Anglo servants and American Indians situated beyond the garrison boundaries. Thus, just as Mesdames Maitland and Roberts revealed attitudes of national superiority in describing Bangalore, Elizabeth Custer likewise understood Fort Abraham Lincoln, as demarcating

³² Margaret Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA, Land of Massacre: Being the Experience of an Officer’s Wife on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1879), 141, 146-8; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 286; Hoagland, *Army Architecture*, 8.

imperial, class, and race lines. Similarly, in 1852, Teresa, the wife of Brig. Gen. Egbert Ludovickus Vielé of the First U.S. Infantry, arrived in Brownsville, Texas, and promptly labeled it a “curious, half-breed town.” She recorded, “It was what they call in Texas ‘quite a settlement.’ A mixed population of Americans and Mexicans formed a contrast at once striking and amusing.” She compared the buildings of imperial America with the indigenous constructions to note, “On the one hand the red brick stores, and the white frame shops and buildings of every description, bore the marks of the inevitable progress, or go-aheadativeness, otherwise called ‘manifest destiny;’ of the expansionists.” In contrast, the Mexican presence she remarked consisted of, “rudely constructed huts, or hackals, composed of rustic straw work, or mud bricks called adobes, in which there is generally but one apartment, where frequently they are found living together, eking out an indolent existence.”³³

Recording a less vitriolic description of the Southwest, Frances, the wife of Captain Orsemus Boyd of the Eighth Cavalry, found life comfortable at Fort Union in 1872. Although they had created “a dear little house, and with new carpets and curtains,” her husband received an “unexpected order to proceed immediately to Fort Bayard, and build the officers’ quarters needed there.” She accepted the news with no great enthusiasm. En route, the family stayed in “Mexican houses every night.” She commented that “the houses were very warm and comfortable, but oddly arranged according to American ideas.” The homes included no windows, simply shuttered openings, and an “oddly” shaped room with a washstand and several beds placed against the walls, all accompanied by “a curious odor that one never forgets.” Here, Mrs. Boyd observed the indigenous buildings and floor planning

³³ Elizabeth B. Custer, *Boots and Saddles* (1885; reprint, Williamstown, 1969), 11, 98 (page citations to the reprint edition); Teresa Griffin Vielé, *Following the Drum: A Glimpse of Frontier Life* (New York, 1858), 104-5, 109, 111, 156, 158; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:348, 987.

from an American perspective just as Mrs. Muter reduced the alien landscape and housing in Muree Station to British vistas. These women needed to find familiar points of architectural reference in their new imperial locations.³⁴

On arrival at Fort Bayard Mrs. Boyd's unenthusiastic expectations were realized. "The houses, so called by courtesy," she reported, "were merely log cabins without floors," and the roofs "thatched with straw and overlaid with mud." She shared her despair with the post commander's wife, whose husband had recently graduated from the Military Academy. Frances Boyd commiserated, "She, like myself, had started out expecting to find all military stations like that lovely place [West Point]." She observed, "The house was in every respect like all the rest, with three rooms in a row, and one or two forming an ell; yet, she had decked the interior like a perfect fairy bower." Recording balls, picnics, storms, and problems with servants, the new accommodations built by Captain Boyd found scant mention in his wife's memoir. The three years spent in Bayard she described, nonetheless, as "happy ones" in a "real home." The descriptions of happy and real home were due, in part, to the cultivation of a flower garden. She commented, "if people in civil life could know of the weeks and months of care one little plant has often received from an army woman, [simply] because [it is] a dear reminder of her distant home." The Boyds then transferred to Fort Clark, for a five-year tour of duty (1875-1880). Their first home she described as "a pretty little house with double parlors on the ground floor and two large bedrooms above ... delightful!" She recorded, "All had comfortable double houses; and I felt very proud because of the bright, pretty carpets and lace curtains that had been sent from the East." Somewhat similarly, viewing the post one moonlit night she observed, "Even our unsheltered, gray parade ground

³⁴ Mrs. Frances Anne Mullen Boyd, *Cavalry Life in Tent and Field* (New York, 1894), 207-8; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:236; Muter, *Travels*, 125, 129.

... was softened by the moon's mellow rays into a semblance of all we desired it to be; and when, night after night, our glorious band played entrancing strains of music on the luminous spot, we felt life in the tropics was not so very unendurable after all." Such romanticism continued with "Our limestone houses, which in daytime could not be looked upon because of the blinding glare, were toned by the moon's magic influence into poetic beauty, with their shading vines and groups of dainty ladies in white, and gallant officers in uniform. I became wedded heart and soul, to that part of our life, which made me quite willing to live and die in Texas." Mrs. Boyd held a clear understanding of the reality of her imperial role. She found partial acceptance, nevertheless, by invoking national memory through a flowerbed, and superimposing idyllic images of dutiful military couples over the primitive frontier environment.³⁵

In conquering alien territories the officers signaled imperial dominance through military installations. Military architecture in India and the American West portrayed an imperial landscape, created by Academy trained military engineers, which broadcast the power of the British and American empires. Such tangible constructions provided images of authority and permanence to the indigenous peoples. Yet, the buildings additionally reassured the men and their wives that they represented the "civilized" nations they served. In 1862 James Fergusson published his forty-year study of global construction styles, the first comparative compilation of its kind. Of European territorial gains he noted, "in addition to their Eastern conquests, the whole of the New World naturally fell under their sway, for, as there was not in these countries any original style to displace, the European colonists introduced, as a matter of course, the forms of Art they were in the habit of employing in

³⁵ Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 216, 233, 236, 238, 250, 263, 267-8.

their own homes.” He contended, “So complete, indeed, has this extension been ... that nine-tenths of the civilized inhabitants of the globe employ those styles of Architecture which were revived in Europe in the fifteenth century, or styles growing out of these.” The reasons for this apparent unilateral trend in architectural style, he advised, “are simple in the extreme ... the one great cause being the influence of a dominant race, and the natural desire on the part of the subject people to imitate the manners and adopt the arts of the conquering strangers. It is so natural that this should be the case that it is hardly necessary to insist more fully upon this point.” Thus, he clearly establishes that architecture acted as a cultural medium to express the consciousness, superiority and dominance of an empire, an interpretation fully supported by recent architectural historians. The global extension of architectural style, aided and abetted by the nineteenth-century British and American military engineers, underscores the breadth of international collaboration. The soldiers built transnational neo-classical and Gothic monuments of empire signifying power and authority, thus reducing claims of national exceptionalism. Their wives recognized such installations as representations of their homelands by attaching values of civility and strength to the cantonments and garrisons. In so doing, they constructed a secure and familiar national foundation upon which an imperial female identity would be generated.³⁶

To build the strongholds of empire, the men needed training that included not only the ability to perform as civil engineers, but also the production of both officers and gentlemen. The education to prepare these young men for life in the British and American Armies began with military academies. There, gentlemen cadets studied together, and fashioned an *esprit de corps*, that reflected a strong sense of duty to the empire, combined with genteel middle-class values. After graduation, and assignments to outposts in India and

³⁶ Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, 408.

the American West, commissioned men and their wives transported such behaviors and beliefs as part of their imperial portmanteaus.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIAL *ESPRIT DE CORPS*:

NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARMY OFFICERS AND WIVES

“Brave heroes rest beneath this sculptured stone, In unfair contest slain by murderous hands, They knew no yielding to a cruel foe- And thus, this tribute to their memory stands, Our country’s honor, and a nation’s pride, Twas [sic] thus they nobly lived and bravely died.” Epitaph written by laundress Ellen Williams, the wife of Bugler Charles Williams, Company A, 2nd Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, 1864¹

“It has been said that India was to Britain what the Frontier was to America – a land of limitless opportunity, a testing ground, a place of romance and adventure,” declared Captain Albert Hervey of the Fifth and later the Fortieth Regiment Madras Native Infantry. He opened his memoirs with “India! India! India! Is now all the vogue. That land of the sun, with her swarthy millions, now occupies the attention of our own country, and attracts the eyes of the whole civilized world. Year after year witnesses the sons of Britain land on its burning shores, to join the ranks and follow the banners of her gallant armies.” On reaching his first posting at Palaveram, he recalled, after a night’s sleep, “I was roused out my bed very early indeed, and had to put on my uniform for the first time ... I buckled on my sword (an immense long one too, it was) and sallied forth to the barracks and parade.” Following his introduction to his “brother officers,” he advised, “An officer carries with him an air of gentility (if I may say so) and, by associating with his comrades, obtains a degree of polish, so ornamental in the circles of society, and so creditable to the rank he holds.”²

¹ Ellen Williams, *Three Years and a Half in the Army; or, History of the Second Colorados* (New York, 1885), 15-7, 60, 100-1.

² Albert Hervey, *A Soldier of the Company: Life of an Indian Ensign, 1833-1843*, ed., Charles Allen (London, 1988), vii, 3-4; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, *National Army Museum, Templar Study Centre, London, U. K.*, Box 22. Hervey received a posting to the British East India Military School at Baraset, Calcutta. Here a commander, adjutant, two lieutenants, and one drill sergeant attempted to emulate training offered at the Royal Military College. Founded in 1803, the school lived a short, unsuccessful life and was abandoned in 1811. See Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, its Officers and Men* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 179.

This idea of male gallantry echoed in the 1896 novel *Posie; or From Reveille to Retreat*, written by Mrs. M. A. Cochran, whose dedication illustrated the role of the military spouse. She poetically penned:

Who have ever been the inspirators and guiding stars
 To their dauntless heroes; and as the magnet
 Attracts the steel, so the educated, brave
 And brilliant young officer woos,
 Wins, and brings to our midst,
 The cultivated and fair
 -est women [sic] of the
 land.

This tribute to the “Ladies of the Army” romantically articulated that an officer’s wife’s role was to guide and inspire her warrior husband. Indeed, acting in tandem with their husbands, these women fully embraced the rigors of military life as imperial ambassadors — among “the cultivated and fairest women of the land.”³

In utilizing memoirs written by British and American “dauntless heroes” and “fairest women,” this chapter will capture their commitment to military duty, discuss the evolution of an *esprit de corps*, and illustrate how they understood an overriding sense of imperial purpose. By examining the military academies of Sandhurst, Addiscombe, and West Point, whose graduates would come to dominate the nineteenth-century British, Indian, and United States Army, it will explain how a distinct imperial mindset developed within the cadres of gentlemen cadets undergoing training, and how the requirement for “an air of gentility” reflected middle-class values. After transfer to the outreaches of the British and American territorial holdings, Academy graduates and their wives articulated and displayed a code of respectability that they saw as befitting ambassadors of empire.

³ Mrs. M. A. Cochran, *Posie: or, From Reveille to Retreat, An Army Story* (Cincinnati, 1896), unnumbered.

Military training played a central role in molding male behavior and instilling a strong sense of imperial duty. Indeed, the badge of honor of the officer corps of the British Army, “Serve to Lead,” implicitly conceptualizes the ideas of family, purpose, unity, and dedication. In the eighteenth century, military schools already existed in France, Germany, and Russia, and the nascent English institution, the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich (established in 1741) trained cadets as Royal Artillery and Royal Engineer line officers. The Staff School evolved from a series of lectures presented at High Wycombe to regimental officers in December 1792 by General François Jarry, a distinguished French officer and *émigré*. In 1798, following Lord Nelson’s victory on the Nile, and with Britain still deeply embattled against revolutionary France, Colonel John Gaspard Le Marchant presented an innovative officer training scheme to the Duke of York. He argued that martial success depended on the education of army officers in the arts of war. Up until this point, commissions were purchased by sometimes indifferent aristocrats and the rank and file consisted of mostly ne’r-do-wells. Recognizing the need for a professional and efficient officer corps, Le Marchant’s proposal, “A Plan for Establishing Regimental Schools for Officers throughout the Service,” received Royal approval and led to the opening of the Royal Military College, High Wycombe, in 1800 to train staff officers. The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst (RMAS) evolved from the Royal Military Academy (RMA) and the Royal Military College (RMC), and opened its doors in 1812, combining staff and line cadets. In 1860 (following the establishment of the Raj) Addiscombe, the British East India Company's Military Seminary merged with the prestigious RMAS. Following the abolition of the commission purchase system in 1870, all officers had to graduate from Sandhurst before taking up duty in the Empire.⁴

⁴ Alan Shepperd, *Sandhurst: The Royal Military Academy and its Predecessors* (London, 1980) 9, 23,

Despite initial low enrollment and early discharge of junior officers to fight on the Continent, cadets who passed examinations in history, German or French, Vauban systems of fortification, and military drawing received commissions. Officers who entered the Junior Department for a four-year course (which they had to complete by their nineteenth birthday) received a balanced, but military-focused, education. Le Marchants recommended French, German, Geography, History, and Persian or Hindustani for those destined to serve in the East India Company ranks. Church services on Sundays, and in summer, cricket, boating, and swimming kept the young men occupied. In winter, they mandatorily participated in hockey, skating, and “fives (hand-tennis).” A class of two hundred consisted of one hundred gentlemen’s sons, 50 EIC cadets (who paid yearly fees of 100 guineas), and 50 orphans of men who died in military service, or in reduced circumstances (who paid 31 guineas).⁵

Major Augustus Mockler-Ferryman provides a history of Sandhurst, and in useful appendices, he presents the entrance qualifications, syllabi, and Standing Orders of the college. The regulations governing admission required the cadet to be unmarried, pass a rigorous set of entrance examinations, pass a full physical check, and pay fees according to his entrance category. The course of instruction included military engineering, topography, tactics, administration, law, languages, exercises and electives. The assigned textbook,

Manual of Military Law, helpfully instructed the cadets on their imperial role. Chapter I

27, 29; “The British Army,” http://www.army.mod.uk/training_education/training/17061.aspx, accessed 26 March 2010; Hugh Thomas, *The Story of Sandhurst* (London, 1961), 15, 21-3; Denis Le Marchant, *Memoirs of the Late Major-General Le Marchant* (London, 1841), 63, 65; Captain F. G. Guggisburg, “The Shop,” *The Story of the Royal Military Academy*, 2nd ed. (London, 1902), 42-3, 88. General Jarry headed the Prussian *Kriegsschule* in the mid-eighteenth century, and having commanded a French division during the Revolutionary war, he would be acquainted with practices at the French *École Royale Militaire* established by Louis XV in 1750. The French military officer school, originally called *École des Cadets-gentilshommes* (School of Young Gentlemen), offered training for young cadets from impoverished backgrounds. Located in Addiscombe, the East India Company Military Seminary began admitting pupils in 1810. As a sister school to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, it trained company officers to serve in India. After the Mutiny of 1857 and the nationalization of the BEIC in 1858, Addiscombe amalgamated with the Queen’s Army merging cadets at Sandhurst.

⁵ Shepperd, *Sandhurst*, 26, 54.

reminds pupils that members of Her Majesty's Armed Forces are governed by military and civil law. Indeed, item five states, "A commander of troops in time of war, and in occupation of a foreign country, or any part thereof, acts in two absolutely distinct categories. First, he governs his troops by military law only; secondly, he stands temporarily in position as governor of the country, or part of the country, he governs. In this latter capacity he imposes such laws on the inhabitants he thinks expedient for the security, on the one hand, the safety of his army, and, on the other, the good government of the district which, by reason of his occupation, is for the time being deprived of its ordinary rulers." Such unilateral power clearly indicates absolute imperial authority.⁶

Every officer in Her Majesty's Service owned a copy of, and was expected to strictly observe, all orders delineated in *The Queen's Regulations*. This lengthy handbook covered an array of military concerns including ranks, duties, precedence, uniforms, salutes, and marriage. Indeed, every non-commissioned officer and private required his commanding officer's consent to marry, was told that his future wife must be "of good character," and had his marriage recorded in a regimental register. Thus, a choice of wife was not simply a personal decision, but one made with the needs of the Empire clearly in view. A section titled "Interior Economy" addressed the behavior and performance of every military man. Item 56 admonished "The *Dress and Appearance*, as well as the *Conduct*, of the soldier, are, on all occasions, and in all situations, to be such as to create respect for the military service. His demeanour and bearing are to be such as to distinguish the effects of Order and Discipline from the habits of the untrained Rustic." The section continued, "He is to avoid being mixed in broils or disturbances ... which lead to no useful result, but too frequently

⁶ Major A. Mockler-Ferryman, *Annals of Sandhurst: A Chronicle of the Royal Military College* (London, 1900), 274-292; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box: 23, 40, 42; Hart, *The New Annual Army List for 1850*, 241; Great Britain War Office, *Manual of Military Law* (London, 1894), 2.

end in breaches of the public peace.” Additionally, the Queen’s Regulations insisted upon unfashionably short haircuts to ensure “the cleanliness, and the military appearance of the soldier,” thus requiring imperial agents to model and display the vitality of British masculinity.⁷

Cadets faced twice-yearly examinations, a severe process of written, practical, and oral testing. The 1830 examining board included “Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Paget, the Governor-Lieutenant General the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope; Sir Herbert Taylor, the Adjutant-General of the Army; Lord Edward Somerset, the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; and Sir George Scovell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the institution,” a panel that surely intimidated the most confident of students. The examinations on the first day covered geometry and interviews in French and German. The examinations continued the next day with assessments on field fortifications, offensive and defensive tactics, horsemanship, and fort construction. Sixteen out of seventeen cadets passed all examinations satisfactorily. One can only imagine the ridicule inflicted upon, and the shame experienced by, the lone failure. At least his name did not appear in the published report.⁸

Immediately following the article on Sandhurst, a similar survey provided information on the mid-year, pre-merger examinations at Addiscombe. These cadets completed a two-year course for an engineering commission in India, majoring in mathematics. Fortification, however, held a close second place, and the reporter noted, “The cadets commence it from their entrance, beginning with two simple outlines of the bastion system, containing a full detail of the names of the various lines and angles forming a front of

⁷ Great Britain War Office, *The Queen’s Regulations and Orders for the Army* (London, 1844), v, 128-9, 315-6. The emphasis is in the original.

⁸ *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, 1830, Part II (London, 1830), 79-82; Hodson, *Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers*, Box: 23, 40, 42; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 42:347-8, 53:904-5.

fortification.” Supplemental offerings included courses on gunnery, surveying, Latin, and French, and twenty lectures offered to the Senior Year in Chemistry and Geology. With regard to the foreign language requirement, the diligent *United Service Journal* reporter advised in 1830 that examination results were highly satisfactory and concluded, “The general air and demeanour of the corps confirmed in every respect our first impression, that the claim of its members was more than nominal to the title of *Gentlemen-Cadets*.”⁹

All was not, however, studious behavior and the polite sportsmanship of the cricket eleven. The physical excesses of young males needed to be tightly controlled, both formally and informally. Swift and severe reprimands, but not corporal punishment, lay in store for any violation of the college’s rules. Extra guardroom duties and close or open arrest rewarded minor infringements. Insubordination resulted in a diet of bread and water or solitary confinement in the “Black Hole.” Drinking alcohol (a prohibition operated on campus grounds) and more serious cases of disobedience placed the cadet in front of the Lieutenant Governor. Guilty cadets would find their summer holidays cancelled, commissions suspended, bunking (public expulsion), or for the worst offenders — rustication (being barred from serving for a two-to-four year period). Captains of the cadet companies instilled discipline by supervising parades, monitoring class attendance, and acting as vigilant watchdogs. To avoid bullying, first-year “Johns” (from Johnny Raw) “fagged” for senior classmen known as “Regs.” Fagging included making beds, running messages, smuggling contraband.¹⁰

⁹ *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, Part Two, 1830, 83, 85-8. The emphasis is in the original. Sébastien Le Prestre, Seigneur de Vauban was a seventeenth-century French military engineer, famous for the design, defense, and capture of fortifications.

¹⁰ Thomas, *The Story of Sandhurst*, 21-3, 65-6, 89, 91, 94; Shepperd, *Sandhurst*, 56; Henry E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta, being chiefly Reminiscences of the days of Warren Hasting, Francis, and Impey* (London., 1908), 17, 31-2, 390. The “Black Hole (of Calcutta)” refers to an ill-ventilated guard-room room measuring 14’ by 18’ where, according to Surgeon and East India Company civil servant John Z. Holwell (who

Indeed, Major-General Thomas Bland Strange's irreverent autobiography spoke of the cadet's experience in the military college. He declared, "Formerly it was *de rigueur* for a cadet to join at Woolwich in an evening dress-coat and a tall hat, 'a claw-hammer coat and a stove-pipe,' as the Yankees call it, and woe betide the boy who did not comply with the custom. *Mos pro Iege* [Latin: custom as law]. The disciplinary process at the hands of the senior cadets, rough but effectual, commenced at once." The General continued, "Cadet Jingo's [Strange's college moniker] first disciplinary lesson was severe, and he did not require a second. Going downstairs from the halls of study, his descent was accelerated by a kick between the swallow tails from an old but diminutive cadet." In failing to acknowledge the senior in the expected manner, Jingo was "severely belted" by four corporals of his division. Strange concluded, "With seniors of bad disposition discipline occasionally degenerated into cruelty. The prevailing spirit was, however, more of fun than deliberate cruelty, though many a severe and sometimes salutary lesson was conveyed." Thus, informal sanctions performed by the cadets created a cadre of "tough fellows," who could endure hazing, dress impeccably, and offer polite deference to rank. Indeed, in *Dombey and Son*, Charles Dickens offers a social commentary on the conditions at the RMA with, "None but the tough fellows could live through ... Sandhurst but it made us what we were sir ... we were iron, and it forged us."¹¹

held military command of Fort William during an attack in 1756 by the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud-Daulah), 146 men were imprisoned, and 123 subsequently died. Bullying at Sandhurst included "Ventilating" – the tying of a cadet to a ventilator and poking him with dining forks; "Shovelling" forced a John to lay spread-eagled on a table and be beaten with shovels and racquets; a student who was "Adamised" would be stripped naked and lowered to the parade ground, thus having to re-enter the building via a manned guard-room.

¹¹ Major-General Bland Strange, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee* (London, 1893), 22-3; Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online: Thomas Bland Strange, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=42107>, accessed 21 August 2010; Charles Dickens, *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1848; reprint, London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), 120 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

The officers trained at Sandhurst and Addiscombe upheld the military *esprit de corps* of honor and duty combined with the Victorian ideal of a gentleman. While some scholars are reluctant to use the terms “gentleman” and “lady,” yet a gentleman held a specific role and responsibilities in nineteenth-century society. According to Philip Mason, the Victorians “needed an imperial class, men who were accustomed to giving orders and to see they were obeyed, and to do this with a minimum of force, and with a consideration for the governed that would inspire a minimum of resentment.” The art of dueling that formerly defined the honorable gentleman had largely disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century, but the chivalric notions of loyalty and courage remained and became combined with civic virtues of thoughtfulness and unselfishness. A true gentleman, according to William Burn, was required “to use his position for good ends, never to abuse it; he ought to be as much afraid of seducing a girl as of cheating at cards, or running away from battle ... the conception of the gentlemen was being enlarged to give more weight to virtue, to education, and to a sense of social obligation.”¹²

William Makepeace Thackeray summarized and defined the Victorian gentleman by asking, “Which is the noble character for after ages to admire; yon fribble dancing in lace and spangles, or yonder hero who sheathes his sword after a life of spotless honour, purity unapproached [sic], a courage indomitable, and a consummate victory? Which of these is the true gentleman? What is it to be a gentleman?” He answered his rhetorical question with another: “Is it to have lofty aims, to lead a pure life, to keep your honour virgin; to have the esteem of your fellow-citizens, and the love of your fireside; to bear good fortune meekly; to

¹² Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal* (New York, 1982), 12; William L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation* (London, 1964), 258-260. A duel allowed a gentleman the opportunity to restore his honor, and was common practice in England from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. Mason was an administrator in India and writer, and Burn is a historian.

suffer evil with constancy; and through evil or good to maintain truth always? Show me the happy man whose life exhibits these qualities, and him we will salute as gentleman, whatever his rank may be.” Even so, the unwritten law in obtaining a commission required an applicant to be “a man of education, manners, honor, and other qualities acquired by the education which English Gentlemen receive.”¹³

Similarly, Sir John MacDonald’s address to the Eleventh Hussars (Light Dragoons) printed in the October 1840 editions of both *The Times* and *United Service Journal* delineated the connection between the civilian and military masculine code — the ideal of an officer and gentleman. In reminding the men of their obligation to be an “honour” to Her Majesty’s service, he reiterated, “the rules, articles, and regulations for the government of the British Army, require that the officers thereof should conduct themselves as ought gentlemen, men of truth, honour, and morality. It is, then, the proud characteristic of the British Army, that its officers are gentlemen by education, manners, and habits; that some are men of the first families in the country, and some of large property, but the rules and regulations of the Service require strictly from all, that they should conduct themselves as ought gentlemen in every situation in which they may be placed.” Confirming this sense of imperial representation, Albert Hervey delineated the indoctrination of the gentlemanly code on arrival at his new posting. He declared, “a mess well regulated serves to keep up the respectability of the body of officers.” He added, “the British soldier is a paragon of excellence as a soldier; he is a very type of an Englishman in his military spirit; he is brave as a lion before the enemy, and has a heart, with energy as indomitable as the country from whence he sprang.” Hence, the gentlemen officers operating within the military institution

¹³ William M. Thackeray, *The Four Georges. The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1869), 132.

answered the economic and territorial needs of the Empire, reflected moral and behavioral ideals of the parent society, and acted as guardian of these values.¹⁴

Hew Strachan and Peter Stanley offer an examination of British military men in nineteenth-century India. Strachan finds that regular officer commissions depended somewhat on birth, but mainly on the ability to purchase a commission. He determines that in 1830 21 percent were aristocrats, 32 percent landed gentry, and the remaining 47 percent from middle-class families. A growing shift to a professional, middle-class occupation becomes clear by 1847 when out of five thousand infantry officers, only 103 held a title. Stanley compares the enlistment in the Regular and Company armies to find that the Queen's officers were generally from aristocratic families, but wealth increasingly played a role. Simple economics determined whether young men would join the Queen's or Company's service, with schooling, commissions and outfitting in the Regular Army costing *double* that of a Company contract. "Pretensions to gentility," Stanley argues, existed in both services, although the Queen's men (who received a higher percentage of divisional and brigade commands) considered the Indian Army officers (who held lucrative regimental commands in the Company) as "distinctly inferior." In 1840, 92 percent of Sandhurst cadets were sons of "gentlemen" and military officers, who upheld their aspirations to genteel status, but the officers in the Company's employ could not match these birth or wealth conditions.¹⁵

This understanding of a rigid class division, however, does not find support by two contemporary military men: Field-Marshal Garnet Viscount Wolseley and Captain Sydney

¹⁴ Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-1854* (Manchester, 1984), 110-1; Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London, 1977), 279-280; *The Times*, 29 October 1840, issue 17501, 5; *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, Part III, 1840, 423; Hervey, *A Soldier of the Company*, 28-9; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 35:246-7.

¹⁵ Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 110-111; Peter Stanley, *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India* (New York, 1998), 22-25, 28; Henry R. Addison, Charles H. Oakes, William John Lawson, Douglas Brooke, and Wheelton Sladen, *Who's Who, 1907, an Annual Biographic Dictionary* (London, 1907), 954, 1924. Strachan is a military historian, and Stanley is the Principal Historian of the National Museum of Australia.

Jones-Parry. Wolseley hailed from a military background. His father sold his commission as a Major in the King's Own Borderers stationed in the West Indies. Of his father's service, Wolseley recalled, "The officers, as well as the men, drank hard and often quarrelled [sic] over their wine. Duels were common occurrences, but, strange to say, they seldom ended fatally." His father, he remarked, "was by no means clever ... [he was] badly educated ... [and] very poor and very proud ... [yet] he was chivalry itself in thought, word and action." Wolseley, nonetheless, followed his father's example and received his first commission on the 12 March 1852 as an Ensign in the South Staffordshire (Queen's) Regiment. He received an immediate posting to India with a company consisting of Irish "boy recruits" all under the age of nineteen. While awaiting embarkation for India at "Pongo [Chatham] Mess," the newly qualified Ensign described his fellow tyros. "I confess," he stated, "we were an uninteresting lot. The great bulk of the young men who then usually went to India were socially not of a high order. Of course, though very poor, many were the sons of old officers of good families, whose poverty compelled their sons to serve in India, if serve they would in the Army." He noted that most posted to India were "wanting in good breeding, and all seemed badly educated. For many and many a year, this depot had been similarly emptied each summer of its beardless ensigns to fill up the annual vacancies in the Queen's regiments serving in India. It was curious and interesting, though sad, to follow their military careers ... Some degenerated quickly into mere consumers of beer and brandy." He summarized, nonetheless, "However, as I look back at my early contemporaries ... I feel a pride in thinking and knowing that one and all, good and bad together, did England righteous service ... they fought hard for her honour ... they loved their country, and never shrank from death when her interests required them to face it."¹⁶

¹⁶ Field-Marshal Viscount Garnet Wolseley, *The Story of a Soldier* (New York, 1904), 5, 10-11.

While Wolseley denigrated the Queen's men, Captain Jones-Parry promoted the Company men. In 1849, he arrived in India to take up his commission with the Fifty-Second Madras Native Infantry. On arriving at Vellore, he described his fellow officers in glowing terms: "My first duty was to call and report myself to the Brigadier, to the Colonel commanding, and then on all who were on my sister's visiting list. I was extremely lucky in my regiment. The 52nd was a good one, officered by a set of well-educated gentlemen. I was more than lucky in my Adjutant ... [he] was not only a good soldier, but pre-eminently a gentleman." With regard to rivalry between the Company's and Queen's and officers, he commented, "I do not think that there is any difference in the class from which our officers and those of the Queen's army are selected; every man in the Company's service has brothers, father, or relations in the Queen's, but I think the constant active service, and the numerous independent commands which fall to the lot of the Company's subaltern officers out here, make them the better soldiers of the two. They are not so agreeable or polished, owing to the long absence from home and its associations." Thus, Company men understood themselves equal in class, yet accepted that they, perhaps, lacked social grace.¹⁷

Despite their lack of refinement, Jones-Parry added, "We were very sociable amongst ourselves, the married officers often asking us youngsters to dine. We were singularly fortunate in our officers' wives: they were charming." But what did the "charming" military spouses think of the men? Minnie Blane, the wife of Captain Archibald Wood of the Bengal Army, suffered an unhappy marriage, mired in debt. In a letter to her mother dated 2 April 1857, however, she included an inspection report conducted by Major General Sir Thomas Reed of her husband's men. The "flattering account" announced, "best thanks be offered to the European Officers, Native Officers, Staff Sergeants and Non

¹⁷ Sydney H. Jones-Parry, *An Old Soldier's Memories* (London, 1897), 19, 255.

Commissioned Offices and Sepoys of the Fourteenth Regiment Native Infantry for their united exertions which combined to ensure their success.” The report continued that the General was satisfied with “the cleanly appearance of the accoutrements” and “steadiness of the men,” with only one criticism — that “the Light Infantry was performed too steadily.” Mrs. Blane ended her missive with, “Dearest Mama, is that not pleasing!” Hence, the conditions of an unhappy and debt-ridden marriage did not deter this officer’s wife from enthusiastically upholding the imperial reputation of the Fourteenth Native Infantry.¹⁸

Rivalry between the British Army and the Indian Presidential Native Infantry imposed a concomitant divide between the wives. Florence Marryat bridled at “the conduct of some of the wives of officers in English corps, who used, on account of their own supposed superiority, to affect greatly to *look down* upon the married ladies of the ‘N. I.’ (as the Native Infantry regiments are technically termed), as well as upon their husbands.” Rising to the defense of the Madras Army, she enlightened her readers with, “After a period of seven years spent continuously in the presence of both ... I most emphatically affirm that, as a rule, I have never met with gentlemen anywhere to surpass in breeding and manners the officers of the Native Infantry regiments in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay.” This officer’s wife was aware of manufactured divisions not only between the Regular and Native armies, but also within the commission and promoted ranks. She explained, “There may be a great deal of Lords’ blood drafted into the European corps, but there is also a vast amount of shopkeepers’, and one is not quite certain on an introduction upon which one may fall; besides, men holding the position of officers in our home [British] regiments have often risen

¹⁸ Jones-Parry, *An Old Soldier’s Memories*, 33; Minnie Blane, *From Minnie with Love: The Letters of a Victorian Lady 1849-1861*, ed., Jane Vansittart (London, 1973), 77; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 354; Laureen Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka*, vol. 4 (München, 2001), 1527.

from the ranks, and raised their wives with them.” Thus, this officer’s wife refused to accept the premise that the Native Armies were less socially polished than the Queen’s companies, thus asserting equality of the imperial men, taking care to reveal the presence of commissioned shopkeepers’ sons, and promotion through the supposed elitist ranks.¹⁹

Supporting Mesdames Blane’s and Marryat’s positive view, Frances Parkes wrote romantically of the military personages with whom she came in contact. She found Colonel William L. Gardner, who commanded an Irregular Horse Regiment, an attractive man who “naturally made a strong impression ... Colonel Gardner's tall, commanding figure, soldier-like countenance, and military air, render his appearance very striking.” Mrs. Parkes’s admiration was typical. In contrast, Emma Roberts provided an extraordinary, alternative view that admired the sepoy and denigrated the Company men. The Native Infantries of all three presidencies she credited with qualities of equality “in the field, in strength, vigour, and good conduct But the Bengal sepoy has the advantage of a finer person and a more military air [and] are principally composed of high-caste men.” Of the officers the Army Captain’s daughter complained, “The lounging, dishevelled habits, produced by the climate, have assuredly a deteriorating effect upon the style and bearing of European officers in the Company's service. These gentlemen have certainly ... none of the upright, ramrod stiffness, which disciplinarians consider so essential, and which in Europe usually distinguishes a soldier from his fellow-citizens.” Her disdain became even more blatant with her comment that “the officer of the Madras army is known by the deranged or dilapidated state of his attire ... it is not uncommon to see him lounging about in a jacket so much the worse for wear as not to possess its full complement of buttons. Women, who are very quick-sighted in such matters, perceive at a glance the least violation of military proprieties.” Miss Roberts’s

¹⁹ Marryat, *Gup*, 61.

dim view of the Madras Army officers appears to be an isolated observation, or perhaps she recorded the reality more truthfully than her contemporaries. Implicit within her female response, nonetheless, was the expectation that military men would uphold, at all times, the imperial masculine ideal.²⁰

In shifting the imperial female role from mere observer to participant, Elizabeth, the wife of Major Dunbar Muter of the Sixtieth (The King's Royal) Rifle Corps, stationed at Meerut, opened her memoirs on 10 May 1857, the day when, and the place where, the Sepoy Mutiny began. She recorded, "A dull sound ... came over the stillness of nature ... it was the commencement of saturnalia destined to take a place in history, and to revolutionize the great empire which we had founded in the East." She immediately returned home and hid, recording, "To conceal myself in my own home, in the lines held by a regiment that had reckoned up a century of renown! And from what? That was the question. Was the native army in revolt? Had the threatened storm come so soon, and was the instrument, so carefully sharpened by our Government, at its own throat?" In describing those first fearful moments the Captain's wife, by using "we founded" included herself in the dutiful ranks of the Queen's soldiers and disclosed a political awareness of the empire. In so doing she revealed that military wives understood themselves to be knowledgeable and active agents of the imperial coterie.²¹

In confirming the inclusion of women as integral members of an imperial coterie, Isabella Fane, daughter of the Indian Commander-in Chief General Sir Henry Fane, mentioned, "we went for a few minutes to our Almack's. Here the ladies were able to showcase their latest gowns to one another. Fane noticed that "the Nepaul [sic] General

²⁰ Parkes, *Wanderings*, 409; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 159; Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index*, 1:303; Emma Roberts, *Scenes*, 316-7.

²¹ Muter, *Travels*, 1-3.

[Martabar Singh Thapa] was there, much disgusted I am told, with so much female exhibition ... he is said to have fixed his eyes most intently on ... [Isabella, wife of Colonel Marcus Beresford] ... so we think he might have been turning over in his mind that she would make him a good *nautch* girl!" The General, who would become Prime Minister of Nepal in 1843, disapproved of the British female fashion. Yet, Miss Fane dismissed his attitude with "we were doing nothing contrary to our habits and if he could not reconcile his mind to it he had better have staid [sic] at home." As the female representatives of empire, operating within a British club, these private musings of indifference and disrespect suggest an arrogant confidence in their ambassadorial status.²²

Also acting as imperial representatives, the Sherwoods attended a function at the palace of the Nawab in Moorshedabad to celebrate the annual rising of the river waters. The couple's discussion provides a glimpse at the self-regulation of the officer corps. Dressed in their finest evening attire the couple enjoyed the entertainments. Their "politeness was put to the test," however, when the regimental assistant-surgeon and his wife made their appearance. Mrs. Sherwood described the Scottish surgeon as having the "physiognomy of a horse" and his spouse as a "short, round, slovenly person ... [and] he [her husband] had caused her to dress in all imaginary finery." Apparently Captain Sherwood whispered "Don Quixote and Sancho Panza! and the whisper was never forgotten." Although dress could be imitated, manners could not. Captain and Mrs. Sherwood determined that the equine-

²² Isabella Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, ed. John Pemble (Gloucester, 1985), 30, 43, 46. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Almack's Assembly Rooms, an exclusive London club, admitted both sexes. Membership to this elite club was not determined on wealth, but on breeding and behavior. Catering to fashionable society, attendees used this venue to create and sustain an image, and to network among like company. The term "nautch" is an English representation of the Hindu word "naachch" whose direct translation means 'dance,' but often acted as a euphemism for a prostitute.

featured Scottish surgeon and his “slovenly” wife could only imagine, as did the Spanish protagonist and his companion, that they belonged to an august community.²³

Equally telling, an encounter with a Mrs. V, a “Dutch lady,” caused Mary Sherwood to comment on the exclusivity of the British contingent stationed in India. The woman who prompted unveiled disdain from the officer’s wife “spoke very broken English [and] in utter fearlessness . . . said everything that came uppermost, though she was always covered with fine muslin and jewels when she appeared abroad.” Despite wearing “fine” clothing, Mrs. V lacked verbal circumspection, which excluded her from the imperial set. The respectable English woman announced, “I never could, and indeed I never tried to assimilate with that sort of person, to be found, I fear, in all ranks, who lowers the standard of society by coarseness, as did this Dutch lady, though she was otherwise without taint to her reputation.” The slovenly attire of the surgeon’s wife and Mrs. V’s careless speech did not harmonize with the image of officer and gentleman, a central component of the imperialist esprit de corps.²⁴

In ways similar to the British officers, the American officer clique demonstrated an imperial purpose, duty, and military spirit. Despite contentions of national exceptionalism, there can be no question that the American military system evolved from the British model. The influence of the British Army extended beyond any one unit stationed in America. Russell Weigley, considering the origins of the American “respectable” Army, concludes that

²³ Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 289, 293. The title Nawab (Nawaab) of Bengal indicated the status of a provincial governor or viceroy of a region. During the time of Mrs. Sherwood’s visit Babur Ali was the ruling Nawab. Moorshedabad (Murshidabad) is located on the River Ganga. Published in 1604, *Don Quixote* was a fictional character from the pen of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. In the novel the protagonist set out on a doomed chivalric adventure that questions contemporary social identity and codes of conduct. Sancho Panza was Quixote’s obedient and loyal servant.

²⁴ Mrs. Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 332-3.

“essentially, the British Regular Army transplanted European methods of war to America, and did so successfully.” The imperial regiments fighting in America during the Seven Years War, he adds, “took on the brunt of fighting, won the war, and set a standard of expert soldiering for Americans to emulate.” Indeed, in the midst of Revolutionary fervor twenty years later, George Washington asserted that mere militia could *not* win against the British fighting force. He advocated that a regular army should be raised, led by commissioned gentlemen officers to create a “respectable army, and such as will be competent to every exigency.” The newly created Continental Army utilized a modified version of the British Articles of War, and patterned its military companies on British organization, thus emulating the respected men with whom Washington had served.²⁵

The Continental Army, with crucial assistance from the French and Dutch, eventually triumphed over the British imperial men. America achieved independence, but the problem of a peacetime army remained. Edward Coffman joins a consensus of historians who agree that most Americans feared and belittled any standing professional army. Despite public skepticism, Alexander Hamilton initially led the effort to create a standing army, established by Congress in 1784. Following the apparent settling of problems with the Indians of the Old Northwest with the Treaty of Grenville, Congress disbanded the “Legion of the United States” in 1796, and authorized in its place a much smaller institution, renamed the “United States Army.” Under pressure from Hamilton and his supporters anxious for war against France, Congress expanded the army in 1798. Appointments for 532 officers were invited with the overriding qualification a highly political one: the candidate must be a Federalist. With the removal of the French threat, this nascent military force experienced sharp

²⁵ Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York, 1967), 27-8; George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 5, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1890), 103.

reductions during the first administration of the new Democratic-Republican president, Thomas Jefferson. However, the possibility of another conflict with England, combined with the government-sponsored explorations of the Louisiana Purchase, witnessed an increase in the army to over 5,700 by 1802. Despite the fear and cost of a professional army, Jefferson authorized the establishment of a national military academy, West Point. By creating commissioned men who graduated with a sense of honor, duty, and loyalty, this officer training school purposely developed a cadre of highly skilled engineers who would assist national expansion.²⁶

The early curriculum concentrated on preparing a cadre of twenty officers to perform technical services within the Corps of Engineers, and with Jefferson's patronage, the United States Military Philosophical Society established itself to broaden the mental horizons of its students. Membership expanded, and the society's motto *Scientia in Bello Pax* (Science in War is the Guarantee of Peace) became synonymous, according to Jennings L. Wagoner, with the aim of the academy itself, that of "military preparedness, the advancement of engineering sciences, and western exploration." The cadets gained training in areas suitable to assist the westward movement by incorporating, Wagoner explain, "exploration, mapping, building canals, bridges, roads, and railways." Thus, West Point graduates answered the practical needs of American imperialism.²⁷

In seeking to clarify "the significance of the early academy in contingency and evolution, process and outcome," Samuel J. Watson argues that West Point contributed to

²⁶ Coffman, *The Old Army*, 3-4; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (1967; reprint, Lincoln, 1981), 348-9.

²⁷ Theodore J. Crackel, "The Military Academy in the Context of Jeffersonian Reform," in *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point*, ed. Robert McDonald (Charlottesville, 2004), 100, 111-2; Jennings L. Wagoner Jr., and Christine C. McDonald, "Mr. Jefferson's Academy: An Educational Interpretation," in *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point*, ed. Robert McDonald (Charlottesville, 2004), 135, 137, 141, 146; Wagoner is a Professor of Higher Education and Leadership.

“the reconciliation of individual and community through the self-discipline and self-regulation of ... ‘republican machines.’” President Jefferson’s ideals of combining military and scientific training in West Point graduates would inspire public servants to socialize broadly, to gain a “civil vision of their future accountability to the public ... [as] leaders of character to serve the nation.” The academy, according to Watson, produced a graduate accomplished as an engineer, scientist, well-drilled officer, and cosmopolitan technocrat, a man who held genteel manners and self-discipline “fostered by the precepts of duty, honor, and country.” Alongside the academic courses, dancing, fencing, and horsemanship assisted the cadet to achieve social grace and develop a sense of independence and honor. However, use of “gentry language” and an “aristocratic value system” faced criticism. To disabuse such charges, *duty* became accepted as “committing oneself to serving others,” while honor found definition in a cadet’s ability to perform his duty with “selfless integrity.” The all-encompassing term “country” served to legitimize and motivate personal efforts. Watson concludes that the gradual evolution of this code of honor encouraged a crucial sense of professional ethics, personal responsibility, and accountability. In the process, Jefferson’s “republican machines” carried the honorable, brave, obedient, and polite virtues of gentlemanly agents of empire.²⁸

Joseph Ellis suggests that early West Point represented “a floundering school for sons of the well-born,” though in the later years many cadets were middle class. Responding to the “floundering” Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer, like his British counterparts, remodeled the school to resemble the French *École Polytechnique*. With this restructuring, the academy

²⁸ Samuel J. Watson, “Developing ‘Republican Machines’: West Point and the Struggle to Render the Officer Corps Safe for America, 1802-33,” in *Thomas Jefferson’s Military Academy: Founding West Point*, ed. Robert McDonald (Charlottesville, 2004), 154-6, 163, 167, 170, 176; Gore Vidal, “West Point,” in *American Identities: Contemporary Multicultural Voices*, eds. Robert Pack and Jay Parini (Hanover, 1994), 325; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:952.

gained a national reputation for engineering and discipline. The cadets, in an atmosphere of strict rules, policies, and prohibitions, became “remade in the image of Thayer himself ... graduates of Thayer’s West Point had a genuine sense that they were privy to archetypal insights denied to others and that the mental training and character traits ostensibly acquired as cadets separated them from other men.” Dennis H. Mahan, a former cadet, returned to the academy in 1830 and became Professor of Civil and Military Engineering. He taught the capstone course that included “civil and military architecture, field fortification, permanent fortification, and the science of artillery.” Learning, according to K. Bruce Galloway and Robert B. Johnson, revolved around a rigid honor system. The simple wording “a cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal” belied a complex code which created self-regulation. This sense of personal accountability extended as a collective identity. The graduate protected the “honor of the corps,” and according to the authors, “it is a kind of ritualistic participation mystique difficult for those who have not worshipped at the Thayer monument to understand.” These values of honor, bravery, obedience, integrity and reputation encouraged at West Point reflected gentlemanly traditions.²⁹

Yet, as at Sandhurst, the transformation of a young cadet into an officer and gentleman did not occur without strict discipline. Virginian Thomas Rowland, the eldest son of Major Isaac S. Rowland, wrote letters to his family from his admission to West Point in 1859 until his resignation following secession in 1861. As a cadet, he ranked first in a class of forty-two pupils and would later serve as a Confederate Army major. He excitedly described his daily routine of study, swimming, and dance lessons, yet underscored the strict

²⁹ Joseph Ellis and Robert Moore, *School for Soldiers: West Point and the Profession of Arms* (New York, 1974), 12, 32-4, 160; James L. Morrison Jr., “*The Best School in the World*”: *West Point, the Pre-Civil War Years, 1833-1866* (Kent, 1986), ix, 3-4, 61, 152-3; Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 150; Bruce Galloway and Robert B. Johnson Jr., *West Point: America’s Power Fraternity* (New York, 1973), 106, 109, 123-4, 144-5.

discipline imposed by the senior students. He remarked, “the cadet officers are very fierce and give their commands with an emphasis that makes a man *tremble in his shoes*, and if a poor ‘plebe’ in his fright and confusion makes a false step or an awkward or slow movement with his musket, no matter how inexperienced he may be, he is confined to the guard tomb for the offence.” This informal discipline among the cadets clearly mirrors British practices. Graduates who successfully navigated the four-year training program dominated the officer corps and often served on the military frontier. There they upheld the principled behavior and imperial purpose instilled at West Point — honor, duty, and country.³⁰

Perhaps what the institution considered dishonorable best explains the cadet’s quest to be regarded as honorable. Captain Orsemus A. Boyd, who entered the army in 1861, received his congressman’s recommendation to attend West Point two years later. Unfortunately, during his first year his refusal to prove his “courage and ability” by declining a challenge to “battle” with a fellow cadet earned him the label of “coward.” A far more serious incident, however, branded Boyd as a thief. His wife recounted, “In the academy at that time were several cadets, sons of very wealthy parents, who, contrary to West Point rules, kept in their rooms at barracks, large sums of money ... So great was the confidence of the academy classmates in each other that the money was simply placed in a trunk, to which all the clique had free access.” Following the disappearance of large amounts from this fund, company cadets formed a committee “to find and punish the thief.” Targeted by his cowardly reputation, Mrs. Boyd’s husband was found guilty and placed “in confinement until later in the day, when at dress parade they could publicly and brutally disgrace him.”

Accompanied by the “unearthly harmony” of the fifes and drum playing the “Rogues March”

³⁰ Utley, *Frontiersmen*: 348-9; Coffman, *The Old Army*, 3-4, 6-7, 8; Thomas Rowland, “Letters of a Virginian Cadet at West Point,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (July 1915): 201, 208. The emphasis is in the original.

and with a placard affixed on his chest naming him as a coward, liar, and thief, Boyd left the academy in disgrace. On hearing of the informal proceedings, however, Superintendent George W. Cullum ordered Boyd back to the school, and a later official court of inquiry found him “not guilty.” His peers, nonetheless, found the charge simply “not proven,” and ostracized him throughout his remaining two years at West Point. Determined to “show the world he possessed such bravery as would not allow false charges to ruin his whole career,” he continued his studies and graduated as an officer and gentleman in 1867, receiving a commission in the Eighth Cavalry.³¹

Examining the social composition of the American army officer corps, William B. Skelton concludes that by the immediate antebellum period, and reflecting the shift of the British Army identified by Strachan and Stanley, the majority of men hailed from “respectable middle and upper-middle class families with traditions of public service.” His analysis of the Army registers of 1830 and 1860 confirms that 20 percent of officers’ fathers were federal civil or military officeholders, 25 percent held professional occupations, 25 percent had commercial employment, and a further 25 percent were engaged in commerce/manufacturing. As in the British experience, men entered the Army as a family tradition. On entering West Point in 1841, Edmund K. Smith’s network of family members in the army included a brother, three uncles, and a brother-in-law. His father had risen to the rank of colonel, and his grandfather had held a Continental Army commission. Despite this family tradition of military service, Skelton suggests that, like the British experience, economics played a central role in this career choice. Financial hardship prompted at least 20 percent of officer applications, and outnumbered, four to one, ideological/romantic

³¹ Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 6-7, 10-12, 14-15, 17; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:343.

motivations. Despite, perhaps, the economic motivation to serve, training academies insisted on gentlemanly performances and instilled a real sense of honorable duty to one's country.³²

Morris Schaff, a cadet during the period 1858-1862, confirmed the ambience at West Point as encouraging “the military spirit in its medieval habit of thought and aristocratic isolation” and the academy itself as the “fountain of truth, its hearth of courage, its altar of duty, and its temple of honor.” Such practices promoted the formation of frontier regimental brotherhoods, striated by rank, influenced by notions of gentility installed at West Point. The new professional military used this code of ethics to support its claim to professionalism. In 1817, 14 percent of the army officer corps were West Point graduates; in 1830, this percentage rose to 63 percent, and in 1860, a staggering 75 percent had completed the four-year officer program. Approximately 60 percent of officers serving in the West graduated from the prestigious academy. This military training, then, produced “nation-builders,” whose “strong sense of honor” forged a common identity and professional cohesion at the isolated western garrisons.³³

The officers' wives who journeyed west to join their husbands built upon this heritage by admiring and insisting upon such principled behavior. On watching the Seventh Cavalry depart for the 1876 summer campaign, Elizabeth Custer recalled, “The sun ... took every little bit of burnished steel on the arms and equipment along the line of horsemen, and turned them into glittering flashes of radiating light ... my husband glanced back to admire his men,

³² William B. Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms: The Officer Corps, 1784-1861* (Lawrence, 1992), 154-5, 158-160, 165; Joseph H. Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 77; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:896. Skelton provides a table of paternal occupations and defines “professional status” as including: Lawyer/Judge, Medical Doctor, Clergyman, College Professor, and Teacher. The commercial/manufacturing classification included Merchant/Shopkeeper, Banker, Manufacturer/Founder, Company employee/agent, Sea Captain/Pilot, Contractor, Civil Engineer/Surveyor, Artisan/Machinist, and Laborer/Seaman. See *American Profession of Arms*, page 159.

³³ Oliver Knight, *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army* (Norman, 1978), 3-6, 12; Morris Schaff, *The Spirit of Old West Point* (Boston, 1907), 138, 174; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:599; Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians*, 169.

and could not refrain from constantly calling my attention to their grand appearance ... the soldiers, inured to many years of hardship, were the perfection of physical manhood.” She continued admiringly, “Their brawny limbs and lithe, well-poised bodies ... their resolute faces, brave and confident, inspired one with a feeling that they were going out aware of the momentous hours awaiting them, but inwardly assured of their capability to meet them.” In describing her husband’s men as “the perfection of physical manhood” with “resolute faces,” Elizabeth Custer implicitly associated the Seventh Cavalry with West Point’s virtues of “duty, honor, and country, and gentlemanly demeanor.” Similarly, Martha, the wife of Lieutenant Jack Summerhayes, following twenty-four years in the West, declared, “I am glad to have known the Army: the soldiers, the line, and the Staff; it is good to think of honor and chivalry, obedience to duty and the pride of arms; to have lived amongst men whose motives were unselfish and whose aims were high, who stood ready, at the call of their country, to give their lives for a Government which is, to them, the best in the world.” In such referencing, both military wives portrayed their husbands, posted on the western frontier, as noble ambassadors of empire.³⁴

Also incorporating chivalric rhetoric, Alice, the wife of Lieutenant Frank Baldwin of the Thirty-Seventh U. S. Infantry, twice decorated with the Medal of Honor, frequently cast military men as “lords” and “gallant warriors” who accomplished “brave deeds.” She quoted directly from Sir Walter Scott’s poem *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* to describe her husband as “My ‘Young Lochinvar out of the West.’” In identifying her military spouse with the fictional knight, she portrayed her soldier husband as such a gallant, implicitly

³⁴ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 264; Martha D. Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman* (Philadelphia, 1908), 270; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:936. For a discussion of chivalric imagery utilized by the American officers’ wives in the American West see , McInnis, “Ladies of the Frontier Forts,” 35-56.

casting herself as his lady fair. Similarly, Teresa Vielé on moving to her husband's new post at Ringgold Barracks in 1850, reflected this romanticism with "There never was a country more unfitted by nature to the home of civilized man, than this region of lower Rio Grande in Texas ... through the character of all [the Americans] there runs a tinge of romance and chivalry ... their innate nobility and high-toned sense of honor resemble more the days of Ivanhoe and Richard Cœur-de-Lion." She enthusiastically continued, "No recruit ever entered the service with more enthusiasm than I did or felt more eager to prove himself a soldier...Mars would have gloried in the wonderful female that my imagination loved to paint...intercourse with the most savage tribe of Indians was nothing to her! ... 'The Regiment adored her.'" In this romanticized announcement, Vielé revealed her imagined role as an ambassador. In an uncivilized territory, she would "prove" to be a brave and adorable "soldier," one of the regiment — sharing a noble and honorable esprit de corps. Confirming this understanding of an imperial partnership, an overnight stop at Pond Creek Station, Kansas, while en route to Fort Reno led Mrs. D. B. Dyer to declare that here, "on the dividing line of civilization," she and her husband "were looked upon as 'big chiefs' from Washington."³⁵

Not all officers, however, behaved as "big chiefs," or even respectable gentlemen. Following indefatigable amorous advances made by the married Captain Andrew Geddes in 1879, Lillie, daughter of Lieutenant Louis H. Orleman, stationed at Fort Stockton, unwisely accepted Geddes's protestations of love and acquiesced to frequent unchaperoned visits. Living in the quarters adjacent to Miss Orleman and her father, he regularly took advantage of the young woman's naïvete. This tawdry affair ended in an official court-martial. In an

³⁵ Alice Blackwood Baldwin, *Memoirs of Major General Frank D. Baldwin* (Los Angeles, 1929), 121, 126, 168, 190; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:185. Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 121; Vielé, *Following the Drum*, 120-1; Dyer, *Fort Reno*, 24, 27.

attempt to justify his behavior, Geddes accused Miss Orleman's father of incest, and pained his own visits as necessary to "champion" a "distressed maiden." The allegation of incest against Orleman remained unproven. Found guilty of conduct unbecoming a gentleman, Geddes was cashiered from the army and required to serve a three-year prison term. Although this sentence was overturned by President Rutherford B. Hayes, Geddes would be subsequently be dismissed on a separate conviction of conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman. His argument in court manipulated widely held codes of honorable respectability in the American army to defend inappropriate carnal behavior.³⁶

Despite the "lounging and dishevelled habits" of the Madras Army officers, and the philandering of Lieutenant Geddes, the majority of British and American officers who graduated from the military academies became committed to duty, created an unshakeable *esprit de corps*, and whole-heartedly furthered imperialist ambitions. The surveying of Sandhurst, Addiscombe, and West Point clearly indicates the similarities in training, behaviors, and understandings of imperial roles. After posting to India and the American West, most commissioned men performed as officers and gentlemen of the empire, reflecting and reinforcing nineteenth-century gentlemanly ideals. Indeed, wives who accompanied their military men to British India and the American West understood themselves as admirers and partners of their "dauntless warriors." As one such imperial "lady fair," Mrs. Parkes approved of the commanding and striking air of Colonel Gardner. Miss Fane's belittlement of General Martabar Singh Thapa at Almack's, however, and Mrs. Sherwood's ridicule of the

³⁶ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 117-121; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:451, 760. In attempting to escape charges during his second court-martial (1880), Geddes advised that he simply wished to protect a well-connected woman's reputation. This presumptive attempt of gallantry did not save his career, and Captain Geddes was cashiered from the service.

“Don Quixote and Sancho Panza” couple, denied such personages any imperial qualities. Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie stationed at Lodiana on the North West Frontier in 1847, however, passed muster. His wife proudly declared, “He succeeded in forming a splendid regiment [Fourth Sikhs].” Despite the primitive conditions and mud-hut housing, the training he received at Sandhurst stood firm. He “always impressed upon his men that a soldier was a gentleman, and *therefore* should be foremost in doing whatever had to be done.” Similarly, the mid-nineteenth-century cadets enrolled at West Point, according to Cadet Thomas Rowland developed into a “distinctly military milieu,” a “band of brothers” complete with aristocratic airs and imbued with a sense of honor, duty, and loyalty.³⁷

Officers’ wives acknowledged imperial symbolism not only in military architecture, but also by the admiration of, and connection to, their husbands’ roles as officers and gentlemen. In joining their husbands on the outposts of empire, these women undertook long and occasionally dangerous journeys, often unaccompanied, to join their husbands. In comparing travel and initial destination arrivals through a transnational lens, it becomes apparent that the writers attempted to ameliorate a sense of dislocation by declaring an exaggerated attachment to symbols of nationalism, overlaid memories of home on alien landscapes and peoples, and espoused extreme racial prejudice. In so doing they created a new social reality by designing a unique identity forged through military commitment, loyalty, and imperial duty.

³⁷ Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms*, 177; Helen MacKenzie, *Storms and Sunshine in a Soldier’s Life: Lt-General Sir Colin MacKenzie, C.B., 1825-1881* (Edinburgh, 1884), 36-7; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 29; Rowland, “Letters of a Virginian Cadet at West Point,” 201, 208. The emphasis is in the original.

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL JOURNEYS AND ARRIVALS:

ARMY OFFICERS' WIVES AS TRANSNATIONAL COURIERS OF EMPIRE

*Bewildered with the novelty of the scene around me Everywhere I see something new to look at every moment. What bits to sketch! What effects here! What colouring there! Such were my impressions on my first drive through the native town of Bombay. Viscountess Falkland*¹

Writing on board the British merchant vessel *Reliance*, en route to India in 1837, Honoria, the wife of Lieutenant Henry Lawrence of the Bengal Artillery, noted in her journal, “I sit in my cabin *déshabillée*, that is to say no clothing save a chemise, dressing gown, and a pair of slippers. How am I ever to go clothed like a civilized being in India is more than I can divine.” She clearly understood that dress, as an imperial text, would signal British civilization and that she would need to pay close attention to such matters. An earlier entry indicated her understanding of the role as the wife of a minor government official. Thankful that her husband had received a civil secondment, she looked forward to sharing “an influential station where a man can repress wrong and encourage right.” Indeed, in keeping the journal for the sole purpose of providing a record for her husband’s sight, she continued, “We [women] do and must influence the character of men, and therefore we ought deliberately and conscientiously to form our opinions, that our weight may be thrown into the right scale. I will tell you what I believe to be one of the strongest feelings in me: desire after influence. Not the love of sway, or carrying the point ... but the power of influencing minds.”²

¹ Viscountess Falkland, *Chow Chow*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson (London, 1930), 5, 9, 11.

² Honoria Lawrence, *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence*, eds. J. Lawrence and A. Woodiwiss (London, 1980), 14, 22, 25. Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 27. The emphasis is in the original.

In contrast, Frances, the wife of Lieutenant Fayette Roe of the Third U.S. Infantry Regiment, recorded her “own life [reminiscences] with the Army in the Far West, whether they be about Indians, desperadoes, or hunting.” After prefixing her collection of published letters with a claim to their honesty and the omission of “flowery descriptions,” Mrs. Roe described her journey to Fort Lyon in 1871. Forced to spend an evening in Kit Carson township, she remarked, “I am thankful enough that our stay is short in this terrible place where one feels there is a danger of being murdered any minute. Not one woman have I seen here, but there are men — dreadful looking men.” She then proceeded to describe the town, clearly different from her home in Cincinnati, Ohio. “The houses we saw ... were worse even than the men,” she observed, and decided they were more suited as homes for “spooks and creepy things The whole place is horrible, and dismal beyond description.” She additionally complained that only a small trunk could accompany her directly to the fort; thus she felt “mortified” that she would be introduced to the regiment with “only two dresses.”³

The juxtaposition of Mrs. Lawrence’s eloquent anticipation of greater female authority with Mrs. Roe’s disdainful and uneasy account of her physical westward journey exemplifies the polar extremes of expectations and concerns voiced by nineteenth-century British and American officers’ wives. Both women expressed concern in presenting themselves through appropriate dress codes as imperial wives. Sea voyages, overland treks, and arrivals acted as spaces within which they rehearsed roles as imperial ambassadors. In examining private correspondence, travelogues, and published memoirs, a comparative, transnational analysis argues that women who journeyed to reunite with their spouses on the borders of empire donned protective masks of extreme patriotic nationalism and racial

³ Frances M. A. Roe, *Army Letters from an Officer’s Wife, 1871-1888* (1909; reprint, Lincoln, 1973), viii, 3; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 842.

prejudice. On arrival, the women sought familiar, reassuring landscapes in India and the American West. Indigenous peoples and terrains, however, were viewed as different, the “other,” and subjected to exaggerated racial censure. In creating a new social reality the women ameliorated a sense of dislocation and isolation by crafting a new identity forged through military commitment, loyalty, and imperial duty — as ambassadors of empire.⁴

As analysts point out, nineteenth-century female travel accounts, rather than providing accurate observations, offer insights into the worldviews of the authors, and thus a reflection of contemporary national norms. Travel writing as a genre provides the reader with an interpretation not of truth, but a complicated product of imagined geographies. Indeed, the western view of Eastern places and peoples depends upon construction of a territorial and human other, and the legitimatization of imperial authority relies on such fantasized terrains. By transforming different landscapes into familiar images of empire, the Orient (and by extension the Occident) becomes reshaped as imperial space. Wolfgang Iser adds that collective “memory and otherness” are both generated “by a boundary crossing and by a realignment of what has become separate.” Thus a journey across physical landscape provides a liminal transitional space where power and desire are explored. After examining the post-Mutiny imperial travel writing in India by women who had been held in the besieged garrison at Lucknow, Alison Blunt argues that “interconnections between imperialism,

⁴ Angelika Bammer, “Mother Tongues and Other Strangers: Writing ‘Family’ across Cultural Divides,” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, ed. Angelika Bammer (Bloomington, 1994), 92, 93, 95. In determining “distinctions between the “the Orient” and “the Occident” literary theorist Edward Said concludes that the idea of the “other” evolved as “European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.” He qualifies Orientalism as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,” positions the “Orientalist,” as one who teaches, “writes about, or researches the Orient.” See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London., 1978; reprint, London, 2003), 2-3.

domestic space, and gender power ... cannot be understood without a focus on travel, and representations of travel.”⁵

Denise Comer utilizes a feminist and post-colonial approach to argue that British women adopted female fictional genres to distance their contributions from traditional “desire” forms of “travel-as-sexual quest or travel-as scientific” narratives. In so doing, they perpetuated “fiction of empire as a masculine endeavor” and constructed an imagined geography of India that “maintain[ed] and strengthen[ed] British hegemony in India.” She asserts that these women participated in the “British endeavor ... to create, maintain, and reify” India, as an imagined imperial community. For Comer, women “were not merely idle appendages to their husbands ... existing to organize the household of servants and take naps,” but active participants in crafting and maintaining imperialism by creating “fiction[s] of empire.” Similarly, Rosemary Raza’s investigations of British female writers who published Indian monographs suggest that within the domestic and social realms women, “reinforced structures of society, established its cultural and social tone, monitored its standards, and patrolled its boundaries.” She questions the negative stereotype of the *memsahib* as prejudicial and isolationist, to underscore the female as a cultural icon, representing “the highest ideals of [British] society ... and civilization.” Scholars who examine nineteenth-century American Army wives’ narratives agree that their writings offer

⁵ James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory, “Introduction,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory (London, 1998), 4-5; Said, *Orientalism*, 16, 95, 211; Wolfgang Iser, “Coda to the Discussion,” in *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, eds. S. Budick and Wolfgang Iser (Palo Alto, 1996), 297. Alison Blunt, “The Flight from Lucknow: British Women Travelling and Writing Home, 1857-8,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory (London, 1998), 94. Iser was a literary theorist, Blunt is a geographer.

a social commentary of the nation, revealing more about the female social role than frontier landscapes.⁶

Most telling, perhaps, are the published accounts of the officers' wives themselves. Margaret, the first wife of Colonel Henry B. Carrington of the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry, offered the following book dedication: "with acknowledgments to Lieutenant-General [W. T.] Sherman, whose suggestions at Fort Kearney [sic], in the spring of 1866, were adopted, in preserving a daily record of the events of a peculiarly eventful journey." The "peculiarly eventful journey" began in May 1866, when Margaret observed the regimental preparations for travel from Fort Kearny to Absaraka, North Dakota. She echoed the oft-stated sentiment of traveling to a different world by noting, "All contingencies had to be anticipated, so that the day of arrival in the new country should be the day of commencement, and there should then be no delay to wait for anything from the United States." In making the distinction between the East and West, she clearly viewed the continent's interior as a geographical "other." With regard to her writings, she understood herself as tasked by Sherman to act as a representative of a developing empire. She recorded, "At his suggestion some of the ladies began their daily journal of events, and thus laid the basis for the conversion of *one* into this narrative for the eyes of friends who could not share the trip." Frances, at this time the wife of Lieutenant Colonel George Grummond of the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry, recalled that Sherman "urged all army officers' wives to accompany their husbands and to take with them

⁶ Denise K. Comer, "Fictions of Empire: British Women's Travel Narratives in India, 1799-1854" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1999), 3-4, 6, 16-7, 24, 33, 60; Rosemary Raza, *British Women Writers and India, 1740-1857* (New Delhi, 2006), xi, xv, 67; Sandra Myres, "Frontier Historians, Women, and the 'New' Military History," *Military History of the Southwest* 19, no.1 (Spring 1989): 37. Comer, a professor of literature and women's studies, analyzes the writings of four British women writers, Eliza Fay, Bessie Fenton, Emma Roberts, and Mary Sherwood. "The definition of a nation," according to Benedict Anderson, "is an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." He advises "communities are to be distinguished ... by the style in which they are imagined." See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), 6. Myres was a western women's historian, and Raza an independent scholar.

all needed comforts for a pleasant garrison life in the newly opened country, where all would be healthful, with pleasant service, and absolute peace.”⁷

Similarly, a British officer’s wife, Maria Graham, assumed the mantle of a self-appointed imperial commentator. Although she prefaced her reflections with “they were really and truly written . . . for the amusement of an intimate friend,” she bemoaned the fact that all published works on India were “entirely occupied” with military, commercial, and political discussions. This being so, she decided to publish her narrative as a “popular work” for a general audience. She attested that “though aware that, among a people whose laws, whose religion, whose arts, whose habits of reasoning and notions of politeness, all differ from ours, as radically as their language or complexion, it was natural to expect some variation from our standards as to the morals and the charities and decencies of social life, she [Graham] must confess that the difference was greater than she found it easy to reconcile.” Notwithstanding her aforementioned popular purpose, she clearly understood her imperial role in seeking “to direct the attention of those in whose hands so much of their [Indian people’s] destiny is placed, to the means of improving their moral and intellectual condition, as well as of securing them from political or civil injuries.”⁸

In the preface to her narrative, published immediately after the outbreak of the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, Helen Mackenzie revealed her imperial affiliation in no uncertain terms. She declared, “We conquered India from the *Muhammadan* [Muslim] invaders, who had ruled it with a rod of iron . . . our rule has been a deliverance and an unspeakable benefit to the

⁷ Margaret Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA, Land of Massacre: Being the Experience of an Officer’s Wife on the Plains. With an Outline of Indian Operations and Conferences from 1865-1879* (Philadelphia, 1879), dedication, 36, 40-1; Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life and the Fort Phil Kearney Massacre* (Philadelphia, 1911), 61-2; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:286, 482. The emphasis is in the original. Grummond served under Carrington in the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry, and was killed in the Fetterman fight of 1866. Margaret Carrington died in 1870, and Frances subsequently married the widowed Henry in 1871.

⁸ Graham, *Journal*, vi, viii-ix.

Hindus ... we rescued the aged Emperor, whose descendants we have ever since pensioned and protected.” Her alarm and outrage reached a crescendo in warning, “we must remember that, as regards morality, the natives are what the heathens of old were — without principle, implacable, [and] unmerciful.” She recognized that kindness and courtesy towards them ought to be increased, “yet now that they have polluted the earth with such unspeakable atrocities against not only men, but innocent women and children, we must remember that even a Christian ruler is not to bear the sword in vain.” Her travel to escape from the Mutiny’s violence clearly prompted an outraged final rejoinder that directed, “say to our nobles, our rulers, and to the rest of the people, “Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord who is great and terrible, *and fight for your brethren, your sons, your daughters, and your wives.*” — Neh. iv. 14; “for the *land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, BUT BY THE BLOOD OF HIM THAT SHED IT.*” — Num. XXXV. 33.”⁹

Although not taking the fire and brimstone approach of Mrs. Mackenzie, the Carrington wives understood, and delighted in the fact, that they were charged by Sherman to record their imperial experiences. Mrs. Graham and Mrs. MacKenzie, however, became empowered by their roles as officers’ wives. Writing in 1814, the former asked for resources to improve the moral, intellectual, and political rights of the Indian peoples. The latter, writing after the initial outbreak of violence in April 1857, appropriated quotations from the Old Testament books of Nehemiah and Numbers to call for bloody retaliation. Both called on the imperial authorities to political action.¹⁰

Although few women issued such a vehement call to arms, Mrs. Mackenzie’s stirring preface emphasizes the role of officers’ wives as writers. In utilizing published narratives of

⁹ Helen MacKenzie, *Six Years in India. Delhi: the City of the Great Mogul* (London, 1857), iii. Emphasis is in the original.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

travel, it is understood that the authors brokered vast amounts of information to generate a specific narrative for consumption by a national audience. Military spouses felt briefed, duty-bound, as imperial ambassadors to publish their observations. We see the American West and India polarized, at one end aggrandized with descriptions of noble warrior chiefs and be-jeweled, benign rajahs. Opposing this positive view, other women belittled landscapes and denigrated tribes and Indian castes as unclean heathen savages. These class, racial, and cultural markers reflect embedded national understandings. Thus, they underpinned justifications of empire as a benevolent, superior entity duty-bound to control and civilize the terrains, rulers, and indigenous peoples. In wives' letters, journals, and memoirs, however, a more intimate portrait often emerges, that speaks to a certain fearfulness, trepidation, and bewilderment. The writers share with family members a sense of dislocation, an overriding desire to stay connected with "home," along with a catalogue of day-to-day difficulties and discomforts. These domestic insights, nonetheless, are combined with acceptance and adaption, proposing new approaches and practices that provide a real sense of identity, purpose, and belonging. Unsurprisingly, then, the published accounts reveal an exaggerated portrayal of new landscapes and peoples, and a sense of the wives' self-importance – a duty to contribute to the ambitions of empire. Similarly, within the journals and letters, whose content focused on the everyday dramas of family life, lay an implied and understood obligation to empire as the wife of an army officer.

The British and American officers' wives' narratives reveal voyages and immediate arrivals as spaces within which they initially rehearsed their roles as imperial agents. To consider the nineteenth-century British and American Army officers' wives as operating

transnationally, however, the term itself needs clarification, and an explanation given that speaks to its relationship with these women. Transnationalism implies the crossing of borders, physical and abstract. Sanjeev Khagram determines that transnationalism consists of “five intellectual foundations, empirical, methodological, theoretical, philosophical, and public.”¹¹

Extending the debate, Steven Vertovec asserts that “transnationalism broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states.” Agreeing with Khagram, he points out that a proliferation of studies has led to “conceptual muddling.” To clarify this “muddling” he identifies patterns and practices to offer six mutually inclusive definitions as social morphology, distinct consciousness, method of cultural reproduction, pathway of capital, location of political awareness, and a reconstruction of place. Additionally, argues Fernando Herrera Lima, the transnational family acts as an agent “for both material exchanges and the creation, re-creation and transformation of cultures.” In considering military wives as agents of imperialism, Khagram offers a useful transnational “optic or gaze ... that begins with a world without borders,” and then identifies the imposition of national boundaries “at a particular historical moment.” This transnational “gaze” began with the journey, the space within which the women initiated a reconfiguration of their worldviews.¹²

¹¹ Sanjeev Khagram, and Peggy Levitt, “Constructing Transnational Studies,” in *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations* (London, 2008), 1-2. Khagram is a professor of public affairs and international studies. For a discussion of “the ways in which the world has always been transnational” see “Historical Perspectives” in *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations*, 175-211.

¹² Nina Glick Schiller, “Transmigrants and Nation-States: Something Old and Something New in the U.S. Immigrant Experience,” in *The Handbook of International Migration*, eds. C. Hirschman, J. Dewind and P. Kasinitz (New York, 1999), 96; Steven Vertovec, “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 447, 450-1, 455; Fernando Herrera Lima, “Transnational Families: Institutions of Transnational Social Space,” in *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ludger Pries (London, 2001), 91. For a discussion of “the ways the world has always been transnational” see “Historical Perspectives” in *The Transnational Studies Reader*, 175-

In this chapter two of Khagram's categories will be applied to allow an analysis of female influence: "empirical transnationalism," which uses comparative strategies to identify social differences, similarities, and transmission processes, and "public transnationalism," which abandons traditional notions of bordered spaces to reveal social transformation. To create boundaries and signal imperial status in the West and in India, military wives fashioned a new type of consciousness, became arbiters of cultural reproduction, and generated a distinct, reconstructed model of "home" that reflected yet embellished cultural norms. Thus, three of Vertovec's categories can also be applied. By intensifying nostalgia as a collective memory, and through the exaggeration of national prejudices, the military wives created a distinct transnational social reality that greatly influenced the crafting and maintenance of empire.¹³

To examine the intimate, imperial space within which the officers' wives operated, it is prudent to acknowledge the nature of female and male power bargaining. Scholarly studies have sought to explain the impact of transnationalism on gender relationships. To offer a working interpretation of gender, Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar usefully define this construct as a flexible human invention "using practices and discourses to negotiate relationships, notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' and conflicting interests." They conclude that in "conceptualizing gender as a process, as one of several ways humans create and perpetuate social difference, helps to deconstruct the myth that gender is a product of

211. Schiller, professor of anthropology usefully separates "globalism" from "transnationalism" by advising "Global is best reserved for processes that are not located in a single state but happen throughout the entire globe I employ the word transnational to discuss political, economic, social and cultural processes that extend beyond the borders of a particular state, include actors that are not states, but are shaped by the policies and institutional practices of states." Vertovec is the Director of Ethnic and Religious Studies on Diversity at the Max-Planck Institute, Gottingen, Germany. Lima is a sociologist.

¹³ Vertovec, "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism," 447, 450-1, 455; Khagram, "Historical Perspectives," 175-211.

nature while underscoring its power dimension.” In the unknown terrain of the empire, gendered roles within traditional sociability weakened.¹⁴

Officers’ wives reconstructed their identities and relationships with the nation by reassembling social and gender hierarchies. The unfamiliar terrain, both geographical and cultural, of postings to imperial outposts affords disorientation. Women and men, according to Vertovec, react differently to such dislocation. Men, in losing a sense of status, display greater commitment to maintain ties with public institutions, argues José Itzigsohn. They use the home to negate perceived challenges by reinforcing “values and norms as a way of reassuring their identity.” Luin Goldring argues that women, on the other hand, gain greater status via “social citizenship” in the receiving countries, through creating transnational social connections and communities.¹⁵

The creation of a new social reality implies the clustering of a consensus group of officers’ wives who advocated an adaptive values system. In identifying the transnational interplay of power, class, and culture, Roger Rouse considers the roles of settlers and sojourners. The experiences of the officers’ wives, whose long-term stay in India classify them as settlers, can be usefully examined by referencing Rouse’s model. The settler, although participating in a “transnational migrant circuit,” possesses a cultural “bifocality.”

This worldview consists of a hybrid of embedded (original location) and adopted (new

¹⁴ Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar, “Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces,” *Identities* 7, no. 4 (2001): 442. Mahler and Pessar are anthropologists. For scholarship on transnational comparative histories of gender see Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, 2009). For a full discussion of intimacies of empire see Ann L. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 2002).

¹⁵ Paul Boyle, “Population Geography: Transnational Women on the Move,” *Progress in Human Geography* 26, no. 4 (2002), 535; José Itzigsohn, and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo, “Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes,” *International Migrant Review* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 897; Luin Goldring, “The Gender and Geography of Citizenship in Mexico-U.S. Transnational Spaces,” *Identities* 7, no. 4 (January 2001): 504. Goldring, a sociologist, describes “social citizenship” as participating in community-based organizations and networking within female groups and influencing male authority figures in both the intimate and public spaces.

location) practices and understandings, whose claims are contested during the initial stages of settlement. Although bifocalism is traditionally understood as a period of time spent adjusting to new surroundings, Rouse firmly asserts that settler “bifocalism stemmed not from transitional adjustments to new locale, but from a chronic, contradictory transnationalism.” In India, certainly this “chronic” transnational condition would have existed after two centuries of colonization. In the American West, however, Anglo settlement was less established, although westward expansion, arguably, had been underway since the landing of the *Discovery*, the *Susan Constant*, and the *Godspeed*.¹⁶

The need to establish settler stability begins with the journey to environs new. Angelika Bammer analyzes travel to argue that a journey consists of separation, repair, loss and restoration, and a reconstitution of the family unit. She redefines family to include culturally displaced units forged through mutual loyalty and responsibility. She holds that objects, rituals, and stories carried in movement link the old and new communities. In this transnational state decisions are made to determine what is culturally sacrosanct, what can be abandoned, and what can be translated for survival purposes. In adapting to new environments, “masks” are created that disguise “cultural identity by which we are defined and as which we, in turn, define ourselves.” Bammer considers the “family, community, and nation as unstable and mutable concepts.” When “home and country” fades as a working social reality, cultural identity destabilizes, and the nation mythologized. In employing such mythology, officers’ wives acted as parallel transnational agents, making initial sense of their imperial roles through donning masks of aggrandized nationalism and extreme racial

¹⁶ Roger Rouse, “Making Sense of Settlement: Class Transformation, Cultural Struggle, and Transnationalism among Mexican Migrants in the United States,” in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (New York, 1992), 27, 42, 45-6. Rouse is an anthropologist.

prejudice. In so doing, they sought to protect the increasingly fragility of self-identity by close association with the Empire.¹⁷

This shift to voice a patriotic allegiance to the empire began with the outward journey. In making the decision to travel east and west, the military wives of the British and American armies generally offered emotional reasons to join their spouses. Many accounts speak of their duty as wives to ease the hardships and loneliness of their respective husbands. One such woman, Margaret, the fiancée of Medical Officer Taylor Murison, attached to the Twenty-Ninth Punjabis Regiment, set sail for India complete with a “modest trousseau.” She commented in her unpublished memoirs, “I think that partings, though in life inevitable, are bitter, miserable, unhappy things, and the eagerness and pleasure of looking forward to my marriage was dimmed by an acute homesickness.” The couple’s long-term plan, she explained, “had always been that I would go out and marry him as soon as he was attached to a regiment.” Likewise, Eveline, the wife of Colonel Andrew J. Alexander of the Third Cavalry, received a telegram from her husband on April 28, 1866, asking her to join him at Little Rock, Arkansas. She reluctantly agreed, noting in her private diary “I almost wish I was not going. And yet Andrew is so lonely.”¹⁸

A trip to the West to help cure a persistent cough encouraged Katherine Fougera (who would shortly meet and marry Lieutenant Frank Gibson of the Seventh Cavalry) to join relatives. When the day of her “great adventure” to “a totally different world” arrived, Fougera’s family accompanied her to the railway station. Here, the women offered parting

¹⁷ Bammer, “Mother Tongues,” 92, 93, 95. Bammer is a professor of literature and culture.

¹⁸ Margaret Murison, *Memoir: For Lucinda and Susanna by their Great Grandmother*. Murison Papers, Small Collections Box 17, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U. K.; Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index*, 3: 922; Sandra Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife; The Diary of Emily K. Andrews, 1866-1867* (College Station: 1977), 29; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:156.

advice. “Remember your cod-liver oil . . . and your gentle breeding,” counseled her mother. Sister Sally instructed that she must “permit no license of speech or touch from strangers,” and “black Nanny Lindy” tearfully added, “An’ Honey Chile don’ you get tangled up with no Injun chief.” All her female well-wishers contributed to the creation of a transnational façade of sociability. Her mother reinforced her “gentle breeding,” Sally, the need to retire from strangers, and Nanny Lindy — a warning to avoid a romantic entanglement with an American Indian.¹⁹

Once a woman was en route to join a military husband, apprehension and homesickness appears to have been replaced by cautious excitement. In 1833, Harriette Ashmore left Gravesend and sailed aboard the merchant ship *Protector* to join her husband in Calcutta. Every Sunday, cadets from the British East India Company College at Addiscombe, the crew, and the women, assembled on deck for a short religious service. In remarking that duty required the men attend, she described the scene with “The captain became the chaplain, and took his station at the capstan, over which was thrown that flag so dear to every British sailor, the Union Jack. To me, this was always an imposing sight.” Her description of a “*Mussulmaun* [Muslim] *Ayah*” employed to attend to the female passengers, of whom “two were young ladies bent upon the somewhat hazardous expedient of seeking friends and fortune in India,” further intensified nationalistic understandings. She commented, “we were not a little amused by her [the *Ayah*] appearance and manners; for as yet our eyes had not become accustomed to the thin muslin garments and gaudy ornaments of the East.” In the transnational space of the journey, Ashmore held firm to her embedded middle-class viewpoint. She found, even in these private writings, Indian dress and behavior

¹⁹ Katherine Gibson Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry* (1940; reprint, 1986), 14-15; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:453, 669.

vulgar and coarse, adding, “Mona's ears were laden with rings ... her black neck was encircled with innumerable silver chains her toes were covered with a kind of coat of mail, which passed for silver.” After many sightings of the Ayah “basking” on deck, the officer’s wife concluded, “not infrequently was she [Mona] enjoying the luxurious hubble-bubble, or substitute for the hookah, used by the poorer classes of the natives of India.”²⁰

In 1835, sailing on the *Jupiter*, Emily Eden accompanied her brother George, 1st Earl of Auckland, to take up residence as the Governor-General in India. In private letters written to her sister, she complained of incapacitating seasickness during the early stages of the voyage, and of her prejudicial view towards an Indian maid. Miss Eden found her *Ayah* indispensable during her bouts of illness. Indeed, “Rosina ... a good merry old black thing,” became “the happiness of ... [her] life, and is a great favourite with everybody.” Yet, despite this “happiness,” she remarked, “the *ayah* took advantage of my weak and defenceless condition to establish herself for the night in my cabin ... there she was wrapped up in a heap of Indian shawls, flat on the ground, with her black arms (covered with bracelets) crossed over her head—very picturesque, but rather shocking.” Although these sleeping arrangements initially discomfited Eden, by the end of the journey she admitted, “I am used to it now.”²¹

In 1833, Marianne, newly married to Lieutenant Thomas Postans of the Bombay Native Infantry, sailed to Cutch, India and dedicated her published observations to the Right Honorable John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, late Governor of Bombay. Although finding the lengthy voyage to Bombay tedious, she nevertheless remarked, “The perfect accommodation provided by the English merchantmen relieves the Eastern passenger from many of its

²⁰ Ashmore, *Narrative*, 2-5.

²¹ Emily Eden, *Letters from India*, ed. Eleanor Eden (London, 1872), 9-11, 22; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 131.

horrors, providing him with resources and comforts of no common order; but on arriving in India, he finds his miseries commence.” In describing the onward leg, via a cotton-boat from Bombay to the “up-station,” she revealed her prejudiced worldview. She disdainfully described the craft as “of the rudest construction, half decked, and totally deficient in privacy, accommodation, and cleanliness From the ridiculous lowness of both its compartments, [it] seems to have been intended only for ... monkeys ... [and the craft] infested ... with rats, and every other description of the most uncompanionable vermin.” She continued, “The crew of these boats are usually half Hindu, and half Mahomedan; they are a satisfied and slothful race, who lie scattered about the poop ... alternately sleeping and smoking.” With greater viciousness she concluded, “I have never on any occasion observed the crew use water for the purposes of ablution; neither have I seen any attempt made to cleanse a boat, or to put it into any sort of order. The whole scene is one of filth and confusion ... surrounded by every ill savour that bilge-water and native cookery can produce.” Thus, during the transnational space of voyage Ashmore reinforced understandings of identity by capturing the images of imperial men offering obeisance under the flag, and revealed her race and class viewpoint by highlighting the cheap adornments of the “poorer” society of India. Mrs. Postans confirmed her sea voyage aboard a British merchant ship as “perfectly” representing imperial authority and influence. In contrast, her scathing commentary on the East Indian people as a “slothful race, who lie scattered about the poop ... alternately sleeping and smoking,” the Indian cotton boat with compartments “intended only for ... monkeys,” and the whole scene as “one of filth and confusion,” reflected the worst of British racist assumptions, exposing the insecurity of newly arrived settlers.²²

²² Mrs. Marianne Postans, *Cutch; or Random Sketches, Taken During a Residence in One of the Northern*

The officers' wives traveling to join their spouses in the American West likewise crafted a transnational "mask." In so doing, these women renegotiated their female role and cultural worldview by strengthening national attachment with its attendant prejudices. Alice Baldwin remarked on her arrival at Fort Harker in 1867, "I could see no buildings nor any sign of a 'fort' until it was pointed out to me ... I could see nothing but a spot elevated slightly above the rest of the landscape ... but God be praised! There floating in the storm was Old Glory." Just as Harriette Ashmore found the Union Jack a comforting symbol of military authority within the empire, the Stars and Stripes "floating in the storm" reassured Mrs. Baldwin that she had reached a place of imperial safety.²³

Other wives echoed this pattern of identifying the West as a different place than the East. For example, in 1862, a wartime romance developed between volunteer nurse Elizabeth Reynolds and the wounded Captain Andrew Burt of the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry. A hasty wedding led to a fifty-three-year marriage, with the couple spending forty years in the West. Determined to share his military life and to privately record her experiences, Mrs. Burt set out from Piqua, Ohio, to join her husband at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. She recorded, "pictures of the trials of soldier life were given us from all quarters — principally of wild Indians, tent life, in the snow and again in the burning sands." Shortly after her arrival she underscored the primitive nature of the military West by agreeing with Katherine Fougera that, "it seemed to me that I was going out of the world." Travelling by railway, Alexander alighted at Odin, Illinois. She remarked, "I am spending Sunday in one of these mushroom western towns ... this is rather a heathenish place; none of the servants at the

Provinces of India; Interspersed with Legends and Traditions (London, 1839), 4-6; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 37. Cutch (Kuchchh) is a North East Province of India that today borders Pakistan.

²³ Alice Blackwood Baldwin, *Memoirs of Major General Frank D. Baldwin* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1929), 121-2; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:185.

tavern knew where a church was.” Here, she boarded the steamer *Magenta* to travel onwards via the Mississippi River. The following day’s entry clearly indicated her fears of, and preparations for, life on the frontier. She remarked, “I was very much amused this morning to discover that on retiring last night, while I took the extraordinary precaution of loading my little pistol and putting it under my pillow, I had neglected the very ordinary precaution of locking my door.” Both Mesdames Burt and Alexander identified the West as a primitive, unworldly place, the latter woman masking her female role of dependency by resorting to the “extraordinary” measure of carrying arms.²⁴

Officers’ wives often made the trip west unaccompanied, via covered wagon, railroad, boat, steamer, stagecoach, or army ambulance. Katherine Fougera’s journey commenced with a train ride to Dakota. Her compartment, a “theatre-box,” illuminated the world for its occupant. In leaving Chicago, she announced, despite her homesickness, that she had truly begun “a voyage of make-believe.” Watching the world as the train hurtled forward increased her sense of dislocation. She “saw everything through wide, astonished eyes, and the further west we penetrated the more I pictured myself as being in an alien world.” Her fellow passengers “were a cosmopolitan lot,” consisting of a softly spoken southern conductor who insisted on quoting Shakespeare, a pair of “gimlet-eyed engineers,” and “impassive-faced men with cold, appraising eyes, wearing imported English clothes.” Fearful of the strong winds buffeting the carriage, she accepted an alcoholic drink proffered by a fellow male passenger sporting a “row of gold teeth worth a ransom.” Feeling “oddly reckless,” she began to “titter inanely” and fell asleep. On waking, she realized she had had a

²⁴ Merrill J. Mattes, ed., *Indians, Infants, and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier* (Denver: 1960), 1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 20, 23; Myres, *Cavalry Wife*, 29, 31, Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:156, 267.

“skinful,” and chastised herself with “Shades of my conservative ancestors! First I picked up with sundry strange men on trains, and now I had imbibed too freely of the grain.”²⁵

After negatively comparing the railway passengers and her behavior with the standards of the East, she met with her sister Mollie in Columbia, and the pair set off by stagecoach for Fort Abraham Lincoln. On arrival at Bismarck, she described the town as, “a far cry from Washington D.C.” She decided, “The picture was not alluring,” adding, “it was unpaved ... the low frame houses, weather stained, consisted of fodder stores, saloons, and laundries where moon-faced Celestials plied their trade.” Legendary figures came alive: “Cowboys, resplendent in chaps,” intermingled with “stony-faced Indians ... wrapped in multicolored blankets,” and she concluded, “I had heard of such scenes, but only stark reality could depict their primitive, picturesque, settings.”²⁶

The transnational journeys, then, provided a space for both sets of officers’ wives to renegotiate their worldviews. Most women expressed a sense of homesickness and reluctance in leaving familiar surroundings. During the voyages to India, the British women clung to national symbols such as the Union Jack, and comfort given by “perfect accommodations” of an “English merchantmen.” They negatively described the Eastern Indians they came into initial contact with prejudicial racist assumptions, thus bolstering transported understandings of white supremacy. Both these strategies provided a method to allay insecurity. An American wife, similarly, found security in catching a glimpse of the “Old Glory” flag, and other women sought protection in carrying firearms. The view of the American Indian carried westward was typical negative mainstream stereotyping of “wildness,” “stony-faced”, and “primitive.” Hence, both groups of military wives faced alien

²⁵ Fougera, *Custer’s Cavalry*, 20, 22-4, 29-31.

²⁶ Betty S. Alt and Bonnie D. Stone, *Campfollowing: A History of the Military Wife* (New York, 1991), 46; Fougera, *Custer’s Cavalry*, 48-9, 52, 60, 62-4.

terrain with preconceived views, the British women used national emblems to find reassurance, the Americans — loaded weapons.

In India, Mrs. Monkhead's fictional Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Bently, provides an illuminating starting point for understanding the attitudes of British women arriving at stations in India. "Barrackpore, though a large station, presents an air of quiet and retirement like a country village; which joined to its military neatness and propriety, make it one of the sweetest places in India," declares the novel's protagonist. She notices, "The bungalows in four lines stand each separated from the others, every one surrounded by its own corn-ground, flower-garden and neatly trimmed hedge; while the whole cantonment is at right angles intersected by well kept roads as smooth as bowling-greens, and has the river in front and the parade ground in the rear." Emily Eden, in her private letters agreed, declaring, "Barrackpore is a charming place, like a beautiful English villa on the banks of the Thames — so green and fresh." Both Mesdames Monkhead and Eden overlaid English rural virtues upon an alien landscape, and by adding the security gained by structured military housing, Barrackpore (city of barracks) became the "sweetest place in India."²⁷

Mrs. Major Clemons found the "garden-houses" built for the officers stationed in Fort St. George, Madras, equally delightful. The "commoner kind of house," nonetheless, "resemble[d] English barns." All was not lost, however, as Clemons pronounced, "unsightliness is occasionally remedied by the ingenuity of the ladies." On arrival in Madras, the Major's wife revealed her strong connection to home by stating that she "fancied that the bazaars in London were but a humble imitation of those in the East." Heartily disappointed

²⁷ Mrs. Monkland, *Life in India; or, the English at Calcutta* vol. 2 (London, 1828), 2: 116, 125; Eden, *Letters from India*, 98.

in her palanquin trip to the Triplecane market, she grumbled, “my ideas of Oriental magnificence were much lowered.” The streets she described as dirty and narrow, but she reserved the most vehemence for the Indian vendors. “Black people,” she observed, “more than half naked, of the lowest description, served at each stall.” Instead of smelling the exotic perfumes of “otto of roses, or millefleurs,” she complained of the unpleasant odors of “lamp-oil, garlic, and other nauseous articles. So much for an Oriental bazaar!”²⁸

Mary Sherwood arrived in Calcutta in 1815 and marveled at her new accommodations. She noted in her autobiography, “Fort William is regularly built with its drawbridges, its ditches, its magnificent gateways ... all kept in the most elegant order I saw sentries standing at their posts and was aware that I was surrounded with all the circumstances of military life ... such as denoted pomp, and riches, and past victories ... [the] handsome buildings [were] appropriated to the use of the officers.” Thus, by portraying the garrison as an extension of England, Mesdames Bently and Eden transferred the familiar virtues of rural life, Mrs. Clemons highlighted the civilizing female role, and Mrs. Sherwood glossily described the reified military culture. Echoing the vitriolic racism of the British Mrs. Postans, however, the American Teresa Vielé found Brownsville, Texas completely unpalatable. Indeed, she announced, “vermin are the scourge of this country and cleanliness certainly not one of its virtues. This portion of the world may be set down as the birthplace of the flea; those found in other parts are merely occasional wanderers from this, their native land.” The initial views of both the British and American military wife describe a transportation and exaggeration of national race and class markers.²⁹

²⁸ Mrs. Major Clemons, *The Manners and Customs of Society in India* (London, 1841), 10-12, British Library Oriental Collection T35687.

²⁹ Sherwood, *Life*, x; Vielé, *Following the Drum*, 105, 111, 156, 158.

To further illustrate this imperial posturing, Isabella Fane, the daughter of the Indian Army's Commander-in-Chief, travelled with her father on an inspection tour. On reaching Mainpuri, she singled out the quarters for a "native" regiment, to comment, "The poor dear blackies acquitted themselves beautifully ... I dare say you are surprised and disappointed that I never mention the face of the country to you, but you must understand there is nothing to mention." She disdainfully concluded, " You cannot conceive anything so flat and hideous ... the villages even are not worthy of mention, but consist of the most wretched-looking mud huts, worse even, they say, than an Irish cabin, all huddled together and most unpicturesque." Miss Fane assumed a credible knowledge of life in India; this provided her with a sense of superiority and status, as an agent of empire whose opinion mattered. This supercilious sense of worth and authority, however, existed only in India. She understood that her grandiose airs and graces held transient value, as she would resume "utter insignificance" on return to her "native land."³⁰

Arrival at an American fort bought a sense of relief for the army wives but imposed a new set of difficulties in the condition, availability, and location of suitable accommodation. The construction of housing depended on several factors: how long the fort had existed, locally available building materials, and the proximity of railroad and supply routes. Army regulations specified that rooms be assigned to officers according to rank. A colonel could claim four rooms, a captain two, and a lieutenant one. The standard "room" required 225 square feet if located north of the 38° line of latitude, and 270 square feet south of that parallel — all to measure at least 15 feet wide. The frontier army, unfortunately, did not

³⁰ Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 5, 146, 155.

always have the resources to fulfill this requirement, resulting in a discordant array of jumbled buildings.³¹

The quality and size of the accommodation, however, did not present the largest obstacle for the officer and his spouse. The newly arrived wives needed to confront the military tradition of allocating quarters according to rank. This privilege, called a “quaint custom” by Sandra Myres, created a domino effect when a high-ranking officer joined the garrison. The new officer holding seniority selected suitable quarters as he wished, forcing the existing occupants to move. In turn, they ousted a junior officer from his home, and so the effect trickled down through the military tiers. Although a similar system operated in the Queen’s Army, the British wives did not mention this issue.

The American process of “ranking out,” called more familiarly, “falling bricks,” led to a discordant scramble. Frances Roe, whose husband was Second Lieutenant Fayette W. Roe of the Third Infantry, found herself ranked out by the arrival of a captain at Camp Supply, Indian Territory. “Call it what one chooses, the experience was not pleasant,” complained Roe, “being turned out was bad enough in itself, but the manner in which it was done was humiliating in the extreme ... we had only been in that house three weeks and had worked so hard ... to make it at all comfortable.” On vacating a garrison home the responsibility for cleaning fell to the exiting inhabitants. Following Lieutenant Colonel George Custer’s court-martial in 1867, Captain Albert Barnitz of the Seventh Cavalry and his wife took up occupancy of the old Custer quarters in Fort Leavenworth. Jennie Barnitz spitefully wrote to her mother, “I had two Negroes here one day cleaning. Mrs. Custer did not leave the house as clean as she might.” This process of ranking out was uniquely

³¹ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 26; Audrey M. Godfrey, “Housewives, Hussies, and Heroines, or the Women of Johnston’s Army,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Spring 1986): 161; Oliver Knight, *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army* (Norman, 1978), 112-4.

American. Frequent changes in British and U.S. military orders, nevertheless, required constant moves for both groups of officers' wives.³²

The difficulties of receiving constant orders to transfer can be viewed through the correspondence of the Barnitzes. Albert encouragingly remarked in a letter to his wife, Jennie, on 23 March 1867, from Fort Harker, "the officers' quarters are progressing finely, and they will be handsome indeed." Henry M. Stanley, the intrepid *New York Times* journalist, however, visited the military installation in April 1867 and remarked, "when I mention a fort, you need not imagine one of those formidable affairs as built in ancient times ... but a simple square, surrounded by some wooden shanties ... the fort appears ... like a great wart on the surface of the plain." Mrs. Barnitz visited the post in June and due to flooding was forced to stay at the less than comfortable garrison. Invited to stay with "Mrs. Dr. Sternberg [the wife of the Assistant Surgeon George M. Sternberg]," she wrote to her husband that the surgeon's spouse found herself "delightfully situated in new quarters — five spacious rooms — very handsomely furnished, silver and china for her table, excellent servants." Unfortunately, the other less well-connected officers' wives slept in army ambulances and took meals in the officers' mess. The Captain's expectations of "handsomeness," however, found fulfillment within six months. After a return visit to Fort Harker in November 1867 he informed his wife of the completion of ornamental buildings,

³² Sandra Myres, "Romance and Reality on the American Frontier: Views of Army Wives," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (October, 1982): 421; Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier* (College Station, 1987), 37; Alt, *Campfollowing*, 51; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 98; Roe, *Army Letters*, 66; Robert M. Utley, ed., *Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz 1867-1868* (New Haven, 1977), 131; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:193, 842. The regulations for the British Army accommodations read, "It is the acknowledged principle of the Military Service, that *seniority of rank gives priority of selection of Quarters*: but the selection, however, is restricted to those Quarters especially constructed and marked for the Respective Ranks of Officers, and to those only ... in all cases a Captain may claim a priority of choice over a Subaltern, notwithstanding such Subaltern shall have been in previous possession of the better Quarters." See Great Britain War Office, *The Queen's Regulations*, 247. Emphasis is in the original.

fenced gardens, and a “tall white flag staff ... and from its top floats the broad garrison flag.” Within seven months Fort Harker had transformed from a “great wart” to “handsomeness.” Thus, an embarrassing blot on the landscape, at least to this officer, had become a magnificent imperial fortress.³³

A sense of dislocation and instability, undoubtedly forced the women to design coping mechanisms. In describing the day-to-day experience of life in the British Raj, John K. Stanford insists that British women “existed in a neatly closed European vacuum.” Identification of a “vacuum” actually identifies the manufacture of a reconfigured social reality. Military historians offer various explanations of women’s roles in military communities, and all confirm that female lives found substance and purpose through their husbands’ occupations. Indeed, scholars have centralized the experiences of American officers’ wives to argue that they strongly identified themselves as vital contributors to the protocol and customs of the army. In recognizing Stanford’s “vacuum,” Michele J. Nacy asserts that military women identified themselves, not as civilians, but as active “members of the regiment.” In renegotiating their gender roles, during travel and arrival, within both intimate and public spaces, they crafted and maintained imperial ambitions, with full acknowledgement and encouragement by the military institution itself.³⁴

³³ Henry M. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia*, vol. I (New York, 1895), 4; Utley, *Life in Custer’s Cavalry*, 18, 59, 119-120; “The Search for Livingston: Progress of the Englishman Stanley -- Fierce Encounter with Arabs -- Arrival at the Coast -- The Great Explorer Remains Two Years More in Africa,” *New York Times*, 2 July 1872. Welsh-born Henry M. Stanley became famous following his expedition to find the Scottish explorer David Livingston in the African Congo, when he “noticed in the center of a group of Arabs, strongly contrasting their sun-burned faces, a hale-looking, grey-bearded white man ... preserving a demeanor of calmness ... I inquired ‘Dr. Livingston I presume?’” The authenticity of this greeting is doubted, but the anecdote remains an enduring cultural legend.

³⁴ John K. Stanford, *Ladies in the Sun: The Memsahibs India 1760-1860* (London, 1962), 73; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 15-66; Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866 - 1891* (New York, 1973), xiv; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 82, 216; Baker, “Daughters of Mars,” 22-3; Nacy, *Members of the Regiment*, 10, 12, 104-5, 107. Stanford was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army and former Indian civil servant. Baker and Nacy are historians.

Dislocated from home, these women felt strongly attached to, and identified by, their association with the United States and British armies. Honoria Lawrence published an article in the 1845 *Calcutta Review* that aimed to help British women adapt to imperial life and roles. She addressed the officers' wives directly to describe "the inconveniences which the wife of a Regimental Officer, when she first 'buckles on the knapsack,' must calculate on, and the hopeless, endless evils that beset women in the Barracks." Having gained her military audience, she advised, "A woman when she marries a soldier, ought to recollect that his profession entails on her a definite and often a very arduous duty. Not that she is to become that most offensive hybrid, a soldierly woman. She may easily lay aside all that is becoming and delicate in her own sex, but she cannot in exchange assume any masculine qualities higher than those of slang and indifference." Mrs. Lawrence continued, "Her highest glory and best praise are of another kind. She has to bear as best she may, the privations peculiar to her lot, and to watch against its natural fruits, irritability, frivolity, slovenliness, and procrastination."³⁵

Advice about "duty" and "glory" offer a prescribed role, but, it is useful to ask, how did the officers' wives see themselves post arrival? Harriet Tytler, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel John Earle of the Third Native Infantry, earned fame by giving birth to a son during the siege of Delhi in 1857. Although written for publication, however, her memoirs of life in India do not appear overly exaggerated or patriotic. By the age of nineteen, she had fallen in love with two military men. Her first "love" was "only a lieutenant in the Queen's Army, and without private means." Unlike the East India Company officers, the regular army did not provide pensions for widowed wives thus, her mother had forbidden her to marry a Queen's man, and despite keeping up a correspondence with the thwarted beau, she decided

³⁵ *Calcutta Review*, July-December 1845.

to marry Captain Robert Tytler of the Thirty-Eighth Native Infantry. Recently widowed, the regimental captain had two young children. Harriet accepted his marriage proposal “out of sheer pity,” yet claimed her “love for him grew day by day into earnest devotion.” As an officer’s wife, she led a protected life and reported that her husband “was most kind and indulgent to me, and was very clever. Indeed, all I ever learnt was from him. His mother too, was so good and always took my part against her son, which showed perfect wisdom.” Mrs. Tytler became known as “the angel of the regiment.” She understood she had earned this accolade by providing lunch invitations to the officers and their sweethearts, so they could “carry on their little flirtations.” Angel or not, this officer’s wife acted as an imperial matchmaker and chaperone, providing a respectable space within which the couples could conduct a regimental courtship.³⁶

In analyzing the cultural roles of women during the British Raj, historians assert that despite earlier scholars’ interpretations of the women’s role as simply decorative, socializing became a duty. Yet, Maud Diver’s account contains a long list of required social activities post arrival that included frequent balls, visiting, tennis, and croquet in “the Land of the Open Door.” Colonels’ wives, she recorded, were expected to “dine the station” regularly, while the Captains’ and subalterns wives found themselves equally duty-bound to provide parties “for the honour of the Regiment.” Expected to attend countless military functions and obligated to provide formal and informal dinners and gatherings, the officers’ spouses understood, accepted and actively performed duties as imperial agents.³⁷

³⁶ Harriet Tytler, *An Englishwoman in India: The Memoirs of Harriet Tytler*, ed. A. Sattin (Oxford, 1986), 21, 64, 69-70, 198, Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 46; Anonymous, *The Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1838* (Calcutta, 1838), 153.

³⁷ Margaret MacMillan, *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (1988; reprint, New York, 2007), 180-1; Diver, *The Englishwoman in India*, 12-13, 49, 59-60.

Similarly, American Katherine Fougera announced her distinct role as an officer's wife and ambassador of empire. Immediately after Lieutenant Gibson made a proposal of marriage, conducted "beyond the outskirts of civilization ... in a desert wilderness ... surrounded, though at a distance, by hostiles of various tribes," Miss Fougera realized she "had signed up for a permanent enlistment with the Seventh Cavalry." Her arrival, speedy marriage, and cooption to imperial status caused her some concern. Unable to sleep that evening, she was joined by Elizabeth Custer, who, "Spoke seriously ... of associating with uncongenial people ... stressed ... the lack of comforts ... [and] dangers, real and imaginary ... 'besides,'" she continued, "we army women feel that we are privileged, because we are making history, with our men, by keeping the home fires burning, while the soldiers are guarding the railroad engineers and surveyors against the Indians ... they are building the railroads ... which will open up the country to civilization Yes, my dear, we are the pioneer army women, and we're proud of it." Her marriage to Lieutenant Frank Gibson of the Seventh Cavalry followed shortly, and the new Mrs. Gibson gushed contentedly, "I gloried in the fact that now I was really one with the other army women, and our joys and sorrows would be mutual."³⁸

Correspondingly, Martha Summerhayes, the wife of Lieutenant Jack Summerhayes of the Fifth Cavalry, immediately "fell in love with the army, with its brilliancy and its glitter, with its struggles and its romance." In her military marriage and travels in the American West this outlook continued. She recalled, "A feeling of regimental prestige held officers and men together. I began to share that feeling ... and not one was but ready to do a service for the 'Lieutenant's wife.'" Yet, underneath this rhetorical sentimentality lay the reality of military purpose. Katherine enjoyed a "peaceful and retired life" with her husband Dr.

³⁸ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 126, 130; Fougera, *With Custer's Cavalry*, 116-125, 133-4, 137, 200.

Robert H. Bartrum while stationed at Gonda, India. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, Mrs. Bartrum was dispatched with other women and children to Lucknow. Her spouse joined the heavy artillery defending the besieged station and, sadly, was killed in action. News from a fellow officer caused his newly widowed wife to “almost forget my own sorrow to hear him spoken of in such high terms of praise. His was a glorious death: coming to the rescue of his wife and child, he fell at his post doing his duty.” Despite the sentimentality, these writings clearly underscore an awareness of belonging to the British and American armies. This illustrates that officers’ wives identified with, and shared the obligations of their husbands’ imperial role.³⁹

As we have seen, nineteenth-century British and American officers’ wives undertook long, tedious, and occasionally perilous journeys to join their husbands on the outposts of empire. In comparing the Oriental and Occidental journeys of the two groups of women, it becomes apparent that they shared similar transnational experiences. They often traveled unescorted, and the wives’ journals, letters, and memoirs spoke to a real sense of “going out of the world.” Most offered intimate reasons for uniting with their husbands, coupled with a reluctance to leave the familiarity of all things “home.” Whether traveling by ship or stagecoach, most attempted to ameliorate a sense of dislocation by declaring an exaggerated attachment to, and pride of, symbols of nationalism, such as Harriette Ashmore underscoring the “imposing sight” of the British Union Jack. The Americans Mesdames Fougere and Alexander, however, illustrated the journey as a space to reconfigure gender norms. They tested a new, imperial liberty—the former imbibing a “skinful,” while the latter resorted to

³⁹ Katherine M. Bartrum, *A Widow’s Reminiscences of Lucknow* (London, 1918), 1, 16 - 17, 41, 47; Martha D. Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman* (Glorieta, New Mexico, 1970), 1, 3, 100; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 936.

carrying a pistol. On arrival, the women sought geographical familiarity by overlaying memories of home on alien landscapes and peoples. In defining themselves against the other, they reinforced perceived Anglo superiority in exaggerated and malicious racial censure. Descriptions such as “shocking,” “slothful,” and “spooky,” applied to indigenous places and peoples pepper the narratives. To ameliorate a sense of dislocation and isolation, these women created a new social reality by crafting a superior identity forged through military commitment, loyalty, and imperial duty — as ambassadors of empire.⁴⁰

The transnational journey and destination arrivals of the British and American officers’ wives held notable similarities. Both sets of women transported an aggrandized collective memory that increased a sense of national belonging, while exaggerating prejudicial attitudes towards the indigenous other. After arrival, however, the nascent beginnings of a new social reality crystallized into a distinct representation of empire, through feminizing the military world of imperial men.

⁴⁰ Mattes, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry*, 23.

CHAPTER V

IMPERIAL WOMEN:

MILITARY ADJUNCTS, STATION SISTERHOODS, AND SENIOR LADIES*

“If there is a woman whom one might delight to honor above all others is the ‘Army woman.’

Her name could well be written on brass, high among the few exalted. For her position is unique among the sisters of men. She has much to do and little to do with; her lines would seem exceptionally unpleasant; it is not given her to have even a sure abiding place ... she is part and parcel of an organization that officially ignores her.”

Army and Navy Journal, 1893.¹

After the weeks and months of travelling to join their military men on the outposts of empire, the officers’ wives realized that they too, held a pivotal role in furthering imperial ambitions. Indeed, “It seemed very strange to me,” puzzled Elizabeth Custer, “that with all the value that is set on the presence of the women of an officer's family at the frontier posts, the book of army regulations makes no provision for them, but in fact ignores them entirely!” She bemoaned that “It enters into such minute detail in its instructions, even giving the number of hours that bean soup should boil. That it would be natural to suppose that a paragraph or two might be wasted on an officer's wife!” Indeed, the nineteenth-century American army regulations afforded no provision whatsoever for the well-being of its officers’ wives. Mrs. Custer further complained that, “the servants and the company laundresses are mentioned as being entitled to quarters and rations.” That “The officers used sportively to look up the rules in the army regulations for camp followers, and read them out

*Part of this chapter is reprinted with permission from “‘Ladies’ of the Frontier Forts” by Verity McNinnis, 2005. *Military History of the West*, 35, 35-56, Copyright [2005] by *Military History of the West*.

¹ *Army and Navy Journal*, 30 December 1893.

to us as they would the riot act!” only added insult to injury. She woefully continued, “In the event of any question being raised regarding our privileges If we put down an emphatic foot, declaring that we were going to take some decisive step ... we would be at once reminded, in a laughingly exultant manner, of the provision of the law Nevertheless, though army women have no visible thrones or sceptres, nor any acknowledged rights according to military law, I never knew such queens as they, or saw more willing subjects than they govern.”²

With no claim to official military status, the women who joined their husbands nonetheless played a central role in designing and maintaining an empire. In responding to their tenuous positions held at imperial outposts, officers’ wives manipulated formal and informal military practices to construct an elite and empowered female identity. In so doing, they disregarded accepted gender boundaries to occupy influential spaces in the male world of their officer husbands. By connecting to British and American army practices, they created a new social and class reality that sustained imperialism. Some adopted military titles, language, and dress, but more significantly, they identified themselves in terms of their husbands’ ranks. By feminizing military markers, they generated a female hierarchy that also served as an imperial sisterhood, duty-bound to serve the ambitions of empire, controlled by an influential and authoritative senior wife.

Female imperial empowerment developed from what appears to be an extremely weak position. Even before uttering the marriage vows, a potential bride was subjected to an informal evaluation process conducted both by military bridegrooms-elect and their peers. The officers’ views of a suitable partner indicates that as members of the army they selected

² Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 129-130. The emphasis is in the original.

wives with an eye to reflecting military rank, enhancing reputation, and transmitting imperial prestige. In British India, as John Morris, an early twentieth-century Indian Army officer, recalled, his colonel vetted all prospective regimental wives. Additionally, as Morris explained, “It was desirable that anybody coming into it [the regiment] should fit in.” Echoing this idea, Kenneth Warren recalled that “an unfortunate senior subaltern was greeted ... about twenty times a day, ‘Sam, you’re not going to marry that girl’ — and Sam didn’t marry that girl. The regiment was just making it quite clear that *that* girl was not going to come into the circle.” Indeed, in Lansdowne station, the Colonel’s wife controlled the harmony and prestige of the company by acting as a one-woman marriage bureau. As Morris reported, “We had the most superb example of a memsahib you could find anywhere in India ... [a] sort of super-colonel of the regiment. Nothing was done without reference to her and she provided ... many wives for various officers ... nobody would have been so bold as to get married without asking Mrs Fizzer’s permission or advice about the suitability of the proposed bride.”³

Once selected, approved, and married, some new wives revealed that they had committed themselves to a military man out of a sense of duty rather than on more romantic grounds. In 1902, Christian Stirling travelled to India with her uncle (General Alfred Craigie) and Aunt Alice. Within seven months, she met and married the “deaf” Major Herbert Showers. “Though not in the least ‘in love’ with him,” she “thought it was ... [her] duty to marry him.” Her personal memoir written in 1960 reminisced, “To this day, I don’t know if I did right or wrong.” Similarly, Ellen Drummond’s letters pitifully sought her sister’s approval of her marriage partner, the Honourable James Drummond, Tenth Viscount of Strathallan and commander of the Seventh Hussars. Her groom she described as “neither

³ Allen, *Plain Tales*, 79-81, 181, 269-270. The emphasis is in the original.

dark nor fair, with brown whiskers and a lighter moustache, blue eyes and rather tall, thin, not good looking by any means.” Although she did not indicate a duty to marry, she later revealed, “I am, glad to see Papa getting fond of Jim because I certainly did not like him when we were first engaged.”⁴

This less than loving relationship in British India would have been approved by Emma Roberts, who noted, “It is an amusing thing for a spectator to observe the straightforward, business-like manner in which marriages in India are brought about ... the expediency of short courtships, seems to prevail ... and if there should be nothing very objectionable in the suitor, the marriage takes place.” The relationship counselor instructed the bride-to-be in India “that it is safest to begin with a little aversion ... gratitude and esteem are admirable substitutes for love.” She concluded, “It is rarely that a wife leaves the protection of her husband, and in the instances that have occurred, it is generally observed that the lady had made a love-match.” Despite an emphasis on the ideals of romantic love during the Victorian era in England and America, it appears that “business” may have trumped love in establishing imperial partnerships, and that “aversion” constituted a positive sign of future success. Indeed, Miss Roberts’s final flourish encouraged such “marriages of convenience,” as “in nine cases out of ten, [they] turn out very happily.”⁵

The British army set imperial standards, albeit informally among the officers, for prospective wives, and enforced these requirements with vigor. The Queen’s Regulations, however, regulated the marriages of enlisted men, who needed their commanding officer’s

⁴ Christian Showers-Stirling, Notes on Her Life, Showers Family Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., Box 6, Envelope D, 21-2; Ellen Drummond to Minnie Thornhill, 22 February 1868, and 19 June 1868, Drummond Papers, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U.K., Mss Eur. B. 289/15; Colonel H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List for 1869* (London, 1869), 501, <http://www.archive.org/stream/newannualarmylis1869hart#page/n9/mode/2up>, accessed 23 August 2010.

⁵ Roberts, *Scenes*, 25, 30-1; , Stephanie Coontz, “‘A Heaving Volcano’: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Marriage,” in *Marriage a History: From Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage*, (London, 2005), 177-195.

permission before entering into wedded bliss. This ruling advised, “It is incumbent on the Commanding Officers of Regiments, who have ample experience of the very great inconvenience arising to the Service, and to the Public, from the improvident and injudicious Marriage of Soldiers, to discountenance such connexions.” The order continued that said officer should “explain to the Men that their comforts, as Soldiers, are in a very small degree increased by their Marriage, while the inconvenience and distress naturally accruing to them from such connexion are serious and unavoidable, particularly when Regiments are ordered to embark for Foreign Service.” The young officers, while officially not prohibited from marrying, were generally discouraged from so doing. Regiments, apparently, had their own unwritten codes of conduct to which each man strictly adhered. At least one such unit, according to Byron Farwell, insisted upon a new ensign signing a legal contract that promised, should he marry before reaching a certain rank, a large sum of money would be forfeited to the mess. This practice endorsed the military adage — “subalterns must not marry; captains may marry; majors should marry; and colonels must marry.”⁶

Indeed, in the nineteenth century marriage below the rank of major was unusual, and marriage allowances were not provided until an officer reached the age of thirty. Should an ensign fail to abide by the informal yet ironclad practice and marry without his superior’s consent, social consequences would be enforced against the newlyweds. One military spouse reported that the “commanding officer of the man’s regiment would detail his wife to advise the regimental wives not to show any signs of friendliness to the bride who was considered to have caused her husband to disgrace his regiment.” The severe ostracization, in some cases, pressurized the disobedient officer to apply for a transfer or resign. The importance of

⁶ Great Britain War Office, *The Queen’s Regulations*, 315-6; Byron Farwell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Great Indian Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947* (New York, 1989), 101-2.

making a suitable choice of a wife who could further the aims of empire was articulated by the narrator in Rudyard Kipling's *Kidnapped*, who claimed "We are a high-caste and enlightened race ... [but] the Hindu notion ... of arranging marriages ... is sound [the] Government should establish a Matrimonial Department, efficiently officered, with a Jury of Matrons, a Judge of the Chief Court, a Senior Chaplain, and an Awful Warning, in the shape of a love-match that has gone wrong, chained to trees in the courtyard." He concluded, "marriage in India does not concern the individual but the Government he serves."⁷

Despite the sentimentality of mainstream ideals of love, at least two military wives admitted that they had married out of a sense of duty. Some wives undoubtedly ignored their husbands' profession, yet many officers' wives, as Mary Procida argues, "took an active and intelligent interest in the work of the empire and served as their husbands' primary advisors and assistants." Indeed, she further claims that "whatever their role, many wives recalled that involvement with their husbands' work, far from subordinating them, opened up avenues of power and knowledge unavailable to most British women." They held roles that required them to participate in imperial business by "touring the countryside, meeting the Indian people and contributing to imperial decision making ... the professional partnership between husband and wife often blurred visible distinctions between the imperial official and his spouse, effectively erasing the line between private femininity and a public masculinity ... the subtle message conveyed to the Indians, however, was that husband and wife were equal partners in the business of empire." Within these carefully selected and accepted partnerships

⁷ Mason, *A Matter of Honour*, 367-9; Bertram Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990), 121; Veronica Bamfield, *On the Strength: The Story of the British Army Wife* (London, 1974), 20; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 30-6; Kipling, *Plain Tales*, 174, 177.

the gender negotiations revolved, not exclusively around home and family, but around a couple's duty to the empire.⁸

In the American West, senior officers, like the British commanders, guided the amorous affairs of their juniors. In 1855, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee cautioned the young Lieutenant John B. Hood, "Never marry unless you can do so into a family that which will enable your children to feel proud of both sides of the house." This paternal advice was sensible. A wrong choice could wreak havoc in a young officer's life, as demonstrated by the flurry of correspondence in 1875 between the Commander in Chief of the Army, William T. Sherman, and Major General Edward O. C. Ord. The subject of concern was a Lieutenant William Tiffany of the Tenth Cavalry, who, while conducting new recruits to Texas, quickly "became enamoured of" and married an army widow, a Mrs. Wallingford. All, however, was not what it seemed. Tiffany's father, a Methodist pastor, wrote to Sherman pleading for him to intervene and effect a prompt divorce. The commander's subsequent letter to Ord revealed that the new bride "was no widow at all — but a bold presumptuous woman ... [who] had roped in this youngster." The Reverend further requested that his son be placed where the new Mrs. Tiffany "cannot reach him in person or by letter." Sherman supported the father's plea, as according to Colonel Samuel Sturgis, this very same woman was responsible for the court martial of her previous husband, the still living (but dismissed from service) Lieutenant David Wallingford. The official proceedings described Mrs. Wallingford as "a notorious prostitute and lewd woman." Adding further interest, Sherman admitted to Ord that he had seen Mrs. Wallingford/ Tiffany "once" in his "office," and she held his card and a personal letter from him. He, however, vehemently denied imputations of intimacy with "how she got them [card and letter] I do not know for I know her not." He ends his

⁸ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 47-8, 50-1.

missive in full support of ending the marriage to “save” Tiffany “from the horrible and inevitable fate that must result.” The official correspondence, unfortunately, does not make further reference to this tawdry affair. The very fact that it reached the highest echelons, nonetheless, confirms that the class and character of an officer’s wife held great importance in upholding the prestige of the imperial service.⁹

Adding to the debate, Assistant Surgeon Rodney Glisan further elaborated on the importance of avoiding the charms of such bold and presumptuous women. “Officers ... do not commonly seek to mate with mere ball-room belles,” he opined, “but select women for their social, intellectual, and moral accomplishments.” The surgeon lamented, however, that, “After one has been for a long time thus deprived of ladies' society, he [an officer] loses all power of just comparison of the relative charms of women, and, in some cases, falls in love with females altogether beneath him in social position. When an officer thus circumstanced becomes married to an inferior person, as is sometimes the case, he commits an offence toward army society that is rarely forgiven; for the social code of ethics in garrison life is, that, as all commissioned officers and their families are really but one military brotherhood, no member of the coterie has any right to thrust upon them any uncongenial companion.” Glisan then supported his claim by noting, “A highly accomplished young Lieutenant of my acquaintance ... fell in love with and married an unpolished beauty against the protests of his most intimate friends. When he found that it was impossible for his bride to maintain her position in the society of the garrison ... he finally concluded to send her east to receive an

⁹ John Bell Hood, *Advance and Retreat: Personal Experiences of Life in the United States and Confederate States Army* (New Orleans, 1880), 7-8; Sherman to Ord, 23 July 1875, Headquarters of the United States Army, St. Louis, Missouri, William T. Sherman Collection, Missouri Historical Society Archives, <http://contentdm.mohistory.org/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/archives&CISOPTR=7490&REC=4>, accessed 26 February 2011; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 759, 882, 934, 961, 999.

education and social polish.” Clearly the uneducated lower-class western beauty did not meet the imperial class requirement for “social, intellectual, and moral accomplishments.”¹⁰

Despite the military requirement for “social polish,” an officer’s wife was expected to exhibit a certain intrepid spirit that belied the traditional feminine role. Frances Roe offered several telling examples of how she viewed her imperial duty. Writing from Camp Supply, Indian Territory, in January 1873, she understood her female role in the West as greater than that in the East. She complained of the primitive conditions of the housing and noted her dislike of the “country itself.” Her discomfort, however, reminded her that “at dreadful places like this is where the plucky army wife is most needed. Her very presence has often a refining and restraining influence over the entire garrison, from the commanding officer down to the last recruit.” Leisure activities, such as regular horseback-riding provided occasions for a woman’s mettle to be tested. She recalled, “My ride with Lieutenant Golden ... this morning was very exciting for a time. We started directly after stable call, which is at six o'clock I rode a troop horse that had never been ridden by a woman before.” The ride proved to be a fearful experience, and after returning to the stables Golden suggested that she choose a less headstrong mount. Horrified at the thought of such weakness, Mrs. Roe exclaimed, “Dismount before Lieutenant Golden, a cavalry officer and Faye's classmate, and all those staring troopers — I, the wife of an infantry officer? Never!” Gentility and background, tempered with a bold pluckiness that defied the traditional delicacy of nineteenth-century womanhood, were the requirements for an ideal imperial attaché.¹¹

¹⁰ Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), 451-3; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:460, 540, 625.

¹¹ Roe, *Army Letters*, 59-61, 81; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy*, vol. 3, 3rd ed. (New York, 1891), 169; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:461. Mrs. Roe rode with a cavalry officer whom she called Lieutenant Golden, a West Point “classmate” of her husband’s. No such person, however, resided at Camp Supply in 1872. The officer she refers to is in fact a

This oxymoronic ideal of rugged femininity may have provided a basic prerequisite for an officer's bride, but great care was also exercised to select a spouse who would uphold the respectability, honor, and prestige of the regiment. Generally, British officers' wives, as Lady Elizabeth Vere, the wife of Lord Birdwood, a Lieutenant Colonel of King Edward VII's Own Lancers (Probyn's Horse), pointed out, "were from [the] upper middle class ... it was very homogenous in the sense that nearly everyone in official India sprang from precisely the same educational and cultural background." Despite Lady Birdwood's assertion of a uniform imperial class, Florence Marryat resolved that "snobbism" provided an intolerable "evil" in India. She warmed to her subject with the following vignette: "One day two officers and their wives were dining with my husband and myself. The husband most advanced in years and highest in rank had the youngest wife; the other lady being a much older woman My husband thought it best to waive the subject of their relative position in the army, and took the senior lady in to dinner." This social faux pas resulted in the arrival of "a long epistle from the affronted husband of the lady who *ought* to have gone in first, reminding him of the oversight of which he had been guilty, and begging that it might not happen again. Will people in England believe that intimate friends could find a subject of quarrel in such trivial nonsense?" Yet, while women such as Mrs. Marryat might grumble, rank, cemented by a rigid order of precedence, scaffolded the social hierarchy in British India.¹²

This "trivial nonsense" of the order of precedence was not evident in the American West. Yet a social uniformity existed that mirrored the British model, as most American wives hailed from middle-class Eastern families. Historians offer various explanations of

Lieutenant Vinton A. Goddard of the Sixth Cavalry, who ranked sixth in the graduating class of 1871, with Fayette Roe passing in an unremarkable fortieth (out of forty-one) place.

¹² Allen, *Plain Tales*, 83; "Lt.- Col. Christopher Bromhead Birdwood, 2nd Baron Birdwood," *thePeerage*, <http://thepeerage.com/p14257.htm#i142570>, accessed 17 February 2011; Marryat, *Gup*, 62-3. The emphasis is in the original.

women's roles in military communities. All confirm that women found substance and direction through their husbands' occupations, thus sharing imperialist and nationalistic aims and ambitions. Elizabeth Custer underlined this sense of duty to the Empire. She maintained, "As I look back upon our life, I do not believe there ever was any path so difficult as those men on the frontier trod. Their failures, their fights, their vacillations, all were before us You could not separate yourself from the interests of one another. It was a network of friendships that became more and more interwoven by common hardships, deprivations, dangers, by isolation and the daily sharing of joys and troubles."¹³

Marriage, duty, and class provided the foundations upon which officers' wives understood themselves to be qualified as imperial ambassadors. Further female commitment to imperial objectives included the feminization of military titles, language, and uniforms. Addressing a wife by her husband's military rank became a common practice amongst both the British and American army communities. In India, Frances Parkes referred to her companion as "Mrs. Colonel W," and Emily Eden identified a fellow diner as "Mrs. Colonel ____," while Mary Sherwood titled all army wives with military honorifics such as "Mrs. Colonel Carr" and "Mrs. Sergeant Strachan." The adoption of such practices also occurred in the American West. Marion Brown, the daughter of Major John H. Brown, regularly sent letters to her parents from Fort Sill. She referred to the commanding officer's wife as Mrs. Colonel Pearson and addressed other wives as Mrs. Captain Custer and Mrs. Captain Johnston. Similarly, in Alice Baldwin's published account, a caption accompanied a photograph of "General U. S. Grant and Party" taken at Fort Sanders in 1867, which identified the officers' wives as "Mrs. Gen. Potter ... [and] Mrs. Gen. John Gibbon."

¹³ Myres, "Army Women's Narratives," 417-8; Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, 400-1.

Additionally, letters received by Elizabeth Custer were addressed to “Mrs. General Custer,” and the soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry frequently called her “Mrs. Major-General George Armstrong Custer,” her husband’s brevet rank. These women, stationed in British India and the American West, clearly determined their identity and status as concomitant with their husbands’ rank.¹⁴

Living within the confines of the military world, officers’ wives clearly understood themselves as belonging to, as well as representing, the empire. This new social reality reflected society at home, yet became adapted to the imperial environment. In identifying the difference Helen MacKenzie declared, “My impression of Indian society is The average amount of talent appears to me decidedly above that of English society at home A military man ... has often acted as quartermaster ... been sole magistrate of a large cantonment ... acted as postmaster, paymaster, brigade-major, and commissariat-officer, or has commanded a regiment in action [and] acted as political assistant, made treaties with hostile tribes, settled questions of revenue or tribute.” Unfortunately, she did not proffer such a glamorous review of their wives. Mrs. MacKenzie ruminated, “But if the gentlemen in India are above the home average, the ladies are certainly below it.” The young wives, often marrying in their teens, missed the “best part of a girl's training — the advantage of intercourse with really good society.” Thus, Mrs. Mackenzie concluded, they lacked “manners or taste” by adopting “the strangest phraseology from their husbands and their husbands' friends. It is common to hear ladies speaking not only of their husbands by their

¹⁴ Frances Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, vol. 2, (London, 1850), 335; Eden, *Letters from India*, 311, 314; Sherwood, *A Widow's Reminiscences*, 258, 274; W.S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman, 1974), 280; C. Richard King, ed. *Marion T. Brown: Letters From Fort Sill 1886-1887* (Austin, 1970), xiii; Baldwin, *Memoirs* 113; Elizabeth Custer, *Tenting on the Plains* (1887; reprint, Norman, 1966), 447, 580, 675, 698; “Brown, John Henry,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbr94>, accessed December 13, 2010. Major John Brown commanded and served with the Third Texas Frontier District militia unit.

surnames (a thing unpardonable, except of a peer), but of other gentlemen in the same manner; talking of “our kit,” and using such terms as ‘jolly,’ ‘pluck,’ ‘a cool thing,’ ‘lots,’ ‘rows,’ and ‘no end of things!’” The construction of an imperial lexicon, although indicative of a distinct reality, shaped by wives, failed to impress this colonel’s wife.¹⁵

The American officers’ spouses understood their circumstances to be equally changed, and in accord with the British women, feminized imperial terms. On 30 April 1866, the day of her marriage to First Lieutenant Andrew Canfield of the Fifth Iowa Infantry, Sarah (Haas) Canfield “opened a new chapter” in her personal diary to “begin a new life.” She quickly adapted by embracing military obligations. While travelling by steamboat to join her husband stationed at Fort Berthold, she dined at the captain’s table along with other officers’ wives. After a stop in Sioux City, where the ladies purchased gingham for sunbonnets, she mentioned, “the ladies having previously held a *council of war* (we belong to the Army now and use military terms) and decided if we wanted to stay out on deck much we must have them.” Protection from the sun obviously gave cause for concern, yet a more grave reason for a ladies’ meeting occurred twelve months later. While stationed at Camp Cooke, Montana Territory, Mrs. Canfield noted that, “we have great excitement to-day ... [as] Indians in great numbers ... painted and mounted for war” approached the fort. She continued, “When we ladies saw what might happen we held a ‘council of war’ and decided that if the fort could not be held that we preferred to be shot by our own officers rather than to be taken captive. The officers promised to do so before surrendering.” The feminization of military terms indicates a clear sense of belonging to the army. These women created

¹⁵ Helen MacKenzie, *Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná* (London, 1854), 267-8.

committees that not only decided on protective headgear, but also on matters of life and death.¹⁶

In addition to employing military nomenclature and jargon, some of the American officers' wives identified with their roles in an extreme manner. Using their bodies as imperial symbols, Frances Roe, Mollie McIntosh, and Elizabeth Custer all donned military uniforms, complete with gold buttons, forage caps, gloves, and riding crops. Their dark dresses appeared to be tailor-made from worsted serge, the white leather gloves custom fitted for a smaller hand, and the caps bearing the crossed sword insignia of the Cavalry, perhaps purchased from the commissary store. Admittedly, dressing as representatives of empire may have been undertaken for a single photographic sitting. These women, nonetheless, ordered and paid for faux uniforms, modified from a trouser to a skirt suit to celebrate their roles as imperial attachés. British officers' wives did *not* adapt their husbands' uniforms for female wear. They did, however, express a clear sense of belonging to the military world. Margaret, the wife of Captain Simon F. Hannay of the Fortieth Bengal Native Infantry Regiment, provided an example of a sentiment that repeatedly appeared in the women's private and published writings. In a journal written for her mother, describing the regimental march from Mysopoorie to Mhow in 1829, Mrs. Hannay remarked, "I enjoy a march so much that I must have been cut out for an officer's wife." All women, whether they donned forage

¹⁶ Ray Mattison, ed., "An Army Wife on the Upper Missouri: The Diary of Sarah E. Canfield, 1866-1868," *North Dakota History* 20 (October 1953): 192-3, 197, 217. The emphasis is in the original. For a discussion of the captivity narrative as a genre see, Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1984); June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, 1993); Riley, Glenda. *Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915* (Albuquerque, 2001), 38-40, 203-7.

caps, or simply marched with the regiment, feminized the masculine world of their military husbands, to design an inclusive imperial reality.¹⁷

Textual symbols of language and attire signaled an imperial attachment, yet central to an officer's wife's identification was her husband's rank. To retain this status women refashioned a transnational gender model. The terms "lady" and "woman" in both British and American circles indicated social distance between an upper or upper-middle class female and the lower social levels. In the militarized community, however, the titles became adapted for use in the imperial community. A lady signified a wife of an officer, while a "woman" indicated the partner of a soldier a laundress, or domestic servant. Indeed, a female from the lower classes who married an officer received only partial acceptance as a "half-way" lady. During the British retreat from Kabul, Afghanistan, to Jalalabad in 1841-2, Lady Florentia, the wife of Major-General Sir Robert H. Sale, kept a daily journal with a view to publication. Here, the rigid divide between the commissioned and enlisted men's wives becomes clear. While imprisoned by Mohammed Shah Khan, she recalled, "We number nine ladies, twenty gentlemen, and fourteen children. In the tykhana are seventeen European soldiers, two European women, and one child (Mrs. Wade, Mrs. Burnes [both sergeant's wives], and little Stoker)." Assistant Surgeon Glison illustrated this divide in

¹⁷ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, viii, 15-6; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, xiv; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 82, 216; Margaret C. Hannay, Journal, 1829, Margaret Campbell Hanney Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., 16; Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index*, 2:518. Author's emphasis. Photographs are located in Roe, *Army Letters*, frontispiece; Fougera, *With Custer's Cavalry*, 149; "Elizabeth Custer," *Custerwest.org*, <http://custer.over-blog.com/article-10579099.html>, accessed 15 December 2010; "Elizabeth Bacon Custer," *Kansapedia, Kansas Historical Society*, <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/elizabeth-bacon-custer/12030>, accessed 15 December 2010; Robert Ross, *Clothing: a Global History; or, the Imperialists' New Clothes* (Cambridge, 2008) 75; A Lady Resident, *The Englishwoman in India* (London, 1864), 4. Although the officers' wives often wore the "solah topee," and it evolved from military wear, it became the ultimate symbol of Britishness in India, and worn by men, women and children alike. Its function, according to Robert Ross, was "to provide a sign of difference and superiority." The lightweight pith helmet made from the Indian sola plant was first used by British soldiers in the Sikh Wars of 1840. It became officially incorporated into regulation dress in the mid-century. See Horse Guards War Office, *Dress Regulations for the Officers of the Army* (London, 1883), xxi.

America by advising that a “Mrs. Captain Gardiner” was the “only officer’s lady” posted at Fort Wood, and Mrs. Captain Marcy, stationed at Camp Arbuckle, Indian Territory, gained much admiration as a “jewel of a lady.” Yet, he warned, “There is a sharp line of demarcation drawn between all commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The latter may associate with the men or private soldiers, but never with the former. The wives of the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers are denominated camp-women. There is a limited number of them allowed to each company.”¹⁸

The application of the terms lady or woman to differentiate between wives of officers and wives of non-commissioned men occurred in both India and the American West. Madeleine Churcher gave an additional example of this rigid class divide in the British Empire. Recording daily events in a handwritten scrapbook, she described life with her husband, Captain Douglas W. Churcher, of the Eighty-Seventh Royal Irish Fusiliers. In underscoring the officers’ wives’ perception of their imperial class standing, an entry concerning a train journey to her husband’s station at Bareilly, India provided a telling vignette. Churcher sat in the “ladies compartment which I had to myself ... till some second class woman tried her utmost ... to get in, but ‘D’ got the guard to prevent her.” In the American West Elizabeth Custer similarly delineated the differences between the officers’ ladies and soldiers’ women. She described an enlisted men’s ball, to which the commissioned men and wives received a special invitation. She unkindly recorded, “the general [George Custer] was on nettles for fear we would be wanting in tact, and show our amusement by laughing at the costumes of the women ... the toilets of these women were something marvelous in construction ... in low neck and short sleeves their ... well

¹⁸ Lady Florentia Sale, *A Journal of the Disasters in Affganistan, 1841-1842* (London, 1844), 3, 285; Hodson, Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers, Box 40; Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 52, 178, 453.

developed figures wheeled around the barracks all night long.” Often complaining of loneliness, the officers’ spouses could have extended friendship to all women at the isolated garrisons. Yet the class-conscious need to identify themselves as respectable, socially elevated wives, overruled any such inclinations. By feminizing the military ranking system, these women found a perfect foil in the soldiers’ wives, against whom they could construct an imperial hierarchy, positioning themselves at its apex.¹⁹

Acceptance in this upper social echelon of “ladies” required the British officer’s wife to display and maintain a genteel decorum. Frances, the wife of Captain Walter Wells of the Irregular Sikh Corps, stationed in Barrackpore, regularly wrote to her father during the period 1853 to 1858. Writing on 24 January 1855, she delineated the positive and negative attributes of an ideal officer’s wife. She posited, “The letters we received at Shergotty brought us intelligence of Ellen Wells’s engagement to Captain Shewell an officer of the Bombay Army I hear Captain S. is a very nice young man at present [he] has merely his Captain’s pay but she will make an excellent wife as I believe her to be not only a well principled girl but a capital manager.” Not all officers’ wives, however, received approval in such fulsome terms. Prior to a regimental march in 1854, Mrs. Wells received Mr. Dashwood (an ensign), who had recently married, though she had yet to meet his wife. She told her father that the groom was “such a coarse vulgar sort of man, smelling so dreadfully of smoke! I am sure if his wife is in his style she will be no addition to our society.” Captain

¹⁹ Coffman, *Old Army*, 105, 289; Sherwood, *Life*, 257, 438; Madeleine A. Churcher, *Indian Impressions or Diary of Our Indian Trip, 1904-9*, Churcher Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., 71; Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, Militia List, and Yeoman Cavalry List for 1903*, (London, 1903), 78, <http://www.archive.org/stream/hartannualarmy11903lond#page/n21/mode/2up>, accessed 22 August 2010; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 104-5.

S. and his well principled bride found acceptance into the imperial circle, but the habits of the vulgar smoker marked the Dashwood couple unsuitable.²⁰

Florence Marryat related a case study that revealed a class division introduced between the Queen's and Native Armies. She recounted that "One of these newly-made ladies was asked at Bangalore whether she knew Mrs. So-and-So, whose husband belonged to the (supposed) inferior army. 'Oh, dear, no,' was the emphatic reply. 'I never call upon *Hen Hi Hofficers* wives.' And I am sure the Hen Hi Hofficers' wives ought to have been greatly obliged to her for the omission." Mrs. Marryat concluded her diatribe with "There is an immense deal of party spirit in India ... but there is also a great amount of tuft-hunting, which is less excusable, and far more vulgar, and which takes the form in so military a country, of worship of rank I have met with more than one instance where women have been so thoroughly imbued with this lowest of ideas, that they thought the standing of their husbands in the service entitled them to interfere in the private affairs of people not only better born and bred than themselves, but infinitely more capable of knowing what was the right thing to do." Thus, the imperial social reality constructed in India by the officers' wives differed from the class system in England. Background and behavior played a pivotal role in determining inclusion, but even those "better born and bred" were usurped by the "worship of [military] rank."²¹

Rivalry may have provided an inter-army divide, but even within the supposed elite British Army, wives categorized one another. For example, Mary Sherwood described her female social companions as "on the whole respectable, but exceedingly different one from

²⁰ Frances J. Wells, *Letters to her Father, 1853-1858*, Berner Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., 54-5, 60; Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index*, 4:1515.

²¹ Marryat, *Gup*, 16-7, 61. The emphasis is in the original. Tuft-hunting is the practice of creating social connections with people of a higher class.

another, and with the exception of the Colonel's lady, by no means the kind of people with whom I could be intimate." She continued, "Mrs. C. was of a good family in Ireland, and could be extremely pleasing, but she could also be as vulgar What Mrs. E. had been I know not, but I suppose something very low Of Mrs. M., the assistant surgeon's wife, who was from Glasgow ... her character was singular, and sometimes, I fancy, slightly deranged."²²

The American Eveline M. Alexander, the wife of Brevet Colonel Andrew J. Alexander, echoed Sherwood's social evaluations. In illustrating the arrogant class division existing at Fort Smith in 1866, she decided, "The 'womankind' in this regiment are rather a queer set. Mrs. C. was a company washerwoman before her husband was promoted from the ranks. Mrs. K. and her daughter are very common. Mrs. H. and "Patrita" are Mexicans ... Mrs. Sutoris ... not highly educated, but well behaved, and I like her." Both women alluded to military rank in determining a wife's acceptability, the Colonel's wife being deemed eminently suitable for an intimate friendship, while Mrs. C, whose husband received promotion through the ranks, was not. Additionally, both inappropriate behavior and background could disqualify a woman from the imperial circle. The "deranged" Scottish assistant surgeon's wife clearly failed to meet the admission criteria, while one can only hope that Mrs. Sutoris's good behavior, despite her husband's non-commissioned rank, earned her some acceptance in the Fort Smith officers' imperial cohort.²³

As exemplified in Mrs. Alexander's "Mrs. C," the wife of a soldier who gained a commissioned promotion in the field received, at best, tolerance rather than acceptance by

²² Sherwood, *Life*, 227.

²³ Sandra Myres, ed., *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867* (College Station, 1977), 36; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:156, 937. Alexander misspells Mrs. Sutoris's last name. She was the wife of brevet First Lieutenant Alexander Sutorius, an immigrant from Switzerland, who joined the American army as a chief bugler.

the officers' spouses. Annegret Ogden concluded that a military wife most clearly illustrated the dependency of a woman on her husband for definition of her own role. The class divisions between officers' wives and enlisted men's partners appeared inflexible. The spouse of a commander "presided over her frontier court" while the humble soldier's partner was relegated to the washtub on "Suds Row." Indeed, Assistant Surgeon Rodney Glisan confirmed this social divide in his personal reminiscences. "The black sheep in military society," he declared, "are the officers and their families who have been promoted from the ranks. Their generally unrefined, uncultivated and uncongenial manners make them unwelcome members of the army circle." In short, wives lived highly regulated lives observing codes of conduct appropriate to their partner's rank. Social custom prevented fraternization across the uncompromising system that separated the officers and soldiers' wives. Thus, even within the new social reality redesigned class divisions held firm.²⁴

With the class structure generally enforced at the officer level, Elizabeth Custer recorded a bottom-up example. She gossiped, "One of the Irish laundresses at a Western post was evidently infatuated with army life, as she was the widow of a volunteer officer — doubtless some old soldier ... who held a commission in one of the regiments during the war — and the woman drew the pension of a major's widow." The hero's wife continued, "Money, therefore, could not have been the inducement that brought her back to a frontier post. At one time, she left her fascinating clothesline and sought domestic employment." She succeeded in finding a position with an officer's family stationed at Fort Riley. All did not go smoothly as Mrs. Custer pointed out, "It seems that this officer's wife also had been a laundress at one time, and the woman applying for work squared herself off in an

²⁴ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 2; Coffman, *Old Army*, 289; Ogden, "Queen or Camp Follower," 11, 15; Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 453.

independent manner, placed her arms akimbo, and announced her platform: ‘I ken work for a leddy [sic], but I can't go there; there was a time when Mrs. and I had our toobs [sic] side by side.’ Even though excluded from the officer’s social clique, the widowed brevet major’s wife supported the dictates of the class hierarchy. Her insistence on working for a lady demonstrates an understanding of, and adherence to, the rigid class divisions of the western community.²⁵

The unladylike behavior of the American enlisted men’s wives assured their exclusion from the imperial coterie, and relegation to the lower echelon of the manufactured class structure. The childhood memories of Mary Leefe Laurence offer insights into the coarse character of the laundresses at Ringgold Barracks, Texas. She recalled a “famous fight” between two soldiers’ wives that took place over the fence in “Laundress Row.” The quarrel between Mrs. Mary Gazelle and Mrs. Norah Truan “terminated in a fight with brooms and mud swept up from puddles ... to the accompaniment of encouraging shouts from bystanders to ‘Go it, Mary!’ and ‘Give it to her, Norah!’” To end the dispute, a couple of soldiers dragged the pugnacious Mrs. Gazelle from her mud-splattered opponent, Mrs. Truan. Regular outbreaks of such unladylike behavior also occurred at Fort Abraham Lincoln. In 1873 Elizabeth Custer noted, “They [washerwomen] had many pugilists among them, and the least infringement of their rights provoked a battle in which wood and other missiles filled the air. Bandaged and bruised, they brought their wrongs to our house, where both sides had a hearing. The general has occasionally to listen and arbitrate between husband and wife, when the laundress and her soldier husband could not agree.” Lack of

²⁵ Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, 414-5.

decorum and the frequent resort to public bickering and belligerence confirmed the correctness of excluding the army woman from the imperial circle of ladies.²⁶

To maintain an imperial class in India, wives of sergeants could similarly be excluded on the grounds of unladylike behavior. Emma, who married William Wonnacott, a teacher assigned to the Eighth King's Regiment stationed in Nusserabad, India, wrote often to her parents. Although not an officer's wife, her personal letters described military life in a way that offers insights from an outsider's point of view. Particularly telling is her description of the station females: "there are a few, and only a few nice women in the regiment. Not one I would like to make a friend of. They are very illiterate and illbred [sic] and very fond of fighting and drinking which leads to worse." A letter received from her friend Mrs. E. Swain, stationed in Mhow, helpfully delineates the divide between "women" and "ladies." Swain wrote, "We are all quite well and very comfortable ... I met a great deal of kindness from the ladies here ... and have found many good friends among them." While Mrs. Wonnacott found the soldiers' wives in Nusserabad unacceptable company, Mrs. Swain confidently enjoyed the company of like females at the Mhow station.²⁷

Officers' wives who met the imperial class criteria in India and the American West faced new and challenging worlds. As a coping mechanism, and reflecting an understanding of a real commitment to imperial aims, these women created a distinct military sisterhood. In examining nineteenth-century female relationships, historian Nancy Cott argues that such discrete female groups developed, but the "bonds of womanhood" held a double meaning,

²⁶ Mary L. Laurence, *Daughter of the Regiment: Memoirs of a Childhood in the Frontier Army, 1878-1898*, ed. Thomas T. Smith (Lincoln, 1966), 73; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:626; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 11, 103; McInnis, "Ladies' of the Frontier Forts," 51.

²⁷ Emma Wonnacott to Father and Mother, 6 January 1871, Mrs. E. Swain to Emma Wonnacott, 12 January 1871, Wonnacott Collection, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U. K., Mss Eur.376/3.

the forging of all-women kin group, and as a mechanism to sustain service and obedience to men. The Cult of Domesticity gave importance to women as mothers, wives, and homemakers, and contrasted the public and the private realms. “The canon of domesticity made motherhood a social and political role that also defined women as a class,” observes Cott, “and became the prism through which all expectations of and prescriptions for women were refracted.” Women gained vital “identity and purpose” in unifying peer friendships. The female-female friendships among officers’ wives fully support Cott’s model. With no established civil institutions these women connected through exclusive all-female networks. These collective activities offered an avenue to forge bonds of friendship, encouraged the formation of support mechanisms, and promulgated a sense of duty to the nation.²⁸

Mrs. Clemons’s published memoirs offers an insight into the operation of this female coterie in India. She explained that “there are seldom more than four or five officers in a regiment who are married. Your only society while in a single station will be entirely at their houses. The ladies in India, for the most part, are not of a domestic turn, so that visitors are always acceptable, and constant callers expected ... you will be sure to meet with numerous kindnesses from them ... and ... feel as if among your sisters.” The scarcity of companionship, as well as disorientation and loneliness, contributed to the fashioning of a military sisterhood. Indeed, Clemons further advocated establishing intra-regimental friendships and abandon the need for chaperoned visiting. With regard to establishing friendships with European civilians, she warned, “officers do not visit any of the tradespeople [sic], however respectable or rich they may be; and ... are not allowed to be intimate with [them], I mean in the way of receiving and paying them visits in a friendly

²⁸ Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 2d ed. (New Haven, 1997), 1-2, 22, 64, 159, 189; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 125.

manner.” In forming kin networks within individual regiments, officers’ wives created a discrete sisterhood that supported their husbands’ profession, and shared the tensions of imperial duties.²⁹

In recognizing the stress of living on isolated outposts, with their petty jealousies and altercations, military spouses understood their responsibility to maintain a respectable and serene imperial façade. Helen MacKenzie proudly described a cooperative atmosphere within the First Native Infantry stationed at Lahore. She recorded, “I and the other ladies of the Sikh ka Pultan (Sikh Regiment) have been flattered at the surprise we have excited by never quarrelling. Colonel H., who commands the station, periodically exclaims, ‘five ladies and four gentlemen, and no quarrels yet!!’” Bessie Fenton, however, found the society at the “gay station” of Dinapore her “greatest grief,” as she was duty bound to “go out and visit among these censorious people.” After being informed by the assistant surgeon that she “could not remain incognito to the ladies,” she reluctantly decided to accept visitors. To her surprise, she received approval from the regimental sisterhood stationed at Dinapore. Her husband, Captain Neil Fenton, reported that “it had been rumoured that you were a blue stocking of deep tinge; by others, that you were very reserved and eccentric; but the whole party voted you a pretty little person, and very ladylike and agreeable.” Despite the bickering and gossip that occurs within all social clusters, the sisterhood in British India functioned to present, at least, a united and tranquil public imperial face.³⁰

The female coterie, however, did not operate simply to create serene kin networks. These women held a duty to act as ambassadors of empire. In 1855 Florence Marryat recorded a *levée* thrown by a “Mrs. A” to honor a visit to Bangalore by the Commander-in-

²⁹ Clemons, *Manners and Customs*, 345-6, 348.

³⁰ MacKenzie, *Scenes*, 19; Bessie Fenton, *The Journal of Mrs Fenton, 1826-1830* (London, 1901), 149-150, 166-7; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 19:307-8.

Chief of Madras. Mrs. Marryat, unwell at the time, informed another officer's wife that she did not intend to be present at the celebration. Apparently, her friend retorted, "Not going to attend the *levée*! Why, it is your *duty* to go." Responding to the outraged woman, Mrs. Marryat "told her that I could not view the matter exactly in that light, considering it was only the invitation of one lady to another, and that I was not under the orders of Mrs. A, as my husband was under those of the Commander-in-Chief." The conversation continued, "'No,' she [the friend] replied ... although evidently shocked at my audacity in coupling the names of Mrs. A and myself together; 'of course not, but you will allow that she is the *rankest* lady in Madras and therefore I think we are all bound to show her respect.'" This vignette demonstrates a real understanding of the duty these women sensed, and the female policing of behaviors. Mrs. Marryat's defiant refusal to attend the event hosted by the "rankest lady" would have exposed the couple to social and professional reprisals. Perhaps, as she claims, her husband's obligations lay with the Commander-in-Chief. Thus, the couple could politely refuse and allow the rigid code of imperial sociability to remain undisturbed.³¹

American officers' wives, like their British counterparts, also constructed an exclusive female sisterhood. Suitable employment for these imperial ladies included the all-female sewing bee. Some British wives regularly embroidered together, engaging dirzees to create gowns from patterns advertised in English magazines. Indeed, Emma Roberts observed, "It has been before remarked, that there is little scope for feminine industry in our eastern possessions. Charity bazaars, which put so many fair fingers in to motion in Europe, are almost unknown out of Calcutta It must be confessed that the gathering together of ladies, in the days of tapestry-hangings or of eleven-sided pincushions, has always tended to the production of a thousand stitches where one would suffice. The climate in India is

³¹ Marryat, *Gup*, 1-2, 17-8. The emphasis is in the original.

unfortunately adverse to needle-work, or any work whose beauty may be endangered by hands which cannot be kept at a proper temperature.” She concluded, “Thus, it appears that there are many temptations to idleness and few incitements to industry; and in nine cases out of ten, where the ladies of a station only meet upon ceremonious occasions, all the work, both useful and ornamental, will devolve upon the native tailor employed in the household.”³²

This popular female ritual in the American West, however, provided an opportunity for more than just needlework. Katherine Fougera, and other officers’ wives, marched with the Seventh Cavalry from Fort Abraham Lincoln to Fort Rice in the spring of 1875. Fougera, Elizabeth Custer, Maggie Calhoun, and Charlotte Moylan met each morning to indulge “in an orgy of military gossip.” She devoted a whole chapter of her published memoir to this women-only gathering to reveal female viewpoints of imperial matters. The ladies deliberated over the battle prowess of individual officers during the Battle of Wichita, the difficulties of policing the “restless South,” and the “activities of the Ku Klux Klan.” Miss Fougera, as the soon-to-be wife of Lieutenant Frank Gibson, enthused, “how we enjoyed these impromptu sewing bees I would sit at the feet of these new friends and drink in thirstily their tales of the unfolding West.” At the isolated posts, these women feminized military rank to construct an exclusive female cohort of “sisters.”³³

³² Ibid., 58-9, Roberts, *Scenes*, 56-7, 261-1; Fenton, *Journal*, 149-150, 166-7.

³³ Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 116-7, 121, 124. Patricia Spacks defines gossip as a cultural oral artifact, ranging from malicious (seeks to damage) to serious (function of intimacy). She claims “it plays with reputations, circulating truths and half-truths and falsehoods about the activities, sometimes about the motives and feelings of others. Often it serves serious (possibly unconscious) purposes for the gossipers, whose manipulations of reputation can further political or social ambitions by damaging competitors or enemies, gratify envy and rage by diminishing another, generate an immediately satisfying sense of power, although the talkers acknowledge no such intent. Supplying a powerful weapon in the politics of large groups and small, gossip can effect incalculable harm.” For a discussion see Patricia M. Spacks, *Gossip* (New York, 1985).

These regimental sisterhoods enjoyed leisure activities, but they also held imperial responsibilities. Ellen Biddle provided an example of this cooperative female duty. She wrote, “During the reconstruction, General [Horace] Porter and General [Orville] Babcock, two distinguished officers of General Grant's staff, came on a visit of inspection to Jackson we arranged a dinner for them by borrowing from the ladies in the garrison enough silver, glass and china Most of the officers on duty there were invited I was the only lady present as the scarcity of china would not permit of the others being asked; but they came and helped me arrange the table and to do many other necessary things, and joined us afterwards.”³⁴

Another example of the unity and cooperation of the imperial sisterhood concerned a ball given in honor of Giovanni, the Fifth Infantry Regiment's new conductor. Alice Baldwin underscored the excitement as the ladies “agreed to make the occasion as elegant and finished affair as the supplies of the sutler's store would allow.” After much excited preparations, the day of the ball arrived, and the women, “all arrayed in their best bibs and tuckers... arrived in the re-furnished and decorated barracks. Flags, guidons, and draperies” transformed the utilitarian building, and exhibits of “guns, bayonets, and crossed sabers” stood “glittering and grim” in the corners of the room. Thankfully, Giovanni exceeded all musical expectations, and the imperial soir e, designed by the women, was deemed a complete success. The sisterhood, as demonstrated through sewing bees, receptions, and formal dances, provided a central element in maintaining prestige. By keeping updated on

³⁴ Ellen McGowan Biddle, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (Philadelphia, 1907), 47; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:178, 217, 799.

military and political affairs, collaboratively celebrating and displaying the authority of empire, officers' wives clearly understood and designed symbols of imperial showmanship.³⁵

Although most officers' wives declared close friendships with one another, Beatrice, the wife of General George S. Patton, found her stay at Fort Riley, Kansas in 1913 unbearable. Her daughter's published account of the couple's military life stated, "Ma didn't speak the same language that was spoken by other Army wives." Her "life of a cultivated Eastern heiress," married to a second lieutenant, made it difficult for her to "understand the gossip [as] In those days the 'Old Army' was a club, with an inner circle of people who were the sons and grandsons and daughters and granddaughters of Army officers." Other officers' wives "made her feel shy ... many of them had strong Southern accents, which she associated with the servant class." Thus, she began "to feel she was a terrible failure as an Army wife." She forged, however, a close friendship with Mrs. Hoyle, the wife of a senior captain and a member of the "inner circle." This charming female, as "wide as she was high," invited her to social events, thus enabling Patton's admittance to the military sisterhood.³⁶

In creating a female coterie, the officers' wives stationed in India and the American West used background, behavior, and notions of gentility to admit members to the imperial clique. Yet, all was not equal among this sisterhood. Military rank played an immutable part. Indeed, in feminizing the military chain of command a female hierarchy developed that paralleled their husbands' positions. At the apex of this imperial class pyramid stood the wife of the garrison senior officer. In commenting on this gendered social ladder,

³⁵ Baldwin, *Memoirs*, 13-7.

³⁶ Ruth E. P. Totten, *The Button Box: A Daughter's Memoir of Mrs. George S. Patten* (Columbia, 2005), 98-101. Beatrice Patton was the daughter of the prosperous textile industrialist Frederick Ayer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Le Marchand of the Fifth Royal Gurkha Rifles determined, “wives tended to acquire the rank of their husbands. The colonel’s lady regarded herself as a sort of colonel and certainly commanded all the other wives of the regiment.” Many British officers’ spouses commented, both candidly and guardedly, on the character, influence, and authority of this alpha female, the *Burra Mem*. Minnie Blane wrote to her mother from Murree in October 1858 and described this paragon of greatness. She commented, “The Muters are living here now, quite nice, but Mrs is very prim, wears awfully shabby, old-fashioned clothes, and her back looks as if she had a poker down it. She never pronounces her ‘r’s’ and talks of ‘Webels’ and ‘Wifles,’ which nearly kills me with laughter.” This unkind gossip, which utilized appearance, deportment, and enunciation to damage Mrs. Muter’s reputation, underscored Mrs. Blane’s envy and powerlessness. The captain’s wife concluded, nonetheless, that the *Burra Mem* was “a kind-hearted body.”³⁷

Equally candidly, Isabella Fane, while on a tour of the interior with her father, recorded the onerous duties that befell her as the daughter of the Commander-in-Chief. She talked of difficulties of the march, the unpleasantness of the local peoples and terrain, and the boring social events. During a three-day stopover at Fategarh Station, Miss Fane had the opportunity to comment on the military society. She gossiped, “We have got into a horrible scrape about the wife of the colonel commanding here, about whom we were told all sorts of improper tales, viz that she was as black as my shoe and that she had lived for five years with this man before he married her. We were informed she meant to call, and were told we ought not to receive her. She did call, and we acted as above.” In Miss Fane’s opinion, greater sins

³⁷ Allen, *Plain Tales*, 181-182, 268-9; Joachim Stocqueler, ed., *The Oriental Interpreter and Treasury of East India Knowledge* (London, 1848), 44; Vansittart, *From Minnie*, 151, 155. Stocqueler defined the *Burra Mem* as “a great lady; the appellation bestowed upon the female head of a house, or the wife of the principal personage at a station or presidency of India.”

against the imperial sisterhood could hardly be imagined. Yet she faced the consequences of believing in the malicious gossip used by the ladies of the station to gratify envy and rage. By suggesting an improper relationship and that the commanding officer's wife was Indian, they hoped to diminishing her status, thus gaining a sense of power. The ladies, apparently, used Miss Fane as a marionette to vent their malice, as her letter continued, "It afterwards came out that she was received by all the ladies of the station, although the tongue of slander did talk of her. Upon finding out all this, I took the most ladylike and proper manner of retrieving my error, viz by writing her a civil note Our not seeing her was put upon fatigue." The colonel's wife, apparently was not impressed with the attempt to correct a social gaffe, as Miss Fane concluded, "they [the couple in command] have behaved like vulgarians [sic] and have taken no notice of either note or civil message." Perhaps she learned a worthwhile lesson, as her report of an official visit to the station of Mainpuri five days later appears to be couched in a more guarded tone. Miss Fane's brief entry read, "the head lady of the station called upon us, and we found her ladylike and talkative."³⁸

Honoraria Lawrence provided a personal account of the *Burra Mem*'s influence and power. As the wife of the commanding officer, she clearly understood herself to be an imperial authority, with full military and legal responsibilities. Lawrence recorded, "While on this frontier we travel with quite a little army. Most of my share I hope to dismiss tomorrow at Hussan Abdal. You would be amused to hear me, when we move, marshalling my troops. 'Let ten horseman and ten footmen keep close to the young lady's *palkee* ... let two horsemen accompany the elephant with the *ayahs*. The remaining troops divide in three, one party with the advance guard, another with the rear, and the third to keep by my *dhoolie*.'" Indeed, at Dummuk, she revealed her sense of her imperial role by writing, "I must

³⁸ Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 152, 155. The emphasis is in the original.

be quartermaster for the camp, and you would be amused at the arrangements I have to make and the complaints that come before me.” She told of settling a caste dispute over the defilement of water between the washerman and water carrier. She also acted as an administrator by settling a local complaint. The regimental elephant had “got loose” and destroyed crops, so she sagely decided to “let the villagers be paid for their loss, and the elephant’s keeper be fined.” Clearly, Mrs. Lawrence took her role and duties seriously, and carried them out with aplomb, with the full acquiescence of her husband and his men.³⁹

Margaret Hannay, a captain’s wife, also competently acted in her husband’s stead. Her private journal described the day-to-day affairs of a regimental march with the Fortieth Regiment Bengal Native Infantry from Mysopoorie to Mhow. An entry for 21 February 1829, however, indicates the complete effectiveness and confidence she held as an imperial agent. She advised that the Colonel had ordered the march to begin at three o’clock in the morning. Her husband, the adjutant, was absent, supposedly fishing. Fishing or not, the captain’s disappearance provided an opportunity for Mrs. Hannay to assert her authority. She wrote, “For the first time *I acted as Adjutant* the Colonel was *cross* as an old Bear — and I was afraid in his ill humour he might say something about Hannay’s being out so long — I therefore took it upon me to give the parole and countersign and then sent about the orders.” Her initiative served her well, as a second journal covering the period August to September 1839 described life as a commanding officer’s wife. Hannay, now a Major, headed the First Assam Light Infantry, stationed at Sudiya, Upper Assam. Mrs. Hannay, however, recorded discomfort in her role as a *Burra Mem*. She listed her daily duties as “commenced my school at eleven o’clock and got over it by 2 Read from two till four — dressed, and dined at five. Walked out, and ran about with my scholars till I was tired — such conduct,” she

³⁹ Lawrence, *Journals of Honoria Lawrence*, 215, 224, 226. The emphasis is in the original.

acknowledged, “would I suppose be thought very undignified in the Commanding Officer’s Wife.” In issuing military orders, and adjudicating on imperial matters, the *Burra Mem* stood at the apex of the imperial sisterhood. This woman, who gained her status through feminizing the ranking system, did not simply grace her husband’s arm at society events. She clearly wielded social, military, and legal authority, fully acknowledged by the institution of the army.⁴⁰

“At the top [of the American military clique] sat the commanding officer’s wife — known to the Army as the K.O.W., because the literal abbreviation would not do,” Oliver Knight noted. This “female grenadier,” a military figure equivalent to the British *Burra Mem*, likewise brandished authority in the nineteenth-century West. Elizabeth Custer mused, “When I first entered army life I used to wonder what it meant when I heard officers say, in a perfectly serious voice, ‘Mrs. ----- commands her husband’s company.’ It was my good fortune not to encounter any such female grenadiers.” This negative opinion of the commanding officer’s wife seems rather unkind in view of Marion Brown’s interaction with one such woman. While visiting Fort Sill, on 18 November 1867, Miss Brown wrote respectfully of Colonel Edward P. Pearson’s wife. Within a few days of her arrival at the garrison she called upon the colonel’s wife, and concluded “Mrs. P is an elegant and lovely woman.” With Christmas just weeks away, the newcomer reported that Mrs. Pearson had invited all the ladies to attend a meeting at her home to “discuss the ways and means for getting up a Christmas tree and entertainment.” The women dutifully attended several meetings during which they made candle decorations, sewed banners, and filled candy bags to be distributed to “all the children, white, black, and Indian,” on Christmas morning. Fort

⁴⁰ Hannay, 1829 Journal, 18, 30; Hannay, 1839 Journal, 53-4. The emphasis is in the original.

Sill, and its attendant children, certainly benefited from the social benevolence of such an influential senior lady.⁴¹

American Lydia Lane mirrored not a festive kindness but the imperial authority of the British *Burra Mems*, Mesdames Lawrence and Hannay. In February 1861, she recorded in her published narrative that having traversed the four day “Jornado del Muerto [Journey of Death]” from Fort Craig to Fort Fillmore, with the U.S. Mounted Rifles, she “was the only lady at the post ... Lieutenant Lane was in command ... we scarcely settled ... when an order came for all the troops to go on an Indian scout to Dog Cañon A sergeant and ten men ... were left behind to guard the post... I *was* left in command of Fort Fillmore.” She described her duties with, “All public funds were turned over to me, and the sergeant reported to me every day. He slept in our house at night, heavily armed ... the public money in my hands gave me considerable uneasiness ... I was determined no one should have that money while I was alive to defend it ... if I lost my life in protecting it, I would have done my whole duty.” When the soldiers returned from the scouting mission, she “relinquished the command of Fort Fillmore,” and announced, “It was my first and last appearance in the role of commanding officer of a military post.” Her husband delegated full responsibility to Mrs. Lane, which she accepted and dispensed effectively. She undertook full responsibility for fiscal affairs, permitted an enlisted man to sleep in her home, and officially received daily post reports. The garrison, albeit for a short period, fell under female command.⁴²

⁴¹ Oliver Knight, *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army* (Norman, 1978), 13, 16, 43; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:599; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 141; King, *Marion T. Brown*, 7, 8, 10, 37. Knight synthesized the 1882-1909 literary works of Charles King, a captain of the Fifth U.S. Cavalry during the period 1871-9. A grenadier is a soldier, generally of a powerful physique, who leads battlefield assaults.

⁴² Lydia Lane, *I Married a Soldier: or Old Days in the Old Army* (1893; reprint, Albuquerque, 1964), 15, 18, 97, 100-101; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:614. Lydia married Lieutenant William B. Lane of the U.S. Mounted Rifles on 18 May 1854, and spent the next sixteen years on tour in the American West. The emphasis is in the original.

An incident at Fort Davis, similarly illustrates a female grenadier's confidence in her imperial role. Clara, the wife of Colonel John W. Davidson of the Tenth Cavalry, demonstrated the authority vested in a senior wife. On hearing of her son's arrest for walking on the grass of the parade ground in Fort Sill (breaking one of her husband's direct orders), she dashed to the guardhouse to effect her son's release. The arresting officer, Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper, narrated the heated verbal exchange between the couple which ended in the child's release, "The general said to her 'Madam, I'll have you know I'm the Commanding Officer of this Post.' And, she replied, 'I'll have you to understand I'm your commanding officer.'" Mrs. Davidson confidently demonstrated her authority over her son, husband, and implicitly, the garrison. The assurance of the British and American senior ladies clearly illustrates the women's adoption of their husbands' rank, and their confidence in its concomitant authority. Whether dealing with rampaging elephants or a child walking on forbidden grass, these alpha females unabashedly brandished imperial authority.⁴³

Whether a senior lady, or the new bride of an ensign, when arriving at the military stations of British India and the American West, the officers' wives found themselves stranded from mainstream society. In the isolated outposts of empire their bodies and actions became appropriated to broadcast imperial prestige and power. Yet, in feminizing military titles, attire, and jargon, they constructed an imperial reality that provided an elite identity and a sense of purpose. In transnationally replicating traditional female activities at the

⁴³ Sandra Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915* (Albuquerque, 1982), 180, 186, 197, 211-2, 269; Mary L. Williams, "Ladies of the Regiment: Their Influence on the Frontier Army," *Nebraska History* 78, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 161; Henry O. Flipper, *Negro Frontiersman: The Western Memoirs of Henry O. Flipper, First Negro Graduate of West Point* (El Paso, 1963), 3-4; Sherry L. Smith, *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (Tucson, 1990), 4, 27; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:355, 425.

garrisons, they utilized sewing bees and organized social entertainments to sustain imperial prestige. Indeed, an active sisterhood developed that dutifully promulgated ambitions of empire. More importantly, in feminizing the ranking structure, these women created spaces of empowerment, most strongly demonstrated by the authority and influence of the *Burra Mem* and Female Grenadier. The men of the British and American Armies officially and unofficially sanctioned and reinforced this female appropriation of male imperial power. In addition to performing as military adjuncts and constructing an imperial sisterhood, however, officers' wives acted as imperial ambassadors. These women held a duty to design, and officiate at, social occasions and formally attend ceremonial performances to symbolize and maintain the authority and prestige of empire.

In addition to acting as such public imperial functionaries, these women modified transnationally carried ideals of the middle-class home to articulate the authority and prestige of the empire. E. M. Forster's novel *Passage to India* offered a social commentary of life in imperial India that demonstrates the centrality of the domestic space. Ronny Moore, a minor civil servant, understood life in British India as a "frieze." He frustratingly announced, "people are so odd out here, and it's not like home — one's always facing the footlights." His mother, "accustomed to the privacy of London ... could not realize that India ... contains none, and that consequently the [social] conventions have greater force." Yet, he angrily responded, "we're out here to do justice and keep the peace India isn't a drawing-room." Military spouses, nonetheless, understood their domestic life would be appropriated to display imperial prestige. In holding control of this domestic space, officers' wives generated female empowerment within the drawing rooms of the cantonment and garrison bungalows.

CHAPTER VI

IMPERIAL PAGEANTRY:

OFFICERS' WIVES AS PUBLIC ACTORS AND CEREMONIAL PERFORMERS

The Nizam sat imperturbable at my side, while I went through the alphabet with subjects, in my attempts to talk to him: A— Arab horses; B — Colonel Barr; C — Calcutta and Curries; D — Diamonds; E — Elephants; F — Foreign Princes who infest India at present; G — Golconda, the old diamond mines which are in Hyderabad; H — Habibulla, the Ameer of Afganistan. You would have thought that this magnificent variety would have lasted through dinner, but each topic died at birth and produced only a gentle 'Yes' or 'Exactly' from His Highness. George [Lord Curzon] witnessed my efforts with amusement, and eventually leaned over and asked him about the Delhi Durbar next January, but even this inspiring subject produced only a flutter of the eyelid.
Mary Curzon, Vicereine of India, 1902⁴⁴

Although not a Viceregal consort, a military wife constructed an imperial role that mirrored the Vicereine's efforts and understandings of duty. Indeed, in prescribing female responsibility, the April 1883 edition of the *Army and Navy Journal* honored American females who joined their military men by announcing, "The mothers, the wives, the sisters of this country's sons have invariably kept step with them to the west." The correspondent continued, "posts wisely built will elevate the character of the service ... for it will render it both easy and proper for them to take their families ... thus securing to them the restraining, refining influence of society ... a feeling of contentment ... [and] the colonizing tendency to strengthen the Territory where the post is situated."⁴⁵

Officers' wives in India, however, were not simply glorified by the press, but *ordered* to represent the empire. In 1877, the Viceroy, Edward Robert Bulwer, 1st Earl of Lytton, politicized women by incorporating their appearance as a vehicle of imperial propaganda. Captain Lionel J. Trotter detailed the Viceroy's official diktat by remarking on "a noteworthy reform in the fashions of feminine dress." In issuing "a decree that all ladies who wished to

⁴⁴ Mary Curzon, *Lady Curzon's India: Letters of a Vicereine*, ed. John Bradley (New York, 1985), 139.

⁴⁵ *Army and Navy Journal*, 14 April 1883.

attend the State receptions at Government House should wear long trains, after the manner of European Courts It pleased Lord Lytton to invest his office with all the ceremonial splendour that beseemed the vicegerent of so great a sovereign as the Empress of Hindustan.” Thus, Lytton instituted an official dress code that employed women’s bodies to provide a textual representation of imperial power.⁴⁶

With regard to this unusual command Charles Buckland further observed, “an attempt has been made to induce all the ladies of Calcutta to appear at the drawing-room with trains and feathers, but it has usually been left optional to them, the result being that the trains and feathers which do appear sometimes afford a sort of clue to the character and social position of the lady who wears them.” Thus, public feminine attire became commandeered as both external and internal symbols of empire. Dress, together with behavior and participation in social rituals, outwardly displayed the affluence and civility of the British Empire to the Indian people. Within the imperial community itself, these markers reaffirmed the supremacy of its members. Additionally, officers’ wives and other females received at the viceregal court held instructions to position themselves “on either side of the Viceroy's throne, in a sort of sacred semi-circle, in support of the Queen's representative.” Thus, these rituals of pomp and pageantry officially incorporated the female body as a demonstration of imperial authority.⁴⁷

In the nineteenth-century American and British empires, although not fully appreciated in the scholarship, officers’ wives held prescribed roles as cultural standard-bearers. In considering these women as imperial representatives, the *Army and Navy Journal*

⁴⁶ Captain Lionel J. Trotter, *History of India under Queen Victoria, 1836-1880*, vol.1 (London, 1886), 366; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 252. Trotter, a prolific writer on nineteenth-century British India, was a captain in the Second Bengal Fusiliers. Author’s emphasis.

⁴⁷ Charles E. Buckland, *Sketches of Social Life in India* (London, 1884), 10-11. Buckland was a member of the Indian Civil Service.

indicated a female stoical enthusiasm to share the American empire's mission, while Buckland underscored the women's official participation in creating a social reality that signaled imperial authority. Prescription, however, is not a total reality. In examining the public lives of the military spouses stationed on the outposts of empire, it becomes clear that these women understood themselves to be duty bound to the nation by presiding over public social rituals and actively participating in ceremonial performances.

These women exaggerated the traditional nineteenth-century female role and generated social power as arbiters, promoters, and enforcers of an imperial class. In so doing, they played a central role in designing and maintaining national representations of British and American power and prestige. By performing as adjuncts to their husbands' mission, they negotiated within the spaces between formal and informal authority. In organizing and attending numerous social events, such as balls, formal dinners, operas, and concerts, these women socialized with statesmen and civilians. The exciting, or sometimes unpleasant, role as witnesses and documenters of military ceremonial performances suggest they shared their husbands' duty to sustain imperial prestige.

To understand the human contribution to "imperial prestige," René Maunier posits that "the legal sources of imperialism are to be sought in the ... ideal of the gentleman who was the standard type of culture and good manners the polite and polished man ... who knows how to command; the imperial man in a certain sense, who, having powers, makes it his duty and his right to use them for the common welfare. The ideas of authority-as-power and authority-as-duty are the heritage of an aristocratic tradition." Allen Greenberger argues that the British in India needed to maintain a prestigious appearance to affirm internal

confidence in national purpose. In order to generate legitimacy, the male needed to appear “brave, forceful, daring, honest, active, and masculine ... in short he is ... in Victorian terms, ‘manly.’” Greenberger further asserts that belief in national superiority, the strict maintenance of cultural exclusivity, and an overriding commitment to work hard to discharge one’s duty confirmed and communicated an external image of prestige to the indigenous people.⁴⁸

Having established an imperial reliance on the “manly” qualities of male representatives, Mary Procida helpfully studies their female counterparts — the wives of civil servants and army officers posted in British India. She attests that “femininity and masculinity ... acquired different meanings in the Anglo-Indian community of the British Raj.” She describes the female imperial archetype as “outdoorsy, sports-orientated ... self-sufficient,” frugal, with “a flair for music.” In a role as “her husband’s partner,” she was not subordinated, but had “avenues of power and knowledge unavailable to most British women.” Thus, an officer’s spouse held authority in the administration and representation of empire by accompanying her husband on tour, interacting with the Indian people, and “contributing to imperial decision-making.”⁴⁹

Wives, then, according to Procida’s analysis, partnered in their husband’s professional remit to act as agents of empire. Ellwyn Stoddard and Claude Cabanillas, however, examines military gender relationships to offer a further ideal for consideration. They assert that as “an adjunct to her officer husband’s quasi-formal responsibilities,” the

⁴⁸ René Maunier, *The Sociology of Colonies: An Introduction to the Study of Race Contact*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. E. O. Lorimer (London, 1949), 31; Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880-1960* (New York, 1969), 11, 13, 15, 19. Maunier was an ethnologist and Greenberger is a historian.

⁴⁹ Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester, 2002), 16-7, 40-1, 48.

military spouse can be “best illustrated by the ambassador’s wife She, in her quasi-legal capacity must share and supplement the official duties of her husband . . . by communicating symbolically the correct relationships between their government and others, mainly by engaging in the subtleties of diplomatic life and reciprocal entertaining.” In examining the officers’ wives’ experiences, Stoddard’s definition of “adjunct” most accurately conveys the roles of these imperial women. These women were expected actively and symbolically, formally and informally, to “share and supplement” diplomatic duties by facilitating “correct relationships.” Although clearly not delegates to round-table negotiations of state affairs, or commanders of military men in the field, these females nonetheless wielded power in the nexus points between formal and informal avenues of imperial authority. In so doing, they participated in the creation of an inclusive imperial reality, complete with a distinct military community, rigid class hierarchy, and rules of social interaction.⁵⁰

Officers’ spouses, as adjuncts, held an obligation to manage both formal and informal relationships. In evaluating the sociability of the British Raj, Margaret MacMillan uncovers “a determined enthusiasm,” to showcase “jollity.” Procida adds that a “desperate” display of imperial prestige stemmed from British insecurities and a strong desire to demarcate the

⁵⁰ Ellwyn R. Stoddard, and Claude E. Cabanillas, “The Army Officer’s Wife: Social Stresses in a Complementary Role,” in *The Social Psychology of Military Service*, ed. Nancy L. Goldman and David R. Segal (Beverly Hills, 1976), 153-7. For a discussion of the traditional “companionate marriage” model in England see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977), 325-404, and in America see Suzanne Lebsack, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1984), 17, and Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980). For a discussion of the “incorporated wife” see Hilary Callan, and Shirley Ardener, eds. *The Incorporated Wife* (London, 1984), Janet Finch, *Married to the Job: Wives’ Incorporation in Men’s Work* (London, 1984), especially 88-9, 150-169; and Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 42-3. Procida describes the incorporated wife as sharing her husband’s work, and work environment, as a public figure who “personified the Empire,” and her actions calculated to “elicit the subservience” of the indigenous population. Such women, she asserts, “not only represented imperial authority when their husbands were absent, but often acted in their stead when quick decisions and rapid action were necessary.” She recognizes, however, that imperial wives moved beyond an incorporated model to “become junior partners with their husbands in their work, and to exercise autonomy as imperial actors.” Stoddard is a sociologist and retired army captain.

“racial, legal, cultural and personal” borders between the rulers and the ruled. Procida concludes that British women built and sustained an imperial community in India by attempting to replicate British cultural traditions. Similarly, Sandra Myres surveys the social behavior and background of officers’ wives stationed in the American West to argue that these women transported mainstream ideas of gentility that mirrored British practices. In holding “conservative and traditional . . . ideas and values,” they created an exclusive group that “lived more public lives” and judged western neighbors as “unsuitable” acquaintances. In “gratefully . . . return[ing] home to a more civilized East,” however, Myres argues they made little cultural impact. Yet, in approaching the experiences of these “conservative and traditional” women who “lived more public lives” through an imperialist lens, a different picture emerges. These adjuncts skillfully constructed an exclusive coterie, understood themselves to be active ambassadors, and held responsibility and social authority to promulgate imperial prestige.⁵¹

Reputation and status depends in part on how one presents oneself. Both dress and public behavior contribute to the creation of a specific impression. A central element in the nineteenth-century image-making portfolio was formalized public dining etiquette. This ritualized gathering symbolized upper and middle-class status throughout the British and American empires. In British India, however, this transnationally replicated practice became aggrandized to act as a diplomatic text symbolizing authority, affluence, civility, and orderliness. Margaret MacMillan describes the government-issued “Warrant of Precedence” that codified sociability in India. In conferring social status according to official rank, the

⁵¹ MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, 179; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 61; Myres, “Romance and Reality,” 417, 422, 426.

women religiously followed the ordering of the list. Whether dining at the mess, playing badminton, or merely sitting on the ladies' sofas in one of the "clubs," the most senior *memsahib* expected to be treated with deference. At official balls, it was considered "improper for single ladies to dance" unless led by a higher-ranking wedded woman. Additionally, at the end of the evening one had to wait for the *Burra Mem* to depart before even the most tired of guests could bid farewell. Indeed, "A Lady Resident" provided an instruction manual for newly arrived wives commanding, "At solemn dinners the lady of highest rank goes away first, and it is not considered etiquette for anyone else to make the first move, whether there may be a baby at home, or a long drive, or any other reason why she is anxious not to be detained late."⁵²

Isabella Fane recorded the effects of this social practice while attending a dinner at Government House. She reported: "In the morning we had been studying the book of precedence appertaining to rank and quality ... I was nobody at all and need not trouble myself as to when and where I was to be in any grand march or ... great dinner ... it is little matter to me whether I am first or twentieth. Conceive my horror and amazement when Lord Auckland stepped forward ... and walked me out ... before *three* other *married* ladies. It was totally wrong ... but I hope and trust my character may be spared." The requirement of an official mandate to dictate dining protocol reveals the efforts to ameliorate the insecurities

⁵² MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, 41; Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 102; Sherwood, *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood*, 313; A Lady Resident, *The Englishwoman in India* (London, 1864), 40. The Warrant of Precedence minutely details the rigid etiquette to be observed. See Bernard Burke, *The Book of Precedence* (London, 1881). For military officers see pages 78, 81-2. The revised Warrant of Precedence in India announced by Queen Victoria on 18 October 1876 (pages 85-7) demarcated brigadiers-general as First Class, lieutenant colonels as Third Class, and placed majors (along with civilians aged twelve to seventeen years!) within the lowest Fourth Class group. An addendum advised, "All ladies to take place according to the rank here'n assigned to their respective husbands, with the exception of wives of Peers, and of ladies having precedence in England independently of their husbands, and who are not in rank below the daughters of Barons; such ladies to take place according to their several ranks with reference to such precedence in England, immediately after the wives of Members of Council at the Presidencies in India." Updated regularly in some Indian States, it is still in existence today. See "Warrant of Precedence," http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/guidline_govt_mp/chap11.pdf, accessed 27 March 2011.

of the British power holders in India. By standardizing etiquette, a collective and cohesive display of respectability reassured the superiority of the empire.⁵³

The ladies in India recreated a social life that reflected, yet exaggerated and militarized British middle-class rituals and social ordering. Their efforts to exhibit genteel status became commandeered by the empire to boost confidence, and present a public façade of wealth and superiority — not just for a social class, but for an entire nation. While visiting the Hill Station of Simla in 1902, Mary, the American wife of George, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy of India, realized the overwhelming obligation of her imperial role as Vicereine. She wrote to her father that “George never does any social functions of any sort and they all devolve on me Duty is a wonderful incentive . . . I go out to races, parties, concerts, weddings, prize-givings, polo matches and the Lord knows what. It is all work and very little pleasure.” Mirroring the Vicereine’s laundry list of duties, Miss Fane recorded countless “boring” social engagements. She somewhat disdainfully noted “a station ball, which proved a nuisance to us all . . . [the next day] a dinner party no more amusing than the ball.” Similarly, Mrs. Sherwood wrote at length about a ball thrown by the Nawab of Bengal. Dressed in “splendid dresses” the women accompanied their gallantly uniformed men to the palace. Yet, the elaborate entertainment of dancing, theatricals, and fireworks failed to impress this officer’s wife. Somewhat disdainfully, she considered the music as nothing more than a “fearful screeching.” Seated for dinner with the Nawab’s sons, Mrs. Sherwood begrudgingly admitted that they held a “princely” air, yet “they looked melancholy. It is impossible that they should witness the prosperity of the English without pain.” Finding her duty to showcase English “prosperity” tiresome, she hoped to be able to give “up going into public in order to do good.” Clearly, the Mesdames Curzon, Fane, and

⁵³ Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 80-1. The emphasis is in the original.

Sherwood considered their appearance at, and participation in, formal social functions as a tedious, yet necessary imperial obligation.⁵⁴

Echoing such sentiments, the requirement to perpetuate British superiority, wealth, orderliness, and authority likewise irked Georgiana Paget. In recording a regimental New Year soirée to celebrate the arrival of 1858 at Kirkee (Western Ghats), she remarked, “Last night we indulged in the unwonted dissipations of a dinner-party and dance. The latter was rather a solemn affair, and at twelve o’clock every one shook hands and wished each other the compliments of the season.” She underscored the rules of cordiality by mentioning, “then we sat down to a supper which nobody ate, and then we, in defiance of Indian manners (which forbid the departure of any guest till the lady of highest rank has taken leave), went home to bed.” Mrs. Paget’s description of the “unwanted dissipations” of a regimental dance, indicate a reluctant acquiescence to participate in the affairs of empire. Her haughty departure before the *Burra Mem* represented a social insult and a daring dereliction of duty. The officers’ wives recollections of social engagements may appear to some as descriptions of unnecessarily frivolous and formalized entertainments. Yet, in viewing their participation in formal receptions as an imperial obligation a different picture emerges. Dressed in their “splendid” outfits, these women held a shared responsibility to project an image of gracious civility and affluence to authoritatively maintain “correct relationships”— clearly a female imperial duty.⁵⁵

Most officers’ wives’ recollections also include countless examples of their eagerness to participate in, and enjoyment of, imperial sociability. Magda, the wife of Lieutenant

⁵⁴ Nigel Nicholson, *Mary Curzon: The Story of an Heiress from Chicago who Married Lord Curzon Viceroy of India* (London, 1978), 158; Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 133; Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 290-2, 294; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 14: 792-804. The Nawab of Bengal, Baber Ali Khan, hosted the soirée attended by the Sherwoods.

⁵⁵ Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 102.

Colonel Ralph Hammersley-Smith, OBE, recorded her experiences in India for her great-grandchildren. She filled the pages of her memoir with stories of tiger hunts, jungle walks, and social gatherings. Arriving in 1906, she made the acquaintance of “Fardie” at a garden party hosted by the District Commander of Naini Tal. Fardie, the Aide de Camp, dutifully received and escorted guests to the garden area. He approached Magda, engaged her in conversation, and proffered an invitation for her to meet an “Indian Princess,” which she excitedly accepted. Eight months later she attended the “XIV Murray’s Jat Lancers” regimental ball. Held at the club, Magda described her surroundings as a veritable “fairyland,” decorated with “tiny oil lamps and lanterns.” Here, she reencountered the charming Aide de Camp, and at the end of the evening the couple became engaged. Mrs. Hammersley-Smith sentimentally described the event with “the men were all in their Regimental Mess Kit, and the ballroom was a living picture ... [of] fair women and brave men.” Yet the officers’ wives’ accounts describe their duty as sometimes boring and irritating despite the splendor of the settings. The Nawab’s ball with its melancholic princes, the unwonted indulgences of a mess dinner-dance, played out on a fantasized landscape. This indicates the imperial locations as otherworldly, a place apart from familiar home locations, and reflects the underlying “desperate jollity,” identified by Macmillan and Procida, that masked the insecurities in constructing and showcasing British prestige.⁵⁶

The American officers’ wives who traveled west also held a duty to allay imperial anxieties by constructing and enacting social rituals that showcased national confidence. Historians assert that officers’ wives accompanied their husbands from a sense of love and

⁵⁶ Magda Hammersley-Smith, “A Great Grandmother Remembers,” Hammersley-Smith Papers, Centre for Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K. 49-51; Hart, *Army List for 1903*, 367. Hammersley-Smith drew her description of the evening from Byron’s poem *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, Canto Three, Stanza Twenty-One. See Thomas Moore, and Lord Jeffrey, *Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (New York, 1848), 40.

marital duty, attempting to replicate Eastern roles as wives, civilizers, and homemakers. Yet Anni Baker's analysis of American army officers' wives centralizes women as central in maintaining embedded traditions and values of the army. She suggests that army wives generated a distinct female identity differing from the nineteenth-century models of eastern "delicacy" and western "roughness."⁵⁷

Michele Nancy supports Baker to contend that, "True" nor "Southern Womanhood" adequately describes the lives of these nineteenth-century military spouses, and introduces a female role as a "Member of the Regiment." By further examination of military spouses as architects and arbiters of social rituals and ceremonial performances, it becomes clear that they were not confined by the tenets of "True" or "Southern" Womanhood — nor were they simply "Members of the Regiment." These women understood themselves to be cultural standard-bearers of empire, holding a duty to design and display imperial symbols, orchestrate social rituals, and police behaviors.⁵⁸

Such enterprises undertaken by the American officers' wives mirror the endeavors of their British counterparts. Both groups, by participating in public functions, assisted the construction of an imperial reality that sustained notions of national prestige. In the West, a constant round of dinner parties, masked balls, picnics, billiards, and even croquet offered polite leisure activities. In 1866 Margaret Carrington offered a veritable catalogue of

⁵⁷ Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 24; Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 151-174; Baker, "Daughters of Mars," 22-3. For a discussion of the western female role see Dee Brown, *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West* (New York, 1974), John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, 1979), Riley, *The Female Frontier*, and Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: "Civilizing" the West? 1840-1880* (1979; reprint, New York, 1998). For a discussion of officers' wives' roles in the American West see Coffman, *The Old Army*, 104-136, 287-327; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*; Nancy, *Members of the Regiment*; and McInnis, "Expanding Horizons."

⁵⁸ Nancy, *Members of the Regiment*, 10, 12, 104-5, 107. For a full discussion of nineteenth-century Northern womanhood, see Barbara Welter "The Cult of True Womanhood," Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29. For Southern womanhood, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 44, 47, 66-7, 81, 99. Fox-Genovese argues that "the figure of the lady, especially the plantation mistress, dominated southern ideals of womanhood."

entertainments enjoyed en route to Absaraka, North Dakota. She remarked, “It is an old army fashion to enliven the monotony of frontier life by extemporized opera, charades, readings, and the miniature drama.” In recording the “last reunion” of the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment, she described the use of hospital tents to furnish a “grand pavilion,” where a concert, complete with “iron-clad Minstrels,” and a string orchestra provided the farewell amusements. Indeed, she explained, army life was “bound closely in social intimacies, separated from the affinities of active life in the States ... full of fraternal endearments ... when gentlemen *are* gentlemen and ladies *are* ladies.”⁵⁹

During “the days of the Empire,” and far from the “active life of the States,” Ellen Biddle confirmed the frequency of social functions in the American West. In identifying the benefits of the transnational imperial model of sociability, she remarked, “There was, and is, a ‘hop’ or informal dance every Friday evening in most army garrisons ... these gatherings bring the officers’ families together and are generally delightful.” Indeed, she promoted the benefits of such events with, “An army woman usually keeps her youth because she dances so much ... and aside from the pleasure it is a most healthful exercise.” Apart from keeping one’s youth, she also enjoyed the freedom to interact with bachelor officers. “Colonel [Joseph G.] Crane had been a great favorite,” she confided, “I remember meeting him one morning and asking if he were going to the ‘hop’ that night. ‘Oh, yes,’ he said, ‘I am going to see you dance, for I know if the floor were covered with eggs and you danced over them, not

⁵⁹ Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA*, 51-3. In writing of the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment’s “last reunion,” Carrington noted that a new congressional bill reorganized regiments. Indeed, the Congressional Act of 28 July 1866 ordered “*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the military peace establishment of the United States shall hereafter consist of five regiments of artillery, ten regiments of cavalry, forty-five regiments of infantry, the professors and corps of cadets of the United States Military Academy, and such other forces as shall be provided by this act, to be known as the Army of the United States.*” See U.S. Congress, Statutes at Large, *An Act to Increase and Fix the Military Peace Establishment of the United States*, 39th Congress, 1st sess., Vol. 14, Chapter CCXCIX, 1866, 332, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=363>, accessed 29 March 2011. The emphases are in the originals.

one would be broken.” She further indicated the exaggerated Eastern gentility with, “I recall walking with Colonel Crane one morning across the garrison, when we were joined by General [Aldebert] Ames and Major [Thomas H.] Norton. We came to a wide puddle of water ... as quick as thought Colonel Crane seized the military cape from Major Norton's shoulders and threw it across the puddle, and taking my hand led me across, saying as we went, ‘Sir Walter Raleigh outdone.’” Colonel Crane undoubtedly enjoyed the social freedom to interact with a married woman, and Biddle took pleasure in accepting his mild flirtatiousness. The conditions of living in an isolated military community, then, forged an alteration to mainstream social mores. By connecting with the masculine ethos of an officer and gentleman, the women constructed a hybrid society that exaggerated traditional gender roles. Far from the “active life of the States,” officers’ wives understood themselves to belong to the army, ergo the empire, dispensing with certain elements of public etiquette and confidently relying on the code of honor that claimed “gentlemen *are* gentlemen and ladies *are* ladies.”⁶⁰

Lydia Lane provides a further example of such latent social empowerment within imperial protocol. In 1860 the Third Cavalry transferred from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico and the officers’ families made the long trek in army ambulances. Each vehicle “was given its position in line according to the rank of the officer whose family occupied it.” This demonstration of internal imperial status was non-negotiable. Despite the dust cloud

⁶⁰ Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 49-50, Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:162, 335, 752. Emphasis is in the original. A nineteenth-century American etiquette manual codified middle-class behavior with the following advice, “A regard for appearances is ... a leading consideration when ordering one's conduct in public [it] should be characterized by reserve ... where the general public is our observant critic. Greetings between acquaintances casually meeting in such places should be quiet and conventional and the manner should be perfectly open and above board But if a man meets a lady, and wishes to chat with her, he should, after greeting her, ask permission to join her, and walk with her for a short distance; he should by no means ... prolong such a casual conversation beyond a few moments.” For the full instructions on recommended public behavior see Agnes H. Morton, *Etiquette: goodmanners for all people, especially those who dwell within the broad zone of the average* (Philadelphia, 1892), 152-4.

encountered by the second lieutenants' families relegated to the rear, Mrs. Lane considered, "The truth is, all army women, from the wife of the commanding general down to the wife of a second lieutenant, are treated with so much courtesy and politeness by army officers that they do not like anything that has the least appearance of a slight or an infringement of their rights." Additionally, she echoed Mrs. Biddle's sentiments regarding the almost eternal youth of an officer's wife with, "They never grow old in a garrison, and always receive attentions to which no woman in citizen life is accustomed when no longer young." She also reiterated the development of a distinct *esprit de corps* by confirming that "The hops are more like a family reunion than a gathering of strangers." Indeed, she glowingly confirmed that she "was in the army and part of it." Yet this image of an idyllic imperial family was just that, a halcyon ideal. Alice Baldwin revealed the rigid divide between officers' and soldiers' families that existed in the American West. Commissioned men and their wives were not permitted to participate in lower-ranked social events. The garrison commander and his wife, however, held a duty, not a familial commitment to attend. For the opening dance, the most senior officer was responsible for partnering the "ranking non-commissioned officer's wife," while "his wife ... danced with the ranking non-commissioned officer." The restriction of this ritual, then, endorsed and signaled the inflexible, internal divide between the officer and ranked imperial men. The ceremonial dance duty was shared by the commander and his wife, an imperial invitation neither could refuse.⁶¹

In comparing the American and British rituals of sociability, then, the official Indian "Warrant of Precedence" complete with its desperate jollity contrasts starkly with the unwritten practices of public sociability in the American West. Yet, an undercurrent of

⁶¹ Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 84-86; Baldwin, *Memoirs*, 14. The first emphasis in the original, the second is the author's.

American imperial insecurity, just as in the British experience, lay beneath the less formalized customs. The portrayal of an affable family community masked the operation of a rigid class hierarchy. Women were expected, at all times, to adhere to military codes of behavior and respectability. Additionally, in juxtaposing Ellen Biddle's record of a garrison dance with Frances Roe's experience in Fort Lyon in 1871, internal tensions regarding the uncertainty and instability of imperial male identity become clearer. Mrs. Roe, in accompanying her husband to the regimental mess dinner, delighted in the "bright buttons" of the uniformed men. Being unaware of honorary or brevet ranks among the officers, she committed an unforgivable social faux pas. She confessed, "It seems that in the Army, lieutenants are called 'Mister' always, but all other officers must be addressed by their rank But in Faye's company, the captain is called general, and the first lieutenant is called major, and as this is most confusing I called General Phillips 'Mister!'" Unfortunately, for Mrs. Roe, "everyone heard the blunder. General Phillips straightened back in his chair [and a] soldier, who had been so dignified and stiff, put his hand over his mouth and fairly rushed from the room so he could laugh outright. And how I longed to run some place, too — but not to laugh, oh, no!" She further compounded her mistake by "smiling" at a soldier who had acknowledged her with a "Yes, sorr [sic]!" After informing her husband of the incident, she recorded that "he looked vexed and said I must never laugh at an enlisted man — that it was not dignified in the wife of an officer to do so." Although a formalized order of precedence did not exist in the American West, an adherence to rank was strictly enforced by practice. Frances Roe, in failing to acknowledge Civil War brevets and behave publically in the fashion dictated for an officer's wife, faced a reprimand delivered by her concerned husband. She resolved the problem by designing a cunning strategy to act dutifully. As she

explained, “the safest thing to do is to call everyone general ... if I make a mistake, at least it will be on the right side.” As an officer’s wife she held an obligation to explicitly uphold and reaffirm the imperial masculine identity — and by extension — the prestige of the empire.⁶²

The need to behave appropriately as recognizable national representatives applied equally to both sexes. Some British and American officers’ wives, however, found themselves ostracized, and even removed from the garrisons for failing to meet female standards of imperial behavior. Joan Mickelson attests that the outward appearance of “female respectability became linked with ... patriotic pride. Thus when a woman’s behavior did not meet with the standards of the ideal she violated more than social codes. She also jeopardized the empire.” Marriage, rank, background, and social accomplishments all featured in determining acceptability. For example, Minnie Blane described the vetting procedure in India. She wrote to her mother of Lady Montgomery’s musical party held at Murree (Punjab), and proudly recounted, “Two ladies sang as well as any I have heard in an Opera It is quite delightful to meet with really nice gentlefolk.” Some guests, nonetheless, did not receive such warm plaudits, as Minnie recalled, “Among the ‘ladies’ here two have been *actresses*, and one, the wife of a Captain, a bar maid from a small inn near Plymouth! Really, society is very *recherché* [elegant]!” Clearly, the suitability of the accomplished vocalists was not in doubt. Mrs. Blane’s use of quotation marks and italics, however, emphasize this officer’s wife’s refusal to accept actresses, and a barmaid from Plymouth, as qualified to act as adjuncts — fellow ambassadors of empire.⁶³

An officer’s wife needed to symbolize, and enact rituals of, imperial prestige. Frances Wells, however, found the obligation to attend social events troubling. She complained,

⁶² Roe, *Army Letters*, 2, 5-6.

⁶³ Mickelson, “British Women in India 1757-1857,” 239; Vansittart, *From Minnie*, 165. The emphasis is in the original.

“Allahabad [United Provinces] is to be very gay this next week with two large balls ... I have never danced since my marriage and never intend to do so: I am universally laughed at but I do not think it consistent with the quietness and sobriety which are enjoined on married women.” In her next letter home, nonetheless, she shared her understanding that imperial duty *required* her to appear publically. She informed her father, “I fear I must go to a ball on the first Thursday in June, as Walter has been accused of shutting me up and not letting me go out and he is so excessively indignant about it that he is determined to go.” Along with her reservations regarding dancing, Mrs. Wells underscored her obligation to participate in military social functions. The station accusation that her husband “shut her up,” echo the “mad woman in the attic” stereotype, the binary opposite of the middle-class Victorian feminine ideal an “angel in the home.” That Captain Wells insisted that she appear in public to dispel such rumors evidences the symbolic value of his wife, as holding a responsibility for his, and by implication the empire’s, reputation and prestige.⁶⁴

In the American West, failure to conform to socially accepted codes of public conduct resulted in much greater sanctions than just harmful speculation. For example, Charlotta, the wife of Lieutenant Martin P. Buffum of the Fifteenth Infantry, threatened the code of female respectability that existed in Fort Craig. In 1870, despite suffering from an “internal disease” that prevented sexual intercourse with her husband, she allegedly participated in extramarital relations with a Captain George Shorkley at Fort Wingate. This indiscretion, apparently, provided no cause for alarm until 1876, when the lieutenant’s wife supposedly engaged in an illicit affair with the household striker (an enlisted man who acted as a paid servant for officers and their families) Private William F. Vanstan. “Mrs. Lieut. M. P. Buffum,” declared

⁶⁴ Wells, Letters to her Father, 71, 75. For a discussion of Victorian female stereotypes see Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, 2d ed. (New Haven, 2000). Author’s emphasis.

Vanstan in a sworn deposition, fully consented to “criminal carnal intercourse” with him and the pair had regularly exchanged love letters. This “decidedly disagreeable subject” became the object of countless urgent missives between the Post Commander Captain Charles Steelhammer and the Acting Assistant Adjutant General’s office in Sante Fe, New Mexico.⁶⁵

Steelhammer initially reported to Lieutenant Colonel Peter T. Swaine, “with no ordinary degree of reluctance,” that Mrs. Buffum “had had improper relations ... of the most disgusting character” with “an enlisted man under his command.” After informing the cuckolded husband of his wife’s behavior, Steelhammer insisted that the Lieutenant remove her, forthwith, from the fort. Failure to do so would be “at the risk of his commission.” Buffum immediately agreed to “send her to the States.” Despite Buffum’s acquiescence, Swaine insisted that “for the sake of the regiment ... Mrs B. [should] be legally investigated,” and Buffum forced to “resign to save the regiment publicity from the scandal.” Buffum, however, refused to remove his spouse or surrender his commission, “emphatically and indignantly” dismissing the charges “preferred against his wife.” The drama continued to unfold as Swaine, unsatisfied with the situation, charged Steelhammer to “legally present his testimony.”⁶⁶

The couple moved to Fort Wingate, and their response to Steelhammer’s deposition consisted of a fifteen-page rebuttal written by Buffum, and a sworn affidavit drafted by his wife. The missives deny any adulterous behavior, and Mrs. Buffum provided a solemn oath

⁶⁵ Buffum to Swaine, 19 January 1877, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Letters Received (LR) by Headquarters, District of New Mexico, Sept. 1865 - Aug. 1890, RG 393, M-1088, roll 31, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.; Steelhammer to Swaine, 28 December 1876, Steelhammer to Blair, 6 January 1877, Dist. NM, LR, RG 393, M-1088, roll 30; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:260, 884, 919.

⁶⁶ Charles Steelhammer to Peter T. Swaine, 4 December 1876, Swaine to Thomas Blair 20 Jan 1877, Swaine to Steelhammer 19 Dec 1876, Martin B. Buffum to Swaine, 19 January 1877, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Letters Received by Headquarters, District of New Mexico, Sept. 1865 - Aug. 1890, RG 393, M-1088, roll 31, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:222, 919, 938; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 73-5.

that “no unusual familiarity or intercourse criminal or otherwise ... took place.”

Steelhammer remained convinced that Vanstan’s testimony was a true record, and produced a letter written by the striker addressed to “My darling Lottie” to support his opinion. He further informed Swaine that he had arrested Buffum for public intoxication, and purported that the Lieutenant’s denial was made whilst when he “was intoxicated or insane.” Indeed, the strength of Steelhammer’s conviction led him to declare that he wished to “prevent [future] ... social intercourse with people [the Buffums] I know to be morally diseased.” This documented affair halts abruptly with a missive from the Acting Assistant Adjutant General’s office. First Lieutenant Thomas Blair asked Steelhammer to provide further evidence of Buffum’s “drunkenness on duty or other acts prejudicial to good order,” and unfortunately ends the paper trail by insisting that “in order to avoid giving more publicity to this scandal than necessary it is desired that the official recording of these from here be omitted.” Thus, the outcome became cloaked in secrecy behind the public military face. Yet, from the available records it becomes patently obvious that Charlotta threatened the reputation and orderliness of the imperial presence in the West. *Her* supposed adultery with a mere soldier placed her *husband’s* career in jeopardy, and the couple were removed from the garrison. A brief addendum dated 11 January 1877 indicated how Swaine safeguarded imperial prestige — it simply stated “Buffum resigned.” Charlotta’s conduct prompted official action and she was found guilty of inappropriate female behavior. This, in turn, caused her husband to lose his appointment, thus, her social actions appropriated economic male space. The Acting Assistant Adjutant General responded quickly and decisively to a feminine threat — a threat that would imperil imperial confidence, reputation and legitimacy.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Swaine to Steelhammer, 19 December 1876, Blair to Steelhammer, 2 January 1877, Letters Sent (LS)

While dealing with the tawdry affairs at Fort Craig, Swaine faced a larger problem brewing at another garrison under his command. The alleged erstwhile lover in the Buffum drama, Captain Shorkley, now the commanding officer at Fort Garland, was once again enmeshed in scandal. Problems initially arose when an officer's spouse failed to act as imperial protocol demanded. Rumors circulated that Lieutenant John Conline's wife regularly frequented the laundresses' quarters to gossip, thus crossing the imperial class divide. On another occasion she had acted indecorously by chasing Annie Lee, the hospital matron, "around the yard with a pistol in her hand." Second Lieutenant (Basil N.) Waters of the Fifteenth Infantry added further weight to the accusations of unladylike behavior by reporting that "Mrs. Conline came into his room without knocking when he was only partially dressed, and instead of retiring she took a chair and sat down." An additional charge remarkably read that "Mrs. John Conline willfully and indecently expose[d] her person in a state of partial and entire nudity to officers and enlisted men of the garrison." The ultimate offense, however, was her accusation that the post's commanding officer, none other than the alleged lover of Charlotta Buffum — Captain George Shorkley, had fathered Mrs. Rogers's (a soldier's wife's) child. For such violations against the code of imperial respectability, and for disturbing the "order and quiet of the garrison," Shorkley ordered an official investigation into Mrs. Conline's character reporting that he believed her to be insane, and requesting urgently that the matter be dealt with to "relieve the garrison of this disturbing presence." Indeed, his memoranda of charges included eight individual

by Headquarters, District of New Mexico, Sept. 1865 - Aug. 1890, RG 393, M-1088, roll 30, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.; Steelhammer to Blair, 6 January 1877, Cover Sheet, 6 January 1877, William Buffum Sworn Deposition, 20 November 1876, Vanstan to Charlotta Buffum, 10 November 1876, Dist. NM, Letters received (LR), RG 393, M-1088, roll 30; Buffum to Swaine, 19 January 1877, Charlotta Buffum Sworn Affidavit 18 January 1877, Dist. NM, Letters received (LR), RG 393, M-1088, roll 31. Author's emphasis.

specifications of unacceptable conduct for which her husband assumed “official and personal” responsibility.⁶⁸

Following an examination, Assistant Surgeon Justus Morris Brown declared Mrs. Conline “insane,” and her husband received orders to remove her from the post. Conline refused, thus facing a court martial, and the affair spiraled out of control. Scandalous accusations and counterclaims reached soap opera proportions, including the refusal to allow the supposedly insane woman use of an army ambulance because she “had used it to convey her to the houses of citizens where . . . her conversation was not to the credit of the army.” The final outcome, nonetheless, resulted in Mrs. Conline’s removal from the post, with the Lieutenant barely escaping court martial — through, ironically, an insanity plea. An officer’s spouse, then, held a responsibility to conduct herself publically as an adjunct. In fraternizing with women of a lower class, visiting with a lightly clad officer in his room, exposing herself indecently, and making public accusations against the fort commander, she threatened both her and her husband’s social and economic positions. Captain Edward Whittemore (the investigating officer) judged that “whether insane or not,” the officer’s wife had “disturbed the peace and quiet of the post.” Her behavior, he declared, was “not been such as is to be expected from a Lady.” The failure in controlling officers’ wives behavior, then, signaled the importance of army authorities’ efforts to sustain the respectability, prestige, and legitimacy of the empire.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Captain Edward Whittemore to Swaine Acting Assistant Adjutant General, New Mexico, 19 February 1877, Dist. NM, LR, RG 393, M-1088, roll 31, Shorkley to Swaine, 22 January 1877, Dist. NM, LR, RG 393, M-1088, roll 29; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:321, 884, 1008, 1031.

⁶⁹ Brown to Shorkley, 26 January 1877, Shorkley to Swaine, 16 March 1877, Dist. NM, LR, RG 393, M-1088, roll 29; Whittemore to Swaine Acting Assistant Adjutant General, New Mexico, 19 February 1877, Dist. NM, LR, RG 393, M-1088, roll 31; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:253. For a discussion of Mrs. Conline’s diagnosis of insanity, and interpretation of a sexual double standard operating in the nineteenth-century American military see Miller, “Foragers, Army Women, and Prostitutes,” 153-4.

Mrs. Buffum and Mrs. Conline, then, did not meet the empire's expectations for its female ambassadors, and their public performances threatened prestige. The appearance of Shorkley in both episodes, however, casts doubt on the guilt of these women. His reputation was called into question in both cases, and at least in the latter episode, he was forced to go on the offensive. In attacking the character of a lower ranked officer's spouse, he neatly shifted the focus of the investigation away from his actions (Shorkley was not reprimanded and retired at the end of his service on the twenty-third of September 1885). Additionally, both Lieutenants Buffum and Conline were well-known drunks. So, calling their wives' reputations into question provided an easier route to force the resignations of military liabilities — ungentlemanly officers. Regardless of the true intent behind the removal of these women, the high-level interventions confirm that officers' wives had responsibility for policing both male and female sexuality and integrity of speech, and maintaining imperial class boundaries.

Most officers' spouses in America and India, nonetheless, did not furiously chase soldiers' wives around the garden brandishing a weapon. They conformed to imperial public expectations to act, at all times, as adjuncts. In addition to enacting the social rituals of entertaining as imperial ambassadors, these women dutifully participated in an array of ceremonial performances. David Cannadine argues that power gains visibility through formal observances. What kind of authority is displayed, however, depends on the individual society and the particular public ritual. In delineating the connection between pomp and power, he considers anthropological methodology that interprets, amongst other artifacts, flags, costumes, and festivities as historical interpretive texts. In considering both the

British and American Empires, the public rituals that display military strength and imperial authority cannot be omitted from the record. As Cannadine attests, “no approach that ignores spectacle and pageantry can possibly claim to be comprehensive Ritual ... is itself a type of power.” In reifying a monarch, or as in this study, an empire, extravagant state performances generally accompany a stable and powerful king and nation; or during a weak or chaotic administration. In witnessing, participating in, and glorifying national pageantry the officers’ wives actively legitimized and sustained nineteenth-century imperial power. In so doing, they bolstered the Anglo minorities’ confidence in their roles, and assisted the display of perceived superiority and authority to the indigenous peoples.⁷⁰

In India, male and female bodies provided physical sites to display imperial texts, simultaneously placating internal insecurities while demonstrating a façade of confidence to the indigenous peoples. The responsibility to uphold the exhibition of civility and authority rested with officers and their wives. Kenneth Mason, a member of the Survey Department in nineteenth-century India, offered a perfect summary in, “We had to rule by prestige; there’s no question about it. It wasn’t conceit We were there to rule, and we did our best.” To allay insecurities, men needed to promote and “rule by” the display of confidence in imperial power. Outward appearances and behavior during public celebrations played a central role in legitimizing British authority, both for the rulers and the ruled. Frances Wells, while travelling with the regiment from Barrackpore to Allahabad in 1854-5, described such portrayals of strength. She excitedly told her father, “the Regt ... march in and out [of Camp

⁷⁰ David Cannadine, *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), 1, 3, 17, 19. Anthropological studies that interpret ceremonial artifacts and rituals as displays of political power include Raymond W. Firth, *Symbols, Public and Private: Symbol, Myth, and Ritual* (Ithaca, 1975); Victor W. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, 1975); and Gillian Feeley-Harnick, “Issues in Divine Kingship,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* vol. 14 (1984): 273-313. Sir David Cannadine is a historian.

Burdwan, West Bengal] with the band playing and all their bayonets flashing in the sun: a dozen elephants follow carrying the sepoy's tents." This ceremonial march, prior to the Sepoy uprising, clearly utilized pomp and pageantry to confirm the virility and stability — imperial manliness as delineated by René Maunier — of the British Empire to the rulers and ruled alike.⁷¹

Stationed on the Black Plain with her husband's regiment during the Sepoy Mutiny, Georgiana Paget offered additional instances of British public attempts to legitimize and reaffirm authority. On 24 May 1857, she noted, "A Royal salute was fired at daybreak in honour of Her Majesty's birthday. No parade took place, as the troops have no full dress." With no mess uniforms available to demonstrate a physically striking, disciplined, and confident face of Empire, the celebration was restricted to an artillery salute. On 31 May, however, she recorded, "A little demonstration was got up here this afternoon, to show the natives we still had some English soldiers left. The few remaining Highlanders, accompanied by the one miserable gun, sallied forth ... and marched in ... I think it was questionable whether the whole affair was not rather a display of our weakness." In the

⁷¹ Allen, *Plain Tales*, 79-81; Wells, Letters to her Father, 1853-1858, 56. The Sepoy Mutiny in India began in Meerut on 10 May 1857 and officially ended by a peace agreement in July 1858. For published and unpublished accounts of experiences and escapes written by officers' wives see Julia Haldane, *The Story of our Escape from Delhi in 1857* (Agra, 1888), Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U.K., 10602.c.26(3.); Miss Wagontreiber, *The Story of Our Escape from Delhi in May, etc.* (Delhi, 1857), Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U.K., 9008.c.33(3.); Mrs A. E. Huxham, "Diary of the Mutiny." 1857-1858," Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K.; Anna Madelaine Jackson, "A Personal Narrative of the Indian Mutiny, 1857," Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K.; Maria Mill, "Diary of the Mutiny, 1857-1858," Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K.; Catherine Ann Stock, Papers, 1854-1870, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K.; Frances I. L. Duberly, *Suppression of Mutiny, 1857-1858* (New Delhi, 1974); Katherine M. Bartrum, *A Widow's Reminiscences of Lucknow* (London, 1918); Mrinalina Sinha. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995), 1-24. Sinha's analysis of the purposes of masculinity in India argues that the construction of the "manly Englishman" and the "effeminate Bengali" from 1880 to 1890, sought to find a common denominator in an increasingly diverse climate. This opposition assisted to ameliorate tensions in power negotiations between the colonizer and colonized, as a response to 'economic, political, and cultural shifts in the imperial social formation' during this period. For a discussion of masculinity see J. A. Mangan, and James Walvin, eds. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1987) and M. Roper, and J Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991).

midst of the military confusion and uncertainty of the Mutiny, the British needed to boost morale through a visible show of strength. In proffering her opinion, Mrs. Paget clearly indicates an understanding of her duty. First, by including the words “our weakness,” she understood that she was an integral member of the Empire. Second, in acknowledging that the demonstration sought to “show the natives” British prowess, she understood the imperial agenda behind ceremonial performances. Third, in questioning the parade of the “few Highlanders,” she revealed her role as an informed attaché, by doubting the wisdom of such an order. Finally, in noting the restriction of the Queen’s birthday celebration to a salute, as the men did not have their most prestigious uniforms, she confirms that the costuming of such rituals held a central role in broadcasting the health and wealth of the British Empire.⁷²

Madeleine Churcher further confirms the exploitation of the body as elemental in upholding the imperial image by underscoring the prime importance of appropriate dress for public appearances. She recorded a state visit to Bareilly by the Viceroy and Lady Amphill on 16 November 1904. Not satisfied with simply describing the pomp and ceremony of the salutes, cavalcade, and troop review, she took two rolls of still photographs with her new Kodak camera. The soldiers, she noted, paraded in their finest military regalia, and Lady Amphill dressed in a pale gray outfit, sheltered from the sun under a gold and scarlet

⁷² Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 175, 187. For illustrated plates of the nineteenth-century British military uniforms see Peter Herrington and Michel Tomasek, *Queen Victoria’s Army in Color: The British Military Paintings of Orlando Norie* (Atglen, 2003). For the Highlander uniforms see pages 86-7. The Highland Regiments of the British Army originated in Scotland, were known for exceptional courage in battle, and incorporated kilts, sporrans and tartan trousers as part of their uniform. For descriptions of both the British and American military apparel see Herbert Knötel and Herbert Sieg, *Uniforms of the World: A Compendium of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Uniforms, 1700-1937*, trans. Ronald G. Ball (New York, 1937), 255-277, 434-442. The full dress uniforms, worn for ceremonial functions, offered the most elaborate and imposing outfits of the British Army. Adorned with medals, sashes, order insignias, and gold epaulettes, they most certainly provided a prestigious textual representation of imperial authority. U.S. uniforms appear equally imposing with gold shoulder straps, chevrons, and collars complimented with a shako-style helmet complete with a plume or cockade. See Colonel Robert H. Rankin, *Uniforms of the Army* (New York, 1967), 19-31, 33-57; “U.S. Cavalry Full Dress Uniforms,” <http://www.9thcavalry.com/history/fullres.htm>, accessed 2 May 2011. For definitions of Full, Dress, and Undress uniforms see W. Y. Carman, *A Dictionary of Military Uniforms* (New York, 1977), 61, 90, 131.

umbrella. The keen photographer, unfortunately, had to remain at a polite distance. Her husband “had no full mess uniform” with him, so the couple failed to receive permission to attend the formal state banquet. Thus, the soldiers and the Vicereine clearly promoted the prestige of the empire through dress and performance. Churcher and his wife, however, could not publicly represent the empire as the captain had failed to pack his mess kit.⁷³

At the zenith of the ceremonial performance pyramid in India sat the resplendent Durbars. Traditionally, a Durbar welcomed visiting heads of state to Indian and African royal receptions. This adoption and adaptation of an Indian ceremonial ritual provides an example of the British imperial strategy of sustaining indigenous cooperation by fusing Anglo-Indian customs. Christian Showers-Sterling participated in “Lord Curzon’s Great Durbar” held on 1 January 1903. She recorded, “I shall never forget Lady Curzon in her wonderful peacock dress It was all light and colour Then there was the State Ball ... [and a] review of the whole army.” She delighted in the “prancing horses, elephants, and camels,” but “the armies of Native State troops,” provided the “cream” of the day for this military wife. The expense incurred for this lavish spectacle, however, caused concern at the highest levels, fuelling the longstanding antagonism between the Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour and Viceroy, George Curzon – with Balfour privately ridiculing Curzon as “the purple emperor.” The landmark event, despite the lack of accord between the statesmen over tax reductions, took place as proposed. In an addendum to her report Showers-Stirling clarified the role of pageantry as integral to the more mundane operations of empire. She added, “A few explanations on the Durbar, etc. — It was Lord Curzon’s idea to glorify himself and to gather all India together in a vast concourse of every nation, tribe, Native

⁷³ Churcher, *Indian Impressions*, 109-11. Oliver Villiers Russell, 2nd Baron of Ampthill governed as Viceroy of India from April to December 1904. He married Lady Margaret Lygon in 1894.

States, etc. their chiefs to meet and discuss their problems in a Durbar Many were at enmity with each other and the rivalry for Government favour was tremendous — each State vieing [sic] with a display of their wealth and grandeur.” Mrs. Showers-Sterling’s description highlights that ceremonial exhibitions functioned as a central element of imperialism. The Durbar, with its prancing horses, troop review, and State Ball provided a space for political, diplomatic, and economic negotiations at the highest level. Displayed in their most lavish outfits, officers’ wives were required to attend state functions to symbolize and legitimize, through their bodies and demeanor, imperial authority, affluence, and prestige.⁷⁴

Acting as representatives at official functions of the empire provided a means not only to participate in displays of national strength, but also to police and protect the borders of the imperial set. Both dining at the local military stations, and the more formal state occasions underscored the inclusivity of an imperial coterie. Lady Curzon, as Vicereine of India, provided insightful observations of female cultural imperialism in action at this national level. Her letters regularly describe the pageantry of the constant round of curtsies, bows, and handshakes accompanied by the ubiquitous rendering of “God Save the Queen.” Writing from Barrackpore she candidly described dining in 1900 at the residence of the Commander in Chief (General Sir William Lockhart), where she “had to make the move to leave the table [other guests were forbidden under the Warrant of Precedence to leave the dining table until the she retired] and for all the fuss and ceremony we might as well be monarchs.” One telling vignette, nonetheless, related a process to exclude undesirables from

⁷⁴ Showers-Sterling, *Notes on Her Life*, 23-4; R. J. Q. Adams, *Balfour: The Last Grandee* (London, 2007), 192-4. Lord Curzon organized The Great Durbar of 1903 (there were three such events, 1877, 1903, and 1911) to celebrate the roles of Edward the VII and Queen Alexander as Emperor and Empress of India. For a detailed account written by a *Times of India* journalist, see Lovat Fraser’s, *At Delhi* (Bombay, 1903).

the Vicereine's social, hence the imperial, circle. Lady Curzon confided, "Some *awful* people *insisted* on being asked to the ball at Government House ... a Mr and Mrs Jack *Latta* of Chicago. They got the American Consul to write and say they expected to be asked just as though I were the wife of an American Minister abroad upon whom they looked as a creature paid to entertain them. They appeared, Mrs Latta wearing an immense plaid *day dress turned* in at the neck, I had seen her at polo with the same dress in the afternoon." To prevent admission of such unsuitable interlopers she decided, "If I am overrun with such people I shall have to tell the Consul that only those who bring letters to me or are known to me or whom he recommends *can* be asked to Government House." Thus, the exasperated Vicereine made efforts to exercise social power as an adjunct by determining who could be admitted as representatives of the empire, and the official conditions of such an entrance.⁷⁵

Some British officers' wives similarly expressed frustration with the requirement to perform as imperial representatives. Jeanette, following her marriage to Field Marshal William Riddell Birdwood of the Eleventh Bengal Lancers (knighted in 1916 and raised to the peerage as 1st Baron of Anzac and Totnes), objected to her "confined and totally male-oriented" life in India. After marrying into the regiment she complained, "the army wife was not expected to do anything or be anything except a decorative chattel or appendage of her husband ... she was not expected to be clever. It didn't matter if she wasn't beautiful, so long as she looked reasonable and dressed reasonably and didn't let her husband down by making outrageous remarks at the dinner table." This requirement, although belittled by the irritated Lady Birdwood, actively created a space in the imperial male world for a military spouse to both represent British prestige and wield social power. Ruby Gray similarly

⁷⁵ Curzon, *Lady Curzon's India*, 58; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 34:256-7. Emphasis is in the original.

expressed annoyance in performing as an imperial representative. She attended a ceremonial review of the native troops, “in honour of some Maharajah,” and admitted, “in due course Charles and I appeared at the Commander-in-Chief’s [General Philip Chetwode, 7th Baronet of Oakley], here I disgraced myself.” The officer’s wife confessed her moment of shame with, “we entered a long rectangular hall, as I remember its walls of polished marble, stairs going straight up ... Ladies on the right, Gents on the left.” In turning to face her husband she “said, ‘this place reminds me of a London Underground lavatory’ saw an awful look on Charles face turned and found myself facing the Commander in Chief at the top of the stairs ... surrounded by his entourage, and then [heard] ‘Captain Gray and his wife [announced]’ in a loud voice.” After committing such a *faux pas*, Mrs. Gray wisely avoided her host for the remainder of the reception. The next morning, unfortunately, she compounded her lack of graciousness. While riding to the railway station in a horse-drawn carriage, she was spotted by General Chetwode, who watched her “progress down the mall,” as she sat amongst an assortment of “pots and pans.” She clearly understood that she had not presented the most impressive of sights, as she concluded, “This trip to Delhi was the only time I took part in the pomp and pageantry of the British Empire.”⁷⁶

Most officers’ wives, nonetheless, maintained imperialism by performing their roles with *éclat* and *élan*. Despite recognizing attendance as an imperial duty, many wives found military ceremonial performances both thrilling and delightful. For example, Frances Grummond recorded a Flag Day ceremony that she likened to “a veritable Thanksgiving in the States.” With the men on full-dress parade (the entire garrison were issued with new uniforms), the celebrations began with a keynote address given by the garrison commander,

⁷⁶ Charles Allen, ed., *Plain Tales from the Raj* (London: 1975), 151, 182; Ruby Gray, Unpublished Memoirs, 15, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U. K., Mss Eur. D. 1037/11; Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 5:829-31, 11:57-359.

Henry Carrington. After reminding all of the “glory and power” they symbolized as representatives of the “land of the free and the home of the brave,” he then stood the men to “parade-rest.” The officers’ wives congregated on a purpose-built platform, with the commander’s wife positioned in the center. “Then,” Mrs. Grummond recalled, “in quick succession, rang out the orders, Attention! Present arms! Play! Hoist! Fire! With the simultaneous *snap* of presented arms in salute, the long roll of the combined drum corps was followed by the full band playing ‘The Star Spangled Banner,’ the guns opened fire, and the magnificent flag ... slowly rose to masthead and was broken out in one glorious flame of red, white, and blue!” The officer’s wife then admitted, “The thrill of contending emotions was almost overpowering for the moment The epaulets and decorations of the officers and the freshly burnished brass shoulder scales of the troops added intense brilliancy.” To conclude the day’s festivities, “the customary *levee* at headquarters ... under Mrs. Carrington’s genial administration” provided “dancing, singing, and general merrymaking” until midnight. For this officer’s wife, the men in their newly issued dress uniforms, the “brilliancy” of the performance, and the “genial administration” of the female grenadier reaffirmed and showcased the affluence and prestige of the American Empire.⁷⁷

Ellen Biddle further illustrated the officers’ wives’ pleasure in witnessing the pageantry of a military review. Soldiers demonstrated the “principal drill movements required in battle, advancing and firing both mounted and dismounted as skirmishers, and ... the field-guns ... shelling the hills. I could well understand their enthusiasm, for, notwithstanding the hundreds of times I have seen it, I am yet, always thrilled with excitement.” Writing in the same enthusiastic vein, novelist Mrs. M. A. Cochran’s protagonist, Captain Prescott’s wife, echoed Mrs. Grummond’s exhilaration regarding the

⁷⁷ Carrington, *My Army Life*, 112, 113-7. The emphasis is in the original.

Fourth of July celebrations. This distinctly American festivity, although totally devoid of prancing horses and elephants, echoed the resplendent descriptions of the British State Visit and Durbar described by Madeleine Churcher and Christian Showers-Stirling. Cochran listed the athletic events, firework display, “and lemonade by the barrel for the whole command.” With the arrival of the “grand moguls [senior military officials and state political leaders] ... the band would play, and the cannon roar, the troops turn out in force, and the ladies dressed in their best, would assemble at the commanding officer’s quarters to receive them.” Officers’ wives “dressed in their best” recorded their excitement as participants in the formal displays of empire. Acting as adjuncts, they held a duty to meet and greet the “grand moguls,” thus underscoring female roles as imperial representatives.⁷⁸

As in the British experience, the duty to display imperial prestige included participation in civilian social events. In 1872, Captain Orsemus Boyd supervised the building constructions at Fort Bayard. Located near Silver City, the military community interacted regularly with the townspeople. Mrs. Boyd, somewhat disdainfully, described the town’s efforts at polite entertaining as “comical.” She related a typical evening with “imagine a ball at which every element is represented, from the most refined to the most uncultivated, from the transplanted branches of excellent Eastern families ... to the rudest specimens of frontier life, who ... were devoid of all education, yet, like true Americans, regarded themselves as the very quintessence of knowledge and good breeding.” Mrs. Boyd, nonetheless, enjoyed the entertainments and talked of the officers’ wives’ “pretty dresses ... shawls and head-gear.” In comparing the civilian attempts at socializing with the military efforts, she described the officers’ wives’ efforts to decorate the garrison ballroom with “beautiful flags, cannon, stacked bayonets and swords,” concluding that the military soirées

⁷⁸ Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 236; Cochran, *Posie*, 162-3.

“contrasted favorably” with the civic events. In juxtaposing these social events Mrs. Boyd delineated the military community as distinct from the civilian. She clearly enjoyed her identity as an imperial attaché, and took great pride in her efforts to display ceremonial artifacts to reaffirm confidence in the imperial mission.⁷⁹

Not all ceremonial performances, however, consisted of merrymaking, fireworks, and lemonade. Pomp and ceremony played a central disciplinary role within the empires. Although the British officers’ wives studied here failed to record an internal punitive ceremony, two American women did. In analyzing their accounts it becomes clear that officers’ wives played a passive, but nonetheless important role in observing, recording, and justifying the measures to maintain imperial obedience. Elizabeth Custer provides the first example. Following the Confederate surrender at the Appomattox Courthouse in April 1865, the Custers led the Third Cavalry to Texas. In reaching Alexandria, Louisiana, the military spouse recorded that a “spirit of reckless disregard of authority” pervaded amongst the soldierly ranks. A mutiny of sorts threatened when a petition called for the resignation of a much “hated” officer. George Custer, wishing to maintain order, court-martialed a sergeant (a petitioner who failed to withdraw his complaint) for insubordination and sentenced him to death. This somewhat excessive order prompted the officer’s wife to justify her husband’s decision. She explained, “Pomp and circumstance are not alone for ‘glorious war,’ but in army life must also be observed in times of peaceThe more form and solemnity, the deeper the impression; and as this day was to be a crucial one, in proving to the insubordinate that order must eventually prevail, nothing was hurried, none of the usual customs were omitted.” Five thousand soldiers apparently mustered for the ceremonial execution of the aforementioned sergeant and a deserter. Elizabeth Custer recorded, “The wagon ... bearing

⁷⁹ Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 228-9.

the criminals sitting on their coffins, was driven at a slow pace around the square, escorted by the guard and the firing-party, with reversed arms.” She continued, “The coffins were placed in the centre of the square, and the [convicted] men seated upon them at the foot of their open graves.” The firing squad took aim and shot the deserter. Remarkably, the recalcitrant mutineer, who had unknowingly received a last minute reprieve, was spared. George Custer deliberately delayed announcing the sergeant’s pardon to fully utilize the power of pomp and pageantry for internal deterrent purposes.⁸⁰

This example of regimental discipline illustrates that Elizabeth Custer, as an officer’s wife, held a duty to witness, report, and validate her husband’s decision-making process. Although she played no active role in this punitive and melodramatic order, she clearly understood the differences in active and peacetime soldiering, and the tensions of maintaining unquestioned imperial obedience. Despite expressing sympathy for the condemned sergeant and his family, her overriding fear concerned the safety of her husband. Scholars agree that her memoirs, published after Custer’s death, promoted and reified the imperial hero, thus must be interpreted through this purposeful bias. In her writings, she portrays her husband as a fair and effective commander of men, and the aforementioned incident as one effected for its preventative value. Additionally, in witnessing the ceremonial

⁸⁰ Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, 97, 99, 100, 104-5. Elizabeth Custer does not name the “hated” officer in her book. The nineteenth-century British Army’s portfolio of military punishment included death, transportation, flogging and imprisonment. For desertion a soldier could be branded with the letter “D” and discharged. Henry Colburn who witnessed a ceremony following a death sentence noted, “A military execution is truly a terrible sight. Great military show is purposely displayed for the purpose of rendering it as impressive as possible to the troops who are to witness it.” For a discussion of the British military punishment policies and practices see Henry Colburn, *Colburn’s United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, 1844 Part One* (London, 1844), 242-256.

execution Mrs. Custer understood that in recording such “pomp and circumstance” to ensure “that order must eventually prevail,” she assisted in legitimizing imperial actions.⁸¹

Alice Baldwin also included an account of pageantry utilized as an internal mechanism to maintain the façade of imperial strength. In 1867, while stationed at “one of the most remote military posts on the frontier,” she recorded the following vignette. “Desertions from this post were frequent. I witnessed my first spectacle of this sort at [Fort] Wingate.” An American and an English soldier had been captured following deserting and “were sentenced to one side of their heads shaved and to be drummed out of camp.” Watched by the entire garrison, the deserters walked ahead of a drummer and fifer who played “The Rogue’s March.” On reaching the camp perimeter, the Englishman, apparently unaffected by the whole affair, turned “the shaved side of his head to toward the spectators” and proffered “a mocking salute and a bow.” The American soldier simply “went his way.” Not quite the harsh punishment meted out by Custer, or the branding inflicted by the British Army. Yet, the removal of hair and the symbolic march of shame clearly functioned to diminish imperial masculinity in the disgraced men. Mrs. Baldwin recorded the event in a factual style, under the chapter title “Monotony of Garrison Life.” Perhaps the frequency of desertions and punishments reduced these ceremonial performances to simply normal affairs, and the brazen insolence of the Englishman rendered this parade noteworthy. Mesdames Custer and Baldwin, nevertheless, acted as witnesses, alongside the soldiers, to the power play of disciplinary pomp and pageantry. Tasked by William T. Sherman to act as imperial

⁸¹ Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA*, dedication: Carrington, *My Army Life*, 61; Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 137. 137. For a discussion on the rhetorical protection of the widowed Elizabeth Custer see Shirley A. Leckie, *Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the Making of a Myth* (Norman, 1993), 256-314.

observers these adjuncts held power through their writing to justify rituals of obedience, thus sustaining the internal authority of imperialism.⁸²

British and American officers' wives stationed with their husbands in India and the American West fully participated in furthering imperialist ambitions. They were expected to participate in public events as adjuncts, who shared and supplemented their husbands' duties. In the evolvement of an imperial masculinity and femininity, it becomes clear that certain ideals, values, and characteristics determined who could be accepted as representatives of national prestige. The bodies and behaviors of the dutiful "manly" officer and his genteel "self-sufficient" wife became appropriated by the empires to symbolize affluence, civility, and authority. Female complicity in acting as dutiful ambassadors generated avenues of social power unavailable to women from the mainstream "home" societies. These military spouses constructed exaggerated, military versions of transnationally carried Victorian practices of dining-out and ceremonial performances. They dutifully participated in imperial social rituals as equal actors, determined admission criteria, and personified prestige. In presenting a veneer of superior sociability these women reinforced an aura of civility and confidence within the imperial communities, and broadcast images of Anglo-Saxon authority to the external indigenous populations.

Indeed, the redoubtable Isabella Fane illustrated her understanding of her role as an imperial ambassador. She wrote to her aunt, "another great military dinner [at Cawnpore] ... and grand station ball ... you talk of my grandeur, and the airs I shall give myself when I return. I thought of you on this occasion much, I was *so* great." She confirmed her status as the senior lady at a regimental mess dinner by explaining, "I was met at the door by the two

⁸² Baldwin, *Memoirs*, 154-5, 159.

greatest men at the station and marched into the room supported by them Well, it was supper time and no one could go [in to dine] till I did.” In recognizing the distinctness of her privileged position in India, she mused, “I don’t dislike my position, but I shall feel my utter insignificance again on my return to my native land, and act as before.” American Lydia Lane similarly observed, “After Colonel Lane was retired, and we lived in the East and North, it took me some time to understand that I need not look for the numerous courtesies to which I had always been accustomed at an army frontier post, and that if I went out at all, I must join the army of ‘wall flowers,’ and expect nothing.” Nineteenth-century military women, as Mesdames Fane and Lane recognized, gained social power and imperial status unavailable to them in mainstream societies. By performing as adjuncts they negotiated within the spaces between formal and informal authority. Pomp and ceremony, therefore, functioned as a source, not just a reflection, of imperial authority. In constructing this avenue of power, the officers’ wives shared their husbands’ remit to promote and preserve internal and external imperial images of prestige.⁸³

In examining the public duties of the officers’ wives in what Ellen Biddle called “The days of Empire,” it becomes clear that they identified with their military husbands’ sense of imperial mission and responsibility. These women enacted imperial public sociability, yet the home itself played a central role in determining how they manufactured and exercised power. In referring specifically to this private realm, Elizabeth Custer announced that, in “keeping the home fires burning” officers’ wives shared the responsibility to overcome “insurmountable obstacles” to open “up the country to civilization.” Indeed, she realized that

⁸³ Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 146-7; Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 86.

the obligation to support the imperial mission existed not only in the public realm, but also dominated the intimate, domestic landscape.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Elizabeth Custer quoted in Fougera, *With Custer's Cavalry*, 137.

CHAPTER VII

IMPERIAL GENDER CROSSINGS:

OFFICERS AND WIVES DRESS AND HOMEMAKING ON THE EDGES OF EMPIRE

Common dangers, common hopes, common interests: these three go far to make India the friendly land she is: and it is to her Englishwomen that she looks for her social wellbeing Every Anglo-Indian wife is by necessity a hostess whatever her natural inclination, she must needs accept the fact that her house, and all that therein is, belongs, in a large measure, to her neighbour also.
Maud Diver.¹

By making personal choices in dress and home décor as historical texts, two elements that geographically bridged public and private spaces, it is clear that officers' wives assaulted Victorian borders of female and male authority. Utilizing the supposedly domestic tools they had at their disposal, these women generated an imperial identity that reflected yet transformed upper and middle-class gender models. They created and enforced a dress code of respectability for women and men, and adapted traditional markers of interior design. This female effort became appropriated to symbolize imperial prestige and authority. In gaining power, however, officers' wives lost power, as the female appearance became controlled. The imperial strategy of "going native" (assimilation of indigenous elements into dress codes), within limits — although sanctioned for their male counterparts — was prohibited to the female. As incorporated imperial representatives, these women contributed to regulating the image of the empire. This encroachment upon masculine territory, however, suffered a direct counterassault — forays by the officers themselves into the feminine realm.²

¹ Maud, *The Englishwoman in India*, 48-9.

² Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 2, 29.

Nineteenth-century officers' spouses stationed on liminal national territories utilized middle-class values and markers to demarcate an imperial class. But what identified the middle class? Victorian domesticity, a reaction to industrialization and urbanization in both England and America, viewed Queen Victoria — who ruled both as a mother and a sovereign — as a role model. A thriving business class had emerged in England that looked to the monarch for guidance on tasteful respectability. Her court became a “symbol for morality,” and she governed successfully by manipulating male statesmen through personal influence, while projecting a public image of doting wife and mother. The model of royal aristocracy, which the middle class sought to emulate, pivoted around the principle of respectability. Having no ancestral legacies, the rising capitalist middle class engaged in conspicuous consumption, imitating emblems of taste, refinement, and virtue to furnish a middle-class identity. In short, the middle class stratum commandeered markers of gentility, purchased and exhibited such tasteful artifacts, thus creating a reproducible and recognizable image. The woman became the artist, her body and home the canvas to display claims of social positioning.³

Scholars advise that homes, food, dress, and internal décor established social reputation. Indeed, the social activity of conspicuous consumption gained the notice, approbation, and emulation of community members. Display, then, of specific tasteful commodities provided visual social knowledge that set definitive class boundaries. Women, as homemakers and purchasers, determined and maintained these public symbols of status. To promote, standardize, and stabilize these recognizable class markers generated social

³ Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria* (Phoenix Mill, 1999), 36, 113; F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), 16, 184, 188. For a discussion on the American experience see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, 1989).

anxiety caused by rapid industrialization and changing patterns of urbanization. The arrival and popularity of Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management* in 1861 both answered and exploited these tensions, yet, in reflecting and specifying a model middle-class female, Mrs. Beeton provided the nascent social group with a sustainable image. The concomitant rise of an equally insecure American capitalist class generated an ideology of sentimental sincerity to furnish markers of identity. Like Mrs. Beeton's manual, Catharine Beecher's *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 1845 acted to provide both a cultural reflection of claims to status, and to inculcate a universal style of genteel female clothing. The practical instructions advocated simple and sensible gowns, hoping to inspire adherence to a sincere mode of attire that would reflect a more practical and democratic people.⁴

An important connection between British and American middle-class women during the late Victorian era, according to Maureen Montgomery, lay "in their [American] adoption of polite European conventions in order to press home their social claims." The "ideal" woman used dress to signal tasteful respectability. In comparing experiences it becomes

⁴ Paul Johnson, "Conspicuous Consumption and Working Class Culture in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain," *London: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th Series no. 38 (1998): 27, 29-30, 39, 41; Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1899; reprint, New York, 1953), 35,70; Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000), 8-9, 69-70; John Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: A History of Myth and Ritual in Family Life* (London, 1997), 76, 80; Matthew Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians* (London, 2001), 105, 114-5; Tammy C. Whitlock, *Crime, Gender, and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 2005), 8, 12; Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, title and contents pages, 13; Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women and the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000), 114; Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London, 1975), 13-4; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven, 1982), xiv-xv, xvii, 91; Catharine E. Beecher, *A Treaty on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (New York, 1845), 116. Aimed at the developing middle class, the 1861 edition of Mrs Beeton's domestic manual sold over 600,000 copies in its first year of publication with sales reaching two million in England by 1868. See "Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management," Oxford University Press, <http://www.oup.co.uk/worldsclassics/magarchive/mag1/article01/>, accessed 3 April 2011. The principles of social courtesy provided the foundation for sentimental gentility. Kathryn Kish Sklar reports that the popularity of Beecher's *Treatise* reprinted almost annually during the period 1841-1856, greatly influenced nineteenth-century America. See Kathryn K. Sklar, *Catherine Beecher, A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973), 151, 305-6. Mrs. Beecher and her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, revised the work in 1869 as *The American Woman's Home*, selling fifty thousand copies. Halttunen is a historian.

clear that dress and homemaking played a central part in forging identity. Scholarly interpretations proffer different national means to establish identity based on tasteful gentility. The English lady looked to royalty as a model for respectable behavior and decorum, and used elegant markers of conspicuous consumption to signal status. Her American counterpart looked across the Atlantic for guidance, and then adapted this model by creating sentimental sincerity, a supposedly less ostentatious representation of middle-class womanhood. In both cultures the home provided the central locus for cultural and social determination and transmission of class status. Claiming sole authority for symbols of identity, women employed dress and domestic décor to establish, and broadcast, an image of middle-class respectability.⁵

Before the 1980s, scholars tended to regard dress and decisions made on what to wear as unimportant. This perception changed with the rise of feminist historiography. Emma Tarlo, for example, insists that “clothes are badges of identity,” and as historical artifacts play an active role in assembling, maintaining, and expressing individual and collective identities. Fashion wear provides an avenue to classify, through the processes of identification and differentiation, oneself as inside or outside a particular social group. Anthropologists agree that clothing should be interpreted as symbols of power and authority imperialism contains, in addition to the political and economic strands, this cultural element.

⁵ Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women* 72-3; Maureen Montgomery, *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York* (New York, 1998), 11, 21, 167; Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians*, 105, 114-5; Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (London, 1977), 115; Howe, “Victorian Culture in America,” 3-26. Howe defines American Victorianism as an Anglo-American, transatlantic phenomena that identified an evolving “bourgeois culture of industrializing Western civilization.” Its diverse and contradictory culture was defined by general values of modernization, Protestantism, gentility, conscientious work ethic, didactic self-improvement, sobriety, sexually repressiveness, competitiveness, orderliness, thrift, time-consciousness, and moral urgency. Howe argues that female domesticity, as a subculture of security and sentiment, complimented Victorian patriarchy. Montgomery is a professor of American Studies.

Women's bodies and outfit selections, then, functioned as authentic textual symbols of empire.⁶

The British woman incorporated clothes to represent the vigor and superiority of the empire. Dress, according to one anonymous nineteenth-century commentator, held two functions: the first to clothe the body, the second to distinguish the individual by projecting an image. Indeed, this social observer advised, "there should be harmony between your dress and your circumstances. It should accord with your means, your house, your furniture, the place in which you reside, and the society in which you move." With regard to daywear for the mistress of the house, the author warned, "A Lady, while performing the morning duties of the house may wear a plain loose dress, made high in the neck, and with long sleeves fastened at the wrist. It must not look slatternly." This routine of wearing different dress styles, according to the time of day, was transported empire wide. Regarding the central significance of imperial costume, Sylvia Leith-Ross, an imperial officer's wife, while traveling by canoe on the Benue River, Nigeria, recalled, "We had always dressed for dinner. This was the rule that could not be broken, either at home or abroad, at sea or on shore, in the Arctic Circle or on the Equator." In obeying this call of duty, no matter where she found herself, this officer's wife changed her clothes to uphold "our own and our country's dignity." Indeed, Mrs. Leith-Ross continued, "when you are ... dazed by unaccustomed sights and sounds, bemused by strange ways of life and thought, you need to remember who you are, where you come from, and what your standards are." As Helen Callaway asserts,

⁶ Thomas Schlereth, "Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976," in *Material Culture Studies in America*, ed. Thomas Schlereth (Lanham, 1999), 2, 62; Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago, 1996), xx, 1, 5, 45, 318, 320; Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, 2003), 2-3, 6, 13-14. Ruth Barnes, and Joanne B. Eicher, "Introduction," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher (Oxford, 1992), 1, 7; Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (London, 1981), 115, 134; Bernard S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century," in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, 1996), 114-5; Nirad Chaudhuri, *Culture in the Vanity Bag* (Bombay, 1976), 57-8.

“dressing for dinner” emphasizes race and rank to symbolize British “innate superiority.” She analyzes the gender division signaled by attire by adding, “the prescribed dress of colonial officers was characterized by pomp and plumage enhancing masculinity; that of their wives was marked by propriety and femininity.” The purpose of this binary opposition, Callaway determines, was to heighten the masculinity of the British imperial male by utilizing his wife’s body as a foil. She concludes that “the uniforms and prescribed clothing brilliantly enhanced the imperial spectacle and the dominant power this represented.”⁷

Military wives of both nations attempted to maintain upper and middle-class styles in the imperial holdings. The utilization of personal dress to symbolize identity and status clearly transported itself to India, literally within the ladies’ portmanteaus. A survival guide for the British in India dictated that female, male, and military dress must replicate the current British trends. With regard to evening dress she suggested, “silk, moiré, even velvet is worn; in fact, exactly what is worn at home; but light blue always spots and turns yellow, and every shade of lilac and mauve looks dreadful in the light of the oil lamps. A white and a black lace dress are a *sine qua non* ... as well as some dresses unmade, as the tailors make beautifully from a pattern. But it is necessary to be very particular in taking every requisite in the way of trimming, fringe, lace, buttons, blonde, sewing silk, &c., ... [as it] is certain to be very far dearer than at home.”⁸

Similarly, Flora Steele and Grace Gardiner published an Indian housekeeping manual providing instructions on fabrics, styles, and necessary items. The need to exercise

⁷ Anonymous, *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette and Guide to Correct Personal Habits* (Glasgow, 1904), 31-2, 34-5; Sylvia Leith-Ross, *Stepping Stones: Memoirs of Colonial Nigeria, 1907-1960*, ed. Michael Crowder (London, 1983), 69; Helen Callaway, “Dressing for Dinner in the Bush: Rituals of Self-Definition and British Imperial Authority,” in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher (Oxford, 1992), 235, 242, 246. Callaway is a social anthropologist.

⁸ A Lady Resident, *Englishwoman in India*, 17.

moderation in packing British outer, inner, and under wear provided a constant theme. The authors recommended, however, “A *few*, and for small stations, *very few*, good evening dresses should be brought out ... [as] you naturally want to appear well and fashionably dressed. This you cannot hope to do, unless you are a millionaire ... since they will go hopelessly out of fashion On the other hand, there is a vast amount of friendly entertainment in India *One* should always be ready for an occasion.” Social life in India, the authors cautioned, can seldom be anticipated, yet, they warned, “dress becomingly ... and never, even in the wilds, exist without one civilized evening and morning dress. That important envelope with the big red seal may come any day and you may find yourself in the paradise of a big station unable to appear for the want of clothes!”⁹

Officers’ wives on arrival in India, then, fulfilled a duty to promote prestige through dress. Indeed, the knowledgeable Steel and Gardiner warned, “We do not advocate any sloppiness in dress; on the contrary, we would inveigh against any yielding to ... lassitude and indifference.” Aware of being continually under the imperial gaze, officers’ wives anxiously attempted to stay in vogue. They copied dress patterns from magazines and wrote letters home and to each other for details of the latest styles. For example, in a letter from “a lady in camp to a lady in cantonments,” Honoria Lawrence wrote, “The *durzee* you sent me works neatly enough, but cannot cut out. Will you send me a good *dobee*? Ours is a very bad one. When the *boccas-wallah* comes, will you get me some European buttons and a thimble? I should be obliged if you will let me have the pattern of your collar, and desire the *chiccau-wallah* to work one like it ... I am really ashamed of giving you so much trouble ... I

⁹ Flora Steel and Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (1890; reprint, Cambridge, 2010), 175, 179 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Charles Dickens, *Household Words*: Nos. 130-153, vol. 6 (New York, 1853), 242-3. Dickens indicated that a red wax sealed envelope denoted the sanctity of, and confidence in, the missive enclosed. Emphasis is in the original.

want something to make a warm dress ... and I shall be much obliged by your sending me some cloth for the purpose.” Madeline and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlap illustrated the rigidity of the requirement to don a complete ensemble — at all times. Madeline reported of her unwell sister, “Her hair had all been cut off during her fever ... it was very inconvenient for her to wear a hat, and I saw not the slightest impropriety in her going without one, particularly as we rarely met anyone in our quiet neighbourhood. But the good people around thought differently, and after two or three hints on the singularity of our proceedings, poor Nora was obliged, in deference to public opinion, always to have a hat at hand, ready to pop on if any English person approached us.” Such a level of anxiety — about a mere hat — clearly speaks to the extent of British insecurity, and the very real need to project a collective image of imperial authority.¹⁰

In describing her trousseau, newlywed Ellen Drummond appeared totally prepared to represent the nation — and in readiness for the coveted red-sealed envelope. She listed the muslin, silk, and satin dresses and jackets, and ordered new outfits, petticoats, silk stockings, and colored ribbons to be sent to her in India. She instructed her mother to “get fashionable ones [dresses], they all seem to wear them short now,” along with matching hats and a blue satin ball gown. Additionally, she demanded, “get Mrs Croxton to make them and not Mrs Mason for the latter does not fit half as well and she makes [them] in an old-fashioned way.” Eliza, the wife of Calcutta solicitor Anthony Fay, confirmed Drummond’s anxiety: “The ladies here are very fashionable I assure you. I found several novelties in dress since I quitted England which a good deal surprised me, as I had no idea that fashion travelled so fast.” Outfits, perhaps styled by the fashion-forward Mrs. Croxton, then, proved to be not simply a

¹⁰ Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, 71; Steel, *Complete Indian Housekeeper*, 173; Lawrence, *Journals*, 87; Madeline and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlap, *The Timely Retreat Or, A Year in Bengal before the Mutinies*, vol. 1 (London, 1858), 230-1. Emphasis is in the original.

feminine frippery, but an obligation for the imperial ladies stationed at the remote settlements of empire.¹¹

On the perplexing problem of maintaining an *exclusive* dress code, essential to the display of status in an age of mass consumerism, Mrs. Beeton offered the following observation: “domestics no longer know their place ... the introduction of cheap silks and cottons, and still more recently, those ambiguous ‘materials’ and tweeds, have removed the landmarks between the mistress and her maid.” This identification of lower-class mimicry spoke to the anxiety of losing visible claims to social ranking. This problem found a resolution in upper and middle-class fidelity to seasonal and designer trends. This social and cultural commitment voiced itself with unnerving regularity throughout the journals and memoirs of the officers’ wives. Isabelle Fane in her gossipy and condescending style spoke to this imitation writing, “I wish you could have seen a specimen of the Calcutta gentry in the shape of a lady who called upon us this morning ... this woman was once a cook. Upon this occasion she was drest [sic] Oh! So fine, with little plaistered [sic] oval curls ... her bonnet was put well back on her head to ... display two gold combs. She was rouged to the eyes ... her person was enveloped in white and blue, and in her hand she carried a feather fan ... before she had well left the room I burst into a roar of laughter.” Miss Fane’s unkind response reveals the fragility of the reliance on tasteful attire to demonstrate status. A more gracious vignette found inclusion in a journal written by Emily Eden. In attending a regimental ball she noted a shortage of single women for dance partners. She noted “the only other unmarried woman also appeared for the first time as a lady. Her father has just been raised from the ranks for good conduct. The poor girl was very awkward and ill-dressed, but

¹¹ Ellen Drummond to Minnie Thornhill, 8 January 1868; Mrs. Eliza Fay, *Original Letters from India, 1779-1815* (Calcutta, 1908), 123-4; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 144.

looked very amiable.” The reliance on dress codes compelled the more insecure Fane to deliver a character assassination of a former cook. The refined Miss Eden, even while excluding the enlisted man’s daughter from imperial status, had the good grace to describe the awkward young lady in a kindly manner.¹²

The obligation to remain fashionably dressed in India, to mark one’s membership in the ruling class, appears, however, to have an unexpected reverse effect. Harriette Ashmore identified this process by declaring, “Persons [in India] seem to have established a kind of right to ask impertinent questions, which, in good society at home, would stagger the most self-possessed ... I have frequently heard a lady newly arrived from England questioned as to the price of her bonnet, the name and residence of her milliner, and her particular charges.” Furthermore, the participation in local economic culture encouraged such bad form, and “may in some measure be accounted for by the deceit and cunning which is practiced by every native tradesman.” Indeed, the vulgar inquiry into wardrobe costs outraged Florence Marryat, who complained, “Some of the European women in India have a horrid custom, when they are leaving a place, or tired of their wardrobes, of sending round a native with a box to the various houses, with their old things for sale, and faded ball-dresses, crushed wreaths of flowers, and other articles of female gear.” She continued, “They thought I held my head ‘very high’ the first time I expressed my unmitigated disgust at the bare notion of wearing an evening robe which had already been worn by another, and affirmed that I would rather go without a dress.” Mrs. Marryat made no attempt to hide her revulsion at the idea of wearing a second-hand garment, or of discussing costs. In aping the aristocracy, she

¹² Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, 1453; Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 88-9; Emily Eden, *Up the Country. Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, vol. 1 (London, 1866), 138. Author’s emphasis.

reflected the notion that to mention wealth, in any situation, constituted a severe breach of polite manners.¹³

Women's wear, as a cultural statement of imperial status, traditionally belongs in the female gendered space. Yet, the sources indicate that this duty to dress impeccably, not only in a British style — but fashion-forward — was an obligation equally imposed by an interloper — the imperial *male*. Emma Roberts recalled, “Nor do these gallant cavaliers [army officers] disdain to attend to trifles which are generally deemed to belong exclusively to the feminine department; they condescend to report upon flounces and furbelows, descending to all the minutiae of plaits and puckering, and criticising the whole paraphernalia, from the crowning comb to the shoe-tie.” She admitted that the men preached to a female choir, yet this intrusion into the female arena evidences a power shift. Not only did the women generate a standard code of dress, but military men acted as the imperial fashion police.¹⁴

“In all this the gentlemen are the ringleaders,” disclosed Roberts, and confessed, “it is the dread of their ridicule which influences the weaker sex.” She, however, modified this claim with, “It may be said that their sarcasms are encouraged by their female friends, and their gossiping tales well received; but as they are clearly the majority, it must be in their power to introduce a better system. Complaints are eternally made of the frivolity of the women, but persons well acquainted with society in India, may be permitted to doubt whether they should be made to bear the whole burthen of the charge.” No doubt appears in Miss Roberts's mind that military men held substantial power in this feminine arena. Another, rather impudent, masculine incursion into traditional feminine affairs occurred in

¹³ Ashmore, *Narrative of a Three Month's March*, 344-5; Marryat, *Gup*, 42.

¹⁴ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 2, 58-9. First emphasis the author's emphasis, second is in the original.

Simla. Apparently a change in hairstyle fashion caused the junior officers on leave at the hill station to stage a protest. Sir Edward Buck recalled, “It was in the early [eighteen] sixties that the feminine chignon attained such a size that it sorely troubled the masculine mind, and a few subalterns in 1863 decided to signify their disapproval of the fashion. They accordingly appeared one evening at the band stand with their ponies’ tails tied up in chignon form.” In causing such a sensation, Buck concluded, “Not only were they sent to ‘Coventry’ by the fair sex, but they received a plain hint from a high military authority that the plains were more suitable for such jokes than the hills. And down they went.” This male incursion into the feminine world of fashion acted to prescribe and police the imperial dress standards. Although the young officers were banished to the plains, these “ringleaders” clearly enforced the imperial dress and ornamentation norm, compelling — through ridicule — wives to self-regulate their imperial style choices.¹⁵

The flexing of male muscle across traditional gender boundaries was not a one-way process. Imperial women set and policed male standards of dress and behavior, with far greater impact. Their sanctions threatened, not simply ridicule, but the real loss of reputation, and even ostracism. Reflecting the female consensus, in 1841 Mrs. Clemons published a behavioral code for the newly arrived young officer. Dress, she stressed, combined “good sense with good taste,” and warned of the dangers of carelessness and slovenly appearance. Indeed, the following cameo stressed the importance of a wife’s responsibility for her husband’s habits. She instructed, “I once knew a gentleman who had practiced, during the years he was an ensign and lieutenant, this unbecoming attire [disgraceful undress], though he never appeared either in company or on parade without being suitably dressed. But when he married,” she continued, “he found himself incapable,

¹⁵ Ibid., 59; Sir Edward J. Buck, *Simla Past and Present* (Calcutta, 1904), 164.

in the house, of keeping on his shoes, stockings, or jacket Frequently ladies have called upon Mrs.—, and been ushered into her hall, before the bare feet of her husband could make their escape at an opposite door, which caused the blush of shame to mount her cheek, from the slovenliness and dirty appearance of her husband.” The potency of rumormongering becomes apparent as she concluded, “and a lady once remarked to her, that she knew many ladies did not call so frequently as they otherwise would do, as they always found Captain — undressed. The habit, however, was so strong ... he was less respected in society ... and his amiable wife partially neglected on this account.”¹⁶

Similarly, Isabella Fane frequently carried out her visiting duties, as befitted the female representative of the Commander-in-Chief. On one such occasion a pregnant “nice lady” received Miss Fane, her sister-in-law, and a Captain Campbell “en robe de chambre,” an inappropriate dress code that Fane determined “a very disgraceful sight.” Here then, are examples of the married female, within her home, holding accountability for the empire. The lack of control over a husband’s slovenly appearance impacted social acceptability, reducing a couple’s reputation. Even a heavily pregnant woman, resting in her own drawing room, could not escape censure by the critical imperial eye.¹⁷

As an “enlisted” American imperial ambassador, Theresa Viéle described herself as a “tough, weather-proof, India-rubber woman,” to whom “the allurements of dress, petty artifices, tears, or any other little feminine failures” were “scorned contemptuously.” In arriving at Galveston, Texas, in the early 1850s, her contempt for the white populace became clear. At dinner in a local hotel she “noticed several of these honored [Texan] ladies at the table Their toilets reminded me very strongly of the baboon’s sister in nursery tales,

¹⁶ Clemons, *Manners and Customs*, 325-6.

¹⁷ Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 96-7.

described as wearing ‘a dark black frock, and green glass breastpin.’ None of them, however, excited my spontaneous admiration.” Mrs. Viéle’s global reference to American army women as made of “India-rubber,” and her scornful regard of the wrong kind of feminine frippery, shows that officers’ wives, just like the British women, fulfilled their fashion duty. By reporting negatively of the pioneer women in Texas, this officer’s wife reassured herself that she, in dressing according to the dictates of fashion, embodied the superiority of an intra-continental imperial representative.¹⁸

The officers’ wives’ exertions to present — through silk ball gowns, uncrushed flower wreaths, and hats— a face of imperial strength and cohesion required solidarity of the communities in India and the American West. Scholars frequently identify a sense of insecurity in the need to standardize and control the image of empire, and women played a pivotal role in allaying such fears by designing and maintaining a harmonious façade of prestige. The British officers’ wives attempted to replicate social and cultural standards in a different geographical and cultural location. Yet, they eagerly adopted local customs. Tiger hunting, Zenáná visiting, and elephant riding became accepted genteel pastimes — a far cry from the pastoral female world in England, yet perfectly acceptable in India. A passive imperial process, designed to create an affinity between the rulers and the ruled, lay in cultural exchange, although, the levels of assimilation had to be kept in close check — the

¹⁸ Viéle, *Following the Drum*, 14, 81; Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 13, 62, 93, 99, 176, 195-6; Baker, “Daughters of Mars,” 22-3; Nacy, *Members of the Regiment*, 10, 12, 104-5, 107; Glenda Riley, *Taking Land, Breaking Land: Women Colonizing the American and Kenyan Frontiers, 1840-1940* (Albuquerque, 2003), 2, 4-5, 14; Nancy Shea, *The Army Wife*, 4th ed. (New York, 1966), 281. The British commercialization of Indian rubber began in the 1800s producing industrial and shoe products for a global market. The nursery poem Viéle refers to is called “The Monkey’s Wedding,” in which a monkey marries the baboon’s sister. In the 1860s a ballad version of this West African tale appeared in American popular culture. See Anonymous. *The Shilling Song Book: A Collection of 175 of the most favorite National, Patriotic, Sentimental, and Comic Ballads of the Day* (Niagara Falls, 1860), 16-7; Hazel Felleman, ed., *The Best Loved Poems of the American People* (New York, 1936), 463-4; Elsie C. Parsons, ed., *Folk Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas* (New York, 1918), ix, 166-7; Heli Chatelain, ed., *Folk Tales of Angola* (New York, 1894), 127-8.

British needed to remain identifiably British at all times. High-level East India Company men, whose ideas of protocol filtered down the ranks of civil and military officers, dictated an aristocratic Anglo-Indian society norm. William Huggins, an independent commenter, observed of the company officials, “they are deeply imbued with its [Indian] manners, and acquire something like the pride of nabobs, in their notions of self-importance. Accustomed to a luxurious style of living, which equals that of noblemen in England; to authority over a numerous population; to flattery and submission from underlings.” The nabob, as a hybrid male figure of Indian and British culture, blurred imperial boundaries. His aspirations to grandeur threatened the domestic upper class who censured the arriviste as an arrogant parvenu. To define and project a British identity in India then, one needed to retain Victorian ideals of respectability, somewhat adapting, yet limiting the process of transculturation. Thus, while having to adjust to changes, such as climate, diet, and terrain, the “well-entrenched horror of going native” provided a self-regulating force that standardized and controlled the cultural integrity of the imperial community — and attire functioned as a major determinant.¹⁹

The rigidity of a dress code, imposed by both sexes, signaled the authority, civility, and superiority of the British community. “The necessity which tyrant custom — perhaps policy, has imposed on us, of continuing to appear in European dress — particularly *uniform*, on almost all public occasions, and in all formal parties” made it one of life’s miseries,

¹⁹ Claudia Knapman, *White Women of Fiji, 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire?* (London, 1987); Elizabeth M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, 1800-1947* (Cambridge, 2001), 2-3, 33-5; William Huggins, *Sketches in India* (London, 1824), 3, 29-30, 60-1; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 16. In Collingham’s investigation of the transformation of the Anglo-Indian nabob to sahib during the period 1650-1900, she argues, “the body was central to the colonial experience ... as the site where structures are experienced, transmutes, and projected back on to society. Social structures include bodily techniques and activities, including clothing and consumption.” She usefully defines the nabob as a “flamboyant, effeminate, and wealthy East India Company servant,” and the sahib as “a sober, bureaucratic representative of the Crown.” The relationship between the Queen’s and Indian Army, both men and women, is discussed in Chapter III, pages 11-16.

exclaimed Royal Navy Surgeon James Johnson. He conceded, however, “that this ceremony is often waved [sic], in the more social circles.” Yet, he observed, even in the Indian heat “It too often happens . . . that a spice of ceremony attaches to the kind host—or perhaps hostess, in which case . . . no encouragement will be given to derobe.” This social ritual, nonetheless, served a far more important function than simply “a spice of ceremony.” An Englishwoman who adopted Indian styles, might signal to European men sexual availability comparable to the Indian mistress. As the consummate symbol of western civilization, morality, and refinement, most wives dutifully conformed to Victorian dress and behavior codes. To fall prey to the delights of Indian styles and ornamentation would render them ineffective representatives, and irreparably ruin their reputation — and that of the empire.²⁰

The analysis of female bodies, as sites and texts for imperial symbolism, allows the centrality played by officers’ wives in imperial affairs to become visible. An observation made by Captain Thomas Williamson of the Bengal Army in 1790 presents an additional facet to the fear of a British woman “going native.” He commented, “The ladies of Hindostan smoke their *goorgories* in very high stile [sic]; as do those of inferior rank their *nereauls*, or cocoa-nuts, with no less glee After a while, we become reconciled to seeing [Indian] females smoking; though I must confess, that . . . a certain idea, not very conformable to feminine propriety, creeps into our minds, when we see an European lady thus employed.” He continued, “We revolt at a habit not authorized by what we have been accustomed to . . . and consider it an intrusion upon masculine characteristics.” An Englishwoman smoking in public not only failed to represent imperial and accepted social values, but also threatened male identity by its appropriation of masculine space.

²⁰ James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climate; More Especially, The Climate of India* (London, 1815), 426; Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 6-43. Emphasis is in the original.

Williamson's rhetorical use of "revolt," "not authorized," and "intrusion" indicates an aggressive response to such a foray across established gender boundaries.²¹

Observing an even greater hazard to imperial identity, Captain Williamson protested, "Several ladies have gone yet further, by adopting the entire costume of the natives; a circumstance which, however gratifying it may have been to themselves, by no means raised them in the estimation of those whom they imitated; while, at the same time, it gave birth to opinions, and occasionally to *experiments*, by no means favorable to their reputation" — although he gave no further details of these occasional experiments! Not satisfied with criticizing the women, the captain further complained, "the same kind of ridicule attaches equally to gentlemen, who at times allow their whiskers to grow, and who wear turbans, &c., in imitation of the Mussulmans of distinction the Mussulmans regard these renegadoes in costume much the same as we do such of the natives, as, being smitten with our general character to the utter degradation of their persons, and reputation, in the eyes both of their new, and of their old, companions." Adopting Indian cultural customs and clothing beyond limits necessary to establish international affinity and account for climate difference posed a threat to standards and social rules. "Going native" presented a real risk to both male and female identity, thus posing a liability in the projection of imperial authority and prestige.²²

Unlike the men and women of the East India Company, officers' wives, understanding their roles as ambassadors, recognized the perils of embracing the indigenous styles of dress and ornamentation. Emma Roberts announced, "Silver and gold lace, of every kind and pattern, fringes, scalloped trimmings, edgings, and borders of all widths, are to be

²¹ Captain Thomas Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum; or complete Guide to Gentlemen intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Service of the Honourable East India Company*, vol. 1 (London, 1810), 168, 501. Emphasis is in the original.

²² *Ibid.*, 502. Emphasis is in the original.

purchased at Benares exceedingly cheap, when compared to the prices demanded for such articles in Europe; but the Anglo-Indian ladies rarely avail themselves of these glittering bargains, excepting when fancy balls are on the *tapis*, as there is a prejudice against the adoption of decorations worn by native women.” In 1827 Bessie Fenton voiced another example of the “prejudice” identified by Roberts. In attending a ball in Dinapore Mrs. Fenton remarked, “all the company are European and all the dresses English or French; for it is, I must tell you, the extremity of bad taste to appear in anything of Indian manufacture — neither muslin, silk, flowers, or even ornaments, however beautiful.” Wishing to purchase “Dacca muslin,” Mrs. Fenton was flabbergasted to realize that she “must not be seen in it as none but half castes *ever* wore them. These dresses sell in London as high as £7 and £10. I do remember thinking myself as fine as the Queen of Sheba in one given me by dear Aunt Angel. So much for the variations in taste.” Taste, however, was not the issue — remaining identifiably British was. Although the London fashion houses incorporated “Dacca muslins” as the latest vogue, to uphold the seamless authority of empire in India, officers’ wives could not appear in any costume akin to an Arabian queen.²³

As in the British experience, most American imperial representatives expressed anxiety over losing imperial status by going native or adopting, as Lydia Lane eloquently posited, “the primitive customs of my neighbors.” Although often interpreted as an outgrowth of military spouses’ middle-class upbringing, their disdain towards the lower military ranks indicates a need to use outward appearance and habits to reaffirm their claim to imperial class identity. Lydia Lane, however, purposely challenged her obligation to don

²³ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 1, 186; Fenton, *The Journal*, 82. The Victorian phrase “on the tapis” means under consideration. Fenton mentioned “Dacca muslin”: this is a misspelling of a traditional lightweight textile manufactured in the Bengali city of Dhaka. The Queen of Sheba appears in Hebrew, Ethiopian, and Islamic religious texts. Modern day scholars suggest she ruled over the Kingdom of Southern Arabia three thousand years ago. Emphasis is in the original.

the prevailing national fashions. In 1866, her husband received orders to New Mexico. She declared, “It was amusing to an old campaigner like myself to see the brides start off from Fort Leavenworth for an ambulance expedition of six hundred miles. Their dainty costumes were far more suitable for Fifth Avenue [in New York City] than camp Hoops were fashionable then, and Some of the ladies wore little turbans with mask veils and delicate kid gloves.” Mrs. Lane, like Theresa Viéle, showed little concern with ornamentation and fashionable attire. She announced, “I started out as I intended to dress throughout the march — a calico frock, plainly made, no hoops, and a sun-bonnet, and indeed I must have looked outlandish to my young friends just from New York.” Perhaps an unwritten easement of duty occurred when marching with the units, but relatively few accounts corroborate this staunch stand against the dictates of the imperial dress code.²⁴

Another fashion rebel, Martha Summerhayes, decided she wished to relax her outfit choices. Writing from Arizona in 1875, she repeated both Viéle’s and Lane’s anxiety in conforming to imperial dress codes. She admired the female Mexican dress and enviously described the benefits of wearing white linen *camisas*, calico skirts, and stockings. She cried, “if I could only dress as the Mexicans do! Their necks and arms do look so cool and clean.” Although hoping to “adopt their fashion of house apparel,” she disappointedly confessed, “I yielded to the prejudices of my conservative partner, and sweltered during the day in high-necked and long-sleeved white dresses, kept up the table in American fashion, ate American food in so far as we could get it.” Despite her yearning to adopt “the primitive customs of my neighbors,” Mrs. Summerhayes dutifully remained a symbol of imperial America.²⁵

²⁴ Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 143-4; Viéle, *Following the Drum*, 14.

²⁵ Summerhayes, *Vanishing Arizona*, 158,192; Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 144; Viéle, *Following the Drum*, 14. Emphasis is in the original.

In comparing the costumes worn within nineteenth-century military communities in the settlements of empires, it becomes clear that these wives and husbands shared a real obligation to represent the nation. Almost without question, these military couples actively created and policed an imperial dress code to publicize imperial dominance. It comes as no surprise that the prescribed male dress, as Callaway notes, “was characterized by pomp and plumage enhancing masculinity.” In comparing male military garments worn in British India and the American West, it is apparent that both imperial sites allowed limited acculturation to the locales. The Indian Army recruited the rank and file indigenous men who retained their cultural identity, partly through incorporation of customary wear with uniform dress. Adoptions of the Irregular Regimental uniform by the British, made post-Mutiny, included incorporation of the turban, knee-length tunics, and brightly colored cummerbunds. The turban, made of over thirty feet of cloth, afforded greater protection of the head against sabre blows than a peaked cap or cork pith helmet. In addition to this utilitarian purpose, Bernard Cohn suggests that imperialists sought to prevent any further violent insurrections by enacting a “strong hand capable of smashing any ... disloyalty, combined with an acceptance of Indians.” By the end of the nineteenth century, this acceptance included the “orientalization” of British uniforms in India. Officers officially clothed in “Mughal grandee” costumes expected to establish cultural affinity to gain immediate and unfaltering obedience. Hence, the adoption of elements of Indian military dress served a practical defensive, and imperial cognitive, purpose.²⁶

This rationale appeared equally expedient in the American West. The more flamboyant officers, such as the Custer brothers, unofficially adopted buckskin outfits.

²⁶ Harold E. Raugh, *The Victorians at War, 1815-1915; An Encyclopedia of British Military History* (Santa Barbara, 2004), 255-6; Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 124-5; Callaway, “Dress and Gender,” 242.

Despite a weak case that argues this outfit facilitated an affinity with American Indian scouts, co-option of elements of Indian dress and military tactics were not primarily established to create ruler-ruled affinity as in the British model. More plausibly, this limited acculturation functioned as part of Turner's thesis of the unique American rite of passage. The most convincing explanation, however, is that the American Army in the West copied the indigenous military expediency, not to create unequal bonds nor to develop a rugged character, but simply to use Indian military wear to facilitate comfort and expediency on long winter missions. Both the British and American officers, nevertheless, despite differing justifications, adapted indigenous garments for imperial purposes. The British controlled the Indian population through such cultural hybridity; Americans used the same mechanism to subdue. Officers' wives, however, did not enjoy the same privilege. In both locations, these women made extreme efforts to transport and display purist styles of the core locations. Feminine flounces and furbelows were all carefully assembled to represent the nations. Their attempts to "go native" often resulted in strong male responses of contempt and prohibition. This male reaction, perhaps not unexpected, represents a male incursion into the intimate feminine world — and a clear indication of the officers' wives' responsibility to act unequivocally as standard bearers of the empire.²⁷

When scrutinizing dress as a cultural emblem, a surprising but clearly apparent crossing of gender boundaries by both sexes is visible. To ensure the cohesion and stability of the empires, male and female spaces operated in constant flux. In British India and the American West the gendered allocation of roles and responsibilities within sexually

²⁷ Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, 2001), 2, 5, 55-7; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 4, 11; Richard G. Hardorff, *Indian Views of the Custer Fight: A Source Book* (Norman, 2005), 73; George Armstrong Custer, *My Life on the Plains; or, Personal Experiences with Indians* (Norman, 1976), 33, 95.

determined geographical sites held less importance, less functionality, and less relevance than in the core regions. The imperial forts housed military regiments: if attacked, no allowances would be made for non-combatants. The parade ground, battlefield and campaign operated as male territory. Female authority shattered domestic borders to encompass entire garrisons. The Anglo mindset, therefore, understood that duty was not only the concern of the male of the species. The imperial husband embodied the character of a warrior-protector, steadfast in his promise to and obligations of the empire. The British imperialist was officially permitted to adopt limited items of indigenous clothing styles to develop an affinity with the East Indians. The American officer adopted certain elements of the American Indian culture to gain expertise in missions to remove the tribal peoples. The imperial wife held a greater responsibility to protect and exhibit the symbols of power. She was not allowed to go native as this served no imperial purpose. Both women and men negotiated across the gender divides to ensure the visible symbols of power were displayed. Buttons, and buckskins, then, were not simply an officer's, or his wife's, fashion choice, but a decision made by some as ambassadors of empire — a decision that communicated status and domination.

Another element of visual imperial power, home-making, again demonstrates, albeit in a different way, the fluidity of gender roles in both British India and the American West. A nineteenth-century commentator, Mrs. L. C. Ricketts, published an article in the 1912 edition of the *Contemporary Review* in which she perceptively captured the inability of the British to relinquish the trappings of their culture. She explained that this occurred as “Anglo-Indians” remained constantly aware of their exile from all things “Home,” and to

compensate for this disorientation, “they all, quite unconsciously Make their houses as little oriental and as much like an English home as possible.” Coupling this observation with Maud Diver’s disclosure that one’s home and chattels also belonged to one’s neighbor suggests that officers’ wives living in India held a responsibility to design and display intimate space as an imperial site. Mary Procida argues that “British domesticity was reconstructed in India in a manner that reinforced the practice and ideology of imperialism. The most private and intimate spaces . . . were colonized by the demands of empire.” In so doing, both the housewife and the physical home were commandeered to serve publicly. Procida claims that as “social gatekeepers,” and hostesses for frequent all-male parties, wives created an environment conducive to discussions of the “imperial business of the day,” as their homes functioned “as branch offices in the business of empire.” Despite the impossibility of faithfully recreating a British home, these women, Procida concludes, nonetheless incorporated “elements of European and Indian cultures . . . that could uphold the imperial ethos and facilitate the business of empire in a physical and ideological environment vastly different from that of Great Britain.” To this end, military spouses held a duty to construct an environment, unlike anything they had previously encountered, that showcased imperial prestige, and emphasized the superiority of British rule.²⁸

The cantonment bungalow appeared very different to newcomers accustomed to the Victorian multistoried house. The open-plan design with numerous doorways, windows, and ceiling fans maximized the effect of cooling breezes. This clean and open construction, it was hoped, advertised that the imperial home would not degenerate into moral or unhealthy practices. The internal aesthetic created by furnishings and décor in India was the polar

²⁸ Mrs. L. C. Ricketts, “English Society in India,” *Contemporary Review* 101 (January/June 1912): 683; Diver, *Englishwoman in India*, 48-9; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 56.

opposite to that of Victorian England. Due to transportation problems and inflated costs, the heavily carpeted, furnished, and curtained British middle-class home, burgeoning with dark furnishings and ornaments, could not be replicated in India. Instead, wives reconciled themselves to the idea that clean but spartan homes represented, as Procida suggests, “seriousness of purpose and singular devotion to the empire.” These female proto-minimalists, perhaps, understood the financial, logistical, and imperial rationale. The choice of function over form provided a vital solution to reducing unwanted “invaders” — scorpions, centipedes, ants, and fleas. Additionally, frequent changes of station and the inherent transport difficulties created perennial difficulties. A realistic solution lay in purchasing or renting secondhand furnishings and fittings. This practice, however, startled upper-middle-class newcomers, as to purchase second hand furniture signaled a lack of style consciousness. For example, in 1902, when Christian Stirling arrived in Karachi, India, and her uncle, General Alfred Craigie, purchased a “dreadfully shabby” carriage complete with “a pair of rather old and shabby walers.” Miss Stirling expressed her astonishment at the practice of the British “incomer” having to purchase tattered household goods and transportation from an “outgoer.”²⁹

Another new arrival in India, Ruby Gray, expressed the difficulties of military housekeeping with its constant and often immediate orders to a new posting. She recorded

²⁹ Ibid., 64-5; Showers-Stirling, “Notes on Her Life,” 21-2; A Lady Resident, *The Englishwoman in India*, 36-9. Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsoyby, “Desirable Commodity or Practical Necessity? The Sale and Consumption of Second-Hand Furniture, 1750-1900,” in *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. David Hussey and Margaret Ponsoyby (Aldershot, 2008), 118; Margaret Ponsoyby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot, 2007), 57-9. Ponsoyby argues that renting a home and furniture occurred within the middle-classes only as a temporary stopgap when moving. The lower-middles classes, she posits hired furniture only until funds became available to purchase necessary items. Minimalism, a style of architecture, décor, and art portrayed less as more, and became stylish in early twentieth-century Europe. The waler bred in, and shipped from, Australia proved a highly mobile, thus popular military mount for the British Indian Army.

from her new home in Almora, “I had just finished making the curtains for the house when I learnt my first lesson as a soldier’s wife. Charles walked in one day and said he had orders to go to Bareilly on a temporary job and would then be rejoining the battalion when they moved down for winter maneuvers, it was decided I go with him. That was the end of my first home exactly two months after landing in India.” She concluded, “I was now beginning to realize what being married to the Indian Army would mean to me in the future ... that for the rest of my days spent out in India we were to have no permanent home of any kind, always in temporary accommodation, bungalows, boarding houses, lisson [sic] huts, tents, on the move all ones [sic] serving days.” This officer’s wife understood she held a duty, by naturally including herself as a “serving” member of the imperial force, subject to the inconveniences of orders.³⁰

A march through the Himalayan mountain range took Lucy, the wife of Second Officer Harry L. Grant of the Royal Artillery (attached to the Kashmir State Mountain Battery), to her new quarters. After traversing the Komri Pass to reach their temporary Ruttu home situated at ten thousand feet, this intrepid wife and mother portrayed her quarters, four rooms and a bathroom, in a positive light. She recorded two of the older rooms “had only beaten mud floors and walls but the newer portion had boarded floors and the walls ... were plastered, with a dull greenish clay which made quite a good background. The sitting-room, which when decked with cretonne covers and cushions, muslin curtains, jars of wildflowers etc. looked quite civilized.” The dining-room, in the older section, however, “had table and chairs, some *numdahs* on the floor, and an improvised sideboard made of boxes with a cloth over it.” Mrs. Grant packed and transported “some heavy linen curtains with a bold white stencil design which were invaluable as bedspreads, portieres and so on — one set green and

³⁰ Gray, Unpublished Memoirs, 61.

one set rosepink.” She concluded, “I was thankful to get in and settle down for a month.” Grant could not recreate the grandeur of a middle-class home, but one can understand that simply adding her linens, carried across miles of formidable terrain, provided a comforting ambiance that could surely pass imperial muster amid the glacial scree.³¹

Another officer’s wife received orders to a new (and much less extreme) posting to the Madras. Honoria Lawrence found her new home charming in many ways. Arriving in 1837, she explained, “On entering the house, my first feeling was strange familiarity, surprise at how true had been my notions of Indian arrangements.” The home provided “perfect tranquility,” and the simplicity of the white *Chunum* walls and matted floors seemed “delightful.” The window treatments consisted of venetian blinds of green painted bamboo, and *tattie* “made of the fragrant kuss-kuss grass.” The canvas and white-painted wood “frilled” punkah, whose cooling “current of air” proved “indispensable to the Europeans during the hot weather,” claimed the title as the “most important article of furniture.” Viewing the “ceiling with naked beams” juxtaposed against the “damask couches and rosewood tables,” however, she found the “unfinished comfortless appearance” disturbing. Mrs. Lawrence’s observations of what a culturally hybrid Indian imperial home should look like seemed to match her expectations. She used such words as “tranquil [and] delightful” to convey her impressions. Yet, she voiced uneasiness, and an incompleteness of not being quite respectably English.³²

³¹ Lucy Elinor Lyall Grant, Notes 1906-1909, Grant Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., 10. The Grants’ final destination of Gilgit lay in the North-West Frontier (now Pakistan). The Gilgit-Baltistan range boasts five of the Earth’s “eight-thousanders” mountains, including K2 and one of the world’s most menacing mountains — Nanga Parbat. The fact that Lucy Grant accompanied the Mountain Battery across the Komri and Borzil (at ten thousand feet) Passes with two infants is quite remarkable. Emphasis is in the original.

³² Lawrence, *The Journals*, 35, 37. Kuss-kuss grass, originally indigenous to India, has tall, thin, and rigid stems ideal for window blinds.

With regard to the American officers' wives' attempts at homemaking, examples of officers' housing will assist understanding that a standardized bungalow was not the housing norm in the West. The Surgeon General's health survey of 1870 included his view on the adequacy of accommodations at all posts. The reported conditions of married quarters ran the gamut from Fort Macon's "harmful" to Fort McKavett's wholesome constructions. John S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon to the U.S. Army, condemned the conditions of quarters at Macon as "the most wretched description ... they all leak, and afford but little protection from the weather different families are crowded together in a manner that almost violates decency The rooms are ... inconveniently ventilated by the cracks in the doors, windows, and floors. The quarters are supplied with water by the prisoners, who bring it from the wells and place it in barrels at the back doors. There are no water-closets or bath rooms." At the other end of the spectrum, McKavett thrived under the attentive leadership of Brigadier-General R. S. Mackenzie of the Forty-First U.S. Infantry. On his watch renovations to barracks, kitchens, and storehouses commenced. Additionally, he ordered the officers' quarters to be completely overhauled. The excellent condition of the garrison received an official commendation. Billings announced, "I have served at no post since ... 1865, where more attention is paid to cleanliness of quarters, and where all sanitary and hygienic rules are more thoroughly enforced." Praise indeed for the imperial conditions showcased by Brigadier-General Mackenzie and the men and women of the Forty-First.³³

Although there were differences between the British and American housing structures, particularly vast in official accommodations in the West, officers' wives who joined their husbands, like the women stationed in India, hoped to replicate the domestic

³³ Surgeon General's Office, *Circular Number 4, A Report of Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts, 1870* (Washington, 1870), 89, 203-4,

décor of East coast homes. The American middleclass demonstrated status by projecting a genteel identity through fashionable domestic ornamentation, tempered with contempt for showy ostentatiousness. In attempting to delineate identity, as a combination of sincerity and moderation, these women utilized parlor décor to present an environment of softness and harmony, reflecting accepted styles. Homes acted as the standardization and communication centers of middle-class values. Wives, as administrators and guardians, created and maintained this geographical and cultural space as a psychological refuge from the intrigues and exhaustions of a brusque business world. Women, by holding responsibility for the shaping of personal character, played an important role in shaping the national persona. Thus, the home relayed the domestic to the public, the personal to the state. Fashionable manufactured furnishings, textiles, and objects all signified the sentimentality, gentility, and cultivation of the Victorian American.³⁴

The western officer's wife who arrived at her new imperial post with an enchanted vision of creating a "psychological refuge" — a brass button home — repeatedly experienced disillusionment at the condition of the married quarters. For example, Ellen Biddle arrived to join her husband in post-Civil War Macon, Georgia, only to find no officer's quarters available at the garrison. Fortunately, "the Colonel had secured a small cabin (that had been used as negro quarters before the war) which was near the garrison. After it had been thoroughly cleaned with several coats of good sweet whitewash, it was made habitable, and when we got the little furniture we owned into it (for the Government allowed an officer but a few hundred pounds of freight), a few household gods that I always had about me, and a great big fire on the hearth, we had our first Army Home." High haulage costs made

³⁴ Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington, 1997), vii-ix, 6, 10, 143.

transportation of more than the most essential furniture impossible adding to the general discomfort. In 1870 a lieutenant's salary decreased to the pre-Civil War level of \$1,400 per annum, and the frequent orders to new posts proved transportation of more than a few cherished items financially impossible. As a lady with a duty to perform, Mrs. Biddle nevertheless maintained a positive attitude, opining, "The life was entirely new to me, but I soon discovered that I had adaptability, which made things easier. I was entirely without luxuries and comforts, and had many privations, but all of the army ladies had the same discomforts, though there were few complaints, and never by a thoroughbred." Ellen Biddle's reference to maintaining genteel status in facing severe adversity, similar to Lucy Grant's attitude towards her Himalayan home, prevented the disclosure of actual disappointment or distress suffered by an imperial officer's wife.³⁵

Conditions at Fort Bayard, however, garnered a less than discreet response to the living arrangements. Mrs. Orsemus Boyd described the hardships of living in "so-called by courtesy" houses with mud floors. Frequent storms rendered many industrious attempts at creating a comfortable home completely ineffective. Mrs. Boyd recounted an enlightening case study of an Eastern woman, married to a recent graduate from the Military Academy. This "little bride" arrived at Bayard with "at least a dozen large trunks" of "pretty contents," and with expectations, much the same as those Mrs. Boyd had held, that life in all military stations would be similar to that at West Point. Indeed, she "had brought from New York the most luxurious outfit ever seen on the frontier. Magnificent carpets and curtains from Sloan's [sic], fit for a New York palace." The first storm, however, destroyed all attempts at creating a respectable home, and Mrs. Boyd revealed that "her fairy bower had been transformed into a mud-bank; the pretty white curtains were streaked and discolored ... the

³⁵ Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 14-5; Colonel James B. Fry, *Military Miscellanies* (New York, 1889), 35-6.

carpets covered in mud, while the pictures and ornaments were unrecognizable.” She continued, “that lady was like many I have met ... she expected ordinary modes of life to prevail at the frontier ... her experience was pitiable. Having an abundance of money, she naturally supposed it would purchase some comfort; but money was of no use to her.” Although not a reckless outburst, this cameo clearly juxtaposes middle-class expectations against the harsh realities of imperial service.³⁶

“A general depression” and a desire to escape gripped Frances Grummond on arrival at Fort Laramie. She observed, “The adobe houses of gray appearance imparted their sombre hue to the whole surroundings.” Quickly recovering her sense of imperial duty, she brightly added, “The attempt to adjust myself to the surroundings began at once, although I knew perfectly well that our stay would be transient. I was learning the army habit, and this was but another step in the process of development into a full-fledged army woman.” Mrs. Grummond reported that she “with alacrity, if not delight ... took possession of ... [her] first adobe” quarters. Not one to procrastinate, she decided that “The first duty after a survey of the rooms was to unpack trunks Gray army blankets were tacked upon the floors to the extent of their capacity. Hospital cots were utilized for beds, and we began, as the children say, ‘to keep house.’ And now for my nick-nacks and such belongings to reproduce home environment.” Despite Mrs. Grummond’s initial despair, this enterprising officer’s wife quickly shifted into imperial mode and created, not a Victorian show-home of middle-class status, but an agreeable adaptation. This ability to adjust to less than perfect conditions suggests that the imperial wife transported notions of respectability, rapidly modified military

³⁶ Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, viii, 216-7. Mrs. Biddle referred to “W. J. Sloane Interior Decorator and Home Furnishers,” New York, established in 1843. This company catered to the decorating needs of America’s wealthy elite, thus set national design trends for the nascent middle class. See W. and J. Sloane, *The Story of Sloane’s* (New York, 1950).

issue furnishings as functional items, and incorporated knick-knacks to create an imperial home.³⁷

Although many American officers' wives expressed depression and frustration, most related satisfaction in their efforts to construct respectable imperial homes. The replication of a Victorian showcase home appeared to be an unobtainable objective in the West — an evanescent “fairy bower.” Yet, a collection of photographs of military quarters, spanning the period 1860-1900, suggests the polar opposite. As the editor, William Brown, points out, undoubtedly the officers' wives purposefully arranged their quarters for the photographer. Yet, he contends, the physical furniture and ornamentations reveal remarkable connections with nineteenth-century civilian homes of the same class. The collection included ten identifiable married officers' quarters and six assigned to bachelors. The photographs of the couples' rooms mirrored the décor of a Victorian middle-class parlor or drawing room in England. An analysis indicates that 80 percent held musical instruments (pianos, harps, organs, and violins), and 100 percent had floor coverings of Brussels or ingrain carpeting, and/or area rugs. All had heavy curtains, complimented with netting or venetian blinds, wall prints, and wicker furniture. Ninety percent displayed wall prints, and drapery-accented mantels whose surfaces burgeoned with photographs and all manner of ornamentation. Thirty percent of the parlors appeared wallpapered, and 60 percent beautified with fresh flowers, pot plants, and/or embellished with oriental fans, parasols, and screens. Although 80 percent of the photographs revealed heavy hardwood furniture, all had at least one piece of lightweight wicker work, a practical solution to the high-priced transportation costs. Photographed married quarters, then, greatly support the argument that military wives reproduced domestic symbols of middle-class gentility and taste in their imperial homes.

³⁷ Carrington, *My Army Life*, 53-4.

The collection, mostly from well-established forts, when considered against the rustic postings of officers' wives' written accounts of army-trouser rugs, warped doors, and *Army and Navy Journal* wallpaper, represents a very different reality. Undoubtedly some quarters provided comforts on a par with Eastern homes, but most boasted minimal middle-class symbolic paraphernalia. The photograph collection, then, unsurprisingly, provides a slanted, prestigious view of the nineteenth-century imperial space. The officers' wives when approached by a photojournalist undoubtedly wished to portray themselves as accomplished ambassadors of empire, by incorporating identifiable styles and symbols of middle-class status.³⁸

A survey of the six bachelor officers' quarters' proves valuable, though this low number can hardly be representative of the approximately 1,985 lone officers stationed in the West. The photographs reveal a further reconfiguration of traditional gender boundaries within the imperial garrisons. The majority of single officers, predictably, held the junior rank of second lieutenant. For the unmarried men, lower pay and the limited social obligations of the junior ranks discouraged and negated the requirement of an imperial wife. One photograph taken of the quarters assigned to Lieutenant Granger Adams of the Fifth

³⁸ William L. Brown, III, *The Army Called It Home: Military Interiors of the Nineteenth Century* (Gettysburg, 1992), 17-8, 20-1, 23, 32-4, 36-8, 41, 54, 57, 61, 210, Figs., 1:7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 23-26, 28-31, 34-5, 50-1, 54-6, 7:11; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:204, 493, 495, 617, 730, 804; Baldwin, *Memoirs of Major General Frank D. Baldwin*, 189. Photographic locations included western forts: Leavenworth, Mackenzie, Union (New Mexico), Bowie, Mackinac, Robinson, Sill, and Wallace. The Americans' quarters featured those of Lieutenants Benjamin Morse, Twenty-Third Infantry, Edward Pratt, Twenty-Third Infantry, and George Hamilton, Ninth Cavalry, Chaplains James La Tourette and Brant Hammond, Major Frank Baldwin, Fifth Infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonels George Custer, Seventh Cavalry and Eugene Beaumont, Third Cavalry. Most of the images, unfortunately, do not give the name of the photographer. George Custer, however, posed for many sittings by David F. Barry, and the British photojournalist William H. Illingworth accompanied the Seventh Cavalry on two campaigns in the 1870s. Both these men are probable candidates for the domestic prints. Mrs. Baldwin left a memoir of her experiences in the West, but with regard to the images of her home in Fort Keogh, she simply noted in 1877 (the photograph, allegedly taken in the late 1880s, suggests refurbishments must have been made in the interim), that the quarters consisted of log houses, the chinks filled with mud. She added, however, "the ladies of the regiment had all arrived, and homes and family circles were once more established."

Artillery reveals what one would expect from an unmarried soldier at Camp Summerville, South Carolina in 1877. Wooden floorboards covered the earthen floor, and the canvas home was furnished with a solid wood table, three folding chairs, washstand, and chest of drawers. Ornamentation of this masculine space consisted of several maps, shaving equipment, a military guidon, and an arrangement of fresh flowers. Lieutenant Adams' teenaged African American valet stands in the background clutching a broom. A second image portrays Second Lieutenant Philip Reade of the Third Cavalry, stationed at Fort Dodge. He sits on the only chair in his billet; a field desk stands behind him littered with writing accoutrements and books — the stark walls enlivened by a solitary display of military paraphernalia and a small framed print. These images of bachelor officers to whom domestic comforts appear unimportant epitomizes the imperial warrior at moments of repose. The four remaining photographs of lone officers' quarters, however, reveal a very different military man.³⁹

Lieutenant Leighton Finley of the Tenth Cavalry and Captain Emmet Crawford of the Third Cavalry exhibited a considerable panache for the homemaking process. The parlor space, in both examples, appears unmistakably feminized. The window treatments included heavy, festooned drapes and net curtains; the floors boasted area rugs, and both rooms featured wicker furniture. Accent drapery included antimacassars, floral tablecloths, tasseled and bowed mantel coverings, and prints, portraiture, and military paraphernalia on the walls. Fresh or dry flowers provided decorative flair, and Finley's least masculine items included several fanciful arrangements of peacock and ostrich feathers. Crawford's ultra-feminine touches included three dolls and an elaborately tasseled table centerpiece. Such attempts to

³⁹ Brown, *The Army Called It Home*, 17, 212, Figs., 1: 5, 7:12; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 152, 819; Coffman, *Old Army*, 218; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 52. The calculation of the figure of 1,985 bachelor officers stationed in the West, during the period 1860-1900, is an extrapolation of Wooster's statistical calculation made from the manuscript returns of the U.S. Census of 1860, 1870, and 1880. He estimates that 70 percent were lone officers.

domesticate masculine spaces in a Victorian style, by two bachelor officers at remote imperial posts (Fort Craig and Fort Davis), signals a feminization of their role, an apparent breach of traditional gendered boundaries.⁴⁰

The domesticity of the imperial military man stationed in the West — arguably the quintessential American rugged and courageous male — presents an anomaly in traditional interpretations of gendered space. The close attention paid by bachelor officers to placement of objects, drapery accents, and feather and flower arrangements appear incongruous in the western forts. So, what conclusions can be reached from these instances of male encroachment into female territory? The editor of the photographic collection suggests that these men attempted to remain in fashion and perhaps used the latest homemaking magazines to so do. Taking this explanation a step further might indicate that in conforming to the Victorian design trend bachelors wished to project a middle-class status. Alternatively, perhaps these officers expressed effeminacy in their décor choices. A third possibility is that each had illicit live-in female companions or visitors who transformed the quarters into a home. Or could the wives or relatives of brother officers have genuinely inspired and encouraged their lone male friends to creative heights? In considering these four options, the latter reasoning carries the greatest weight. Lieutenant Finley, although characterized as fussy and supercilious, had numerous female acquaintances and finally married Ida, the niece of Brigadier Jefferson C. Davis of the Twenty-Third Infantry, in 1889. Crawford never married, but Lieutenant Britton Davis of the Fifth Cavalry described him akin to “an ideal knight of King Arthur His respect for women amounted to veneration.” Whatever the

⁴⁰ Brown, *The Army Called It Home*, 24-5, 27, 40, Figs., 14-8, 32-3; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 336, 420, 564; Joseph G. Dawson, III, *The Late Nineteenth-Century U.S. Army, 1865-1898: A Research Guide* (Westport, 1990), 80, 99. The quarters featured: Lieutenants Robert Irvine of the Eleventh U.S. Infantry and Lewis D. Greene of the Seventh U.S. Infantry, Lieutenant Leighton Finley of the Tenth U.S. Cavalry, and Captain Emmet Crawford of the Third U.S. Cavalry.

true explanation of these model Victorian rooms, markers of masculinity and femininity and the gendered boundaries of authority were blurred, renegotiated, and accepted to present the imperial face of the American West.⁴¹

The consideration of the internal décor of the bachelors' billets, and the fluidity of gender boundaries in the American West, have led Adele Perry, in studying the imperial experience in British Columbia from 1849 to 1871, to contemplate the intersection of race and gender and class within a developing colonial hub. She argues that despite the expectation of a successful colonization, the dominance of Anglo men who acted as homemakers failed to produce 'a model of bourgeois, metropolitan manhood.' The arrival of women as an oft used "imperial panacea" nonetheless did not produce the "stable, respectable, white society" envisioned. In analyzing the gender fluidity in the American empire, it appears that the appearance of women in the isolated garrisons prompted a female incursion into male private space. In this situation her purpose was not to cultivate an imperial man, but to craft an imperial space. Thus, in this case the officers' wife held perhaps voluntary responsibility for ensuring the prestige of the empire within the homes of unattached officers.⁴²

⁴¹ Bruce J. Dinges, "Leighton Finley: A Forgotten Soldier of the Apache Wars," *Journal of Arizona History* 29 (Summer 1998): 163, 171-2, 174; Britton Davis, *The Truth about Geronimo* (New Haven, 1929), 31-2; *Army and Navy Journal*, 20 July 1889, 973-4; Robert Wooster, *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West* (College Station, 2006), 84; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 357-8. Men and women, traditionally, contributed to the internal decoration of their home. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, this duty appeared to shift to the female realm. For a discussion see Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920* (New York: 1984), 8-9. This shift became "Woman's Aesthetic Mission" as a "promoter of the beautiful." Jacob Von Falke dedicated a complete chapter to this subject in Jacob Von Falke, *Art in the House*, trans. Charles Perkins (Boston, 1879), 311-336. My thanks to Ms. Jennifer Heth and Professor R. J. Q. Adams for sharing their thoughtful insights regarding the feminization of bachelor quarters.

⁴² Jane Haggis, "Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism," *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 1-2 (1990): 47, 50; Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (London, 2006), 1, 3; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, (Toronto, 2010), 1, 4, 20, 25-8, 79. The latest gender scholarship confronts the problems of writing a non-recuperative history of women that seamlessly blends within histories of empire. Although women have gained visibility as "insertions" in

Returning to the photograph collections, military interiors of the British quarters in India, unfortunately, seem to have been a much less popular subject to record for posterity. Two photographs, however, offer vivid sketches of nineteenth-century imperial life. An image titled “Our Drawing Room in Lahore, India,” taken between 1883-1887 by Royal Artillery Assistant Apothecary John Burke, provides a rare glimpse of an Indian Victorian interior. The cluttered room held wicker furniture, elaborate drapery, pot plants, bookcases, prints and photographs, oriental fans, and tasseled tablecloths — all in accord with the furnishings displayed in the American officers’ quarters. Differences, however, appear in the incorporation of numerous indigenous design features. The walls are wainscoted with an elaborate and tasseled Indian print fabric, the side tables feature arched fretwork, and the ornamentation includes beautiful lotas jars and slim-necked brass urns. An Anglo-Indian ivory and sandalwood watch-stand proudly occupies the front and center of the mantelpiece. This imperial drawing room, then, exhibits a more hybrid interior design than its American counterparts. Draped loops and bows gracefully complement the finely painted lotas jars, exotically patterned wainscoting enhances the oriental theme, and the Anglo-Indian watch-stand completes the hybrid gentility of an army officer’s home.⁴³

The single image of a British officer’s Indian quarters illustrates an excess of masculinity that beggars belief. In 1870, amateur photographer Captain Willoughby W. Hooper of the Seventh Madras Light Cavalry captured the image “Englishman Being Served Coffee in Bed.” The casual disarray of the room centers on an officer reclining under a tartan

traditional accounts, Angela Woollacott argues that imperialism cannot be understood without establishing “the systematic operation of gender.” Thus, she argues that gender played a central role “in the imperial enterprise, both as one of the forces driving and shaping the empire, and as a set of ideologies produced at once in the colonies and the metropole that constituted shifting and pervasive imperial culture.”

⁴³ Omar Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of John Burke and William Baker: 1860-1900* (Ahmedabad, 2002), 175. A lotas jar is generally made of marble and richly decorated with Indian motifs.

coverlet, attended by an Indian boy-servant who proffers a drink served in a cup and saucer. Two tiger skulls, family photographs, a selection of military clothing hung on pegs, and gun rack holding three rifles further masculinize the dingy wall. A sabre rests against a makeshift sideboard, and a small table held the minimum of dining crockery and cutlery, complete with an empty wine bottle. The officer's uniform is strewn across a wicker chair, and his knee-high leather boots lie where they supposedly fell, completing the display of casual virility. This meticulously arranged cameo, clearly arranged by the captain-turned-photographer presumably represents what he imagined to be an idealized imperial masculinity.⁴⁴

So much for the single image of imperial super-masculinity, but what did officers in British India say, if anything, about their living situations? The answer to that question is very little. The bachelor officers shared cantonment bungalows to make the best use of housing allowances, thus reducing furniture rental, food bills, and servants' wages. Called a "chummery," the conditions could be at best termed basic. Captain Francis Bellew provided a humorous glimpse of life in his multi-occupancy bungalow at Barrackpore. He advised, "The ceilings ... are composed of coarse cotton cloth tied ... to a framework of bamboo ... between this and the rafters is a dark void, the airy hall of the rats and bandicoots." He added, "My friend's bungalow was a regular Indian sub's abode, and fell woefully below my standard of comfort the grand *salon*, or *salle a manger*, contained one square camp-table, two chairs and a half, a footstool of basket work ... and hard by hung suspended his library; not quite so large as the Bodleian, to be sure." A fellow officer's room he described as "scantily furnished." Captain Bellew's lighthearted description of bachelor quarters again

⁴⁴ Clark Worswick, and Ainslie Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855-1911* (New York, 1976), 56-7; Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul*, 11, 175; Stuart Falconer, "Willoughby Wallace Hooper: A Craze about Photography," *The Photographic Collector* 4 (1984), 258-9. Photograph in Worswick and Embree, Khan and Falconer consulted to establish Hooper's credentials. Author's emphasis.

emphasized a utilitarian imperial masculinity. The adoption of Indian furnishings combined with military issue basics confirmed the limited assimilation permissible to imperial officers.⁴⁵

Both the written narratives and photographic sources indicate the efforts of British and American officers and their wives to transport symbols of class-appropriate domesticity to their imperial postings. Finding this an impossible task due to transportation difficulties and prohibitive costs, both groups innovatively introduced alternatives. In India, the minimalistic interior of the Indian cantonment bungalow reflected the serious problems of insect and reptile infestations. The incorporation of indigenous elements such as punkahs, tatties, and numdahs, signaling assimilation, proved essential for survival in a completely different climatic zone. The one photograph of a British Indian drawing room, however, displays the Victorian middle-class clutter style, yet integrates Indian and Anglo design features and artifacts. This cultural hybridity, as in the male dress codes, sought to generate affinity between the governing and governed peoples. In the American West, with perhaps less change in environmental conditions, and no imperial necessity to establish diplomatic relations, minimal assimilation, whether practical or aesthetic, of indigenous artifacts. A few photographs of bachelor quarters depict Indian blankets covering trunks, and wall decorations of tribal weaponry and regalia. Officers' wives, nonetheless, rarely utilized or incorporated local methods or artifacts in their domestic affairs.

⁴⁵ Bellew, *Memoirs of a Griffin*, 170, 172-5; Allen, *Plain Tales*, 73-5. Of the ten single male oral histories regarding the "chummeries" recorded by Allen, only one military man, Brigadier and Right Honorable Sir John (Jackie) Smith V.C. contributed to this topic. Most others held appointments with the Indian Civil Service, and Radclyffe Sidebottom, memorable for his name if for no other reason, was in the Bengal Pilot Service.

Homes in the American West, as evidenced by the Surgeon General's Report of 1870, ranged from abysmal to healthy. Military spouses, no matter what the shabbiness or inadequacy of their quarters, attempted to assert their middle-class status through domestic design. The photographs taken of the American married residences presents ebullient showcase homes, not in the least modest or democratic. The cluttered rooms expressed ultra-femininity complete with the latest fad in statuary, musical instruments, and designs copied from homemaking journals. Wherever they were stationed these officers' wives, with a minimum of status ornamentation, retained supreme authority in the domestic realm. One can sympathize with Lucy Grant, who transformed a Himalayan shack into a home with two lengths of fabric, or Katherine Fougera, who laid a rug made of army issue trousers in her drafty Dakota Territory quarters. With few genuine articles of Victoriana transported across the miles, they innovatively constructed make-shift and make-believe versions of home, to proudly and respectfully represent the empires.⁴⁶

In transforming rudimentary conditions, and functional items, both groups of women directed much energy to reconstruct nineteenth-century middle-class norms to create imperial homes. This does not hold any element of surprise, nor does the British experience of absolute female jurisdiction over interior design. In both the written and photographic records the responsibility and authority for this endeavor was placed squarely in the feminine realm. Yet, in the American photographs the male incursion into the domestic space demonstrates the fluidity of gender roles. Lieutenant Finley's and Captain Crawford's official apartments reveal an astonishingly feminine decorative flair. The inclusion of flower arrangements, drapery accents, feathers, and dolls, strongly suggests the influence of officers' wives in these bachelor apartments. This evidence, then, extends female authority

⁴⁶ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 64-5.

beyond the walls of individual homes, to influence the mindset and masculine spaces of the lone officers. Female influence in British India failed to penetrate the supermasculinity of the army officers, yet it appears that U.S. officers' wives literally generated the blueprint for the domestic design in America's western empire.

American Eveline Alexander's diary provides a perfect opportunity to examine the reworking of middle-class dress and home-making markers to represent the nineteenth-century imperial class. She described her changing views towards attire while marching with the Third Cavalry in 1866, from Fort Smith to Fort Stevens. On leaving the civilized environment of the garrison she wore a "black and white traveling dress and black and white flat [hat] with blue veil ... to give me a warlike appearance, I wore a miniature pistol belt with ... a little pistol in a holster ... and a silver-hilted dagger This is to be my costume for crossing the plains." Clearly Mrs. Alexander represented, in her own view, an adversary not to be trifled with. Within five days, however, her veiled hat had been crushed by the couple's pet dog, and she now donned a poncho around her waist to keep dry. Within six weeks the formal traveling outfit was replaced by her husband's military rubber cloak. In August, however, due to her "proximity to civilization [Fort Union]" she resumed wearing her "proper riding habit and a small cap." Thus, she understood that her appearance as an imperial representative held importance. Due to conditions of the march, and the unlikelihood of encountering fellow Americans, she temporarily relaxed her responsibilities and adopted a practical dress code.⁴⁷

In reaching her destination of Fort Stevens, accordingly, Mrs. Alexander quickly re-assumed her formal imperial role. Dressed in her "best bib and tucker," she awaited her husband's return from a visit with the august William T. Sherman, Commanding General of

⁴⁷ Myres, *Cavalry Wife*, 37, 41, 43, 45, 68, 78; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:882.

the Army. She ordered a table to be built that accommodated eight, had it placed in her tent, served General Sherman his saddle of mutton on a tin plate, and conducted post-prandial conversation seated on a trunk. Despite these substitute furnishings, which would clearly not pass muster in the East, Evelyn confidently undertook her imperial role. Spending time in a “tête-a-tête” with his genial hostess, General Sherman endorsed her suitability as an imperial ambassador. He shared details of departmental authorities, boundaries, and remits, and listened attentively to Evelyn’s observations of the West. Greatly impressed, Sherman remarked, “I declare Alexander, your wife knows more about the country than you do” — an assertion that her husband “stoutly denied!”⁴⁸

Evelyn Alexander’s experiences represent the British and American military wife’s acceptance and execution of duty. Living within isolated and institutionalized enclaves, these women forged a distinctive imperial identity that reflected, yet deviated from civilian norms. In intimate spaces, utilizing dress and home-making, women drafted and projected an imperial class identity that adopted and adapted mainstream gender models. Officers’ wives in both locations rigidly displayed, as a duty, respectable fashions. Any and all attempts at adopting the muslins or *camisas* of the indigenous women were immediately and unmistakably forbidden. Their officer husbands, however, adapted limited indigenous clothing styles and fabrics for different imperial purposes. The British soldiers sought to subjugate the East Indians through affinity gained by incorporating elements of the male military dress. The Americans unofficially utilized elements of tribal costumes and military tactics, not to subordinate, but to remove the American Indians from western lands. In considering female and male dress choices as dutiful performance, then, the imperial role of such cultural artifacts becomes immediately visible.

⁴⁸ Myres, *Cavalry Wife*, 86-8.

The second strand of inquiry, imperial internal décor, an imitation of the class-appropriate models of British gentility and American sincerity, traditionally fell under the female purview. In India, the gendered spaces mirrored the British status quo. This model, however, extended female authority to enable and assist the imperial ambition of control of the indigenous peoples through affinity. Indian artifacts and decorating styles were incorporated to provide a visual cultural correspondence, thus assisting goals of subordination. In the American West, the cult of sentiment and its concomitant female authority expanded to encompass Anglo male spaces — greatly increasing the female influence in designing cultural imperialism. The lack of any real integration of American Indian cultural artifacts, although opposite to the British experience, supported imperial ambitions, not of domination *in situ*, but of removal.

The almost unfettered movement across gender borders by both sexes, and in both locales, reveals the fluidity of feminine and masculine authority in the imperial regions. Officers clearly exhibited power in controlling female choices in dress, and in India, the women responded with greater social authority to police male dress and behavior. It was the American wives, nonetheless, who made the greatest advance into male space. By instructing and influencing homemaking in the West, these women feminized military environments to construct an imperial standard. Officers' wives on the outposts of empire, then, dismantled national gender boundaries and class models to wield imperial power and influence as ambassadors of empire.

Imperial dress and interior design reveals the silent yet latent power of visual imagery as a central element of imperialism. Dutiful efforts, made by British and American officers and their wives, to utilize bodies and domestic spaces to construct, maintain, and project the

authority of the empire indicates a fluidity of nineteenth-century Victorian gender models in the military communities. In order to fulfill their duties these men and women effortlessly crossed, and re-crossed, gender borders to regulate a cohesive and unified imperial front. To provide a more textured interpretation of the officer's wife as an imperial ambassador, however, the discussion must shift from inanimate artifacts to active roles. An analysis of the social ritual of paying calls and assessment of class attitudes within the domestic sphere will expose female design, manipulation, and protection of imperial sociability, not as caretakers — but as imperial gatekeepers.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 56.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPERIAL GATEKEEPERS:

OFFICERS' WIVES AS SOCIAL ARBITERS OF EMPIRE

Our next subject of consideration is influence, and here we come at once to the great secret of woman's power in her social and domestic character.

Mrs. Sarah Ellis.¹

The social distinctions are by no means lost sight of in India;—on the contrary, they are perhaps more rigidly observed here than at home, and the smaller the society the broader are the lines of demarcation. Each man depends on his position in the public service, which is the aristocracy: and those who do not belong to it are out of the pale, no matter how wealthy they may be, or what claims they may advance to the consideration of the world around them. The women depend on the rank of their husbands. Mrs. A., the wife of a barrister making £2,000 or £5,000 a year, is nobody as compared with Mrs B., who is a deputy commissioner, or with Mrs. C, who is the better half of the station surgeon. Wealth can do nothing for man or woman in securing them honour or precedence in their march to dinner, or on their way to the supper table, or in the dance.

Edward Buck²

A contributor to the *Calcutta Review* in 1845 discussed the duties of British women posted in India to suggest, “a woman makes an admirable *adjective*, enhancing the value of the *noun* to which she is joined, but has comparatively little value when standing alone.” Contradicting this metaphor, the daughter of an Army captain, Fanny Parkes, observed that military men in Allahabad spent much of the hot daytime hours indoors, pursuing language skills, painting, and musical activities. This, she claimed, they preferred to do “in the society of ladies,” and drew the conclusion that “women have more influence over men in India than in any other country.” According to Mrs. Parkes, at least, officers’ wives operating within the small drawing rooms of the Indian stations crafted authority that influenced the great British Empire.³

¹ Sarah S. Ellis, *The Prose Work of Mrs. Ellis*, vol. 1 (New York, 1844), 17.

² Buck, *Simla Past and Present*, 162.

³ *Calcutta Review*, No. VII, vol. IV; Emphasis is in the original. Parkes, *Wanderings*, 111.

Adding to this view of the empowered imperial wife, Elizabeth Custer understood that the military community in the American West “was often as separate from the world as if we had been living on an island in the ocean.” She presciently recognized that “very little has been written regarding the domestic life of an army family, and yet I cannot believe that it is without interest; for the innumerable questions that are asked about our occupations, amusements, and the mode of our housekeeping.” Indeed, the authority of a military wife provided more than just interest. Shortly after the Civil War ended, Alice wrote to her husband, Colonel Benjamin Grierson, “I strongly incline to the opinion that you will enter the Regular Army, and that it will be best for you to do so.” Another missive, written just a few weeks later, revealed her substantial influence within the relationship. She stated, “I want *always* to have my husband the male head ... and I of course want to be the female head ... before we were married I told you I wanted a certain amount of money of my own, to use just as a husband does, exactly as he pleases, or thinks right and proper ... [a] woman might perhaps have as *clear*, and *just*, notions of right and wrong in even business matters as a man.” Needless to say, within a few months of Alice’s imperative, Benjamin assumed command of the African American Tenth Cavalry Regiment. Her request to manage her financial affairs, unfortunately, did not come to fruition, and Benjamin’s subsequent business ventures led to substantial family debt. Perhaps if he had heeded his wife’s request the outcome might have been reversed. Even with no say in financial affairs, Mrs. Grierson established an empowered domestic role. Throughout her informal career as a commander’s wife she extended this authority, regularly instructing her husband on garrison affairs, thus demonstrating her confident authority.⁴

⁴ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 3; Shirley A. Leckie, ed., *The Colonel’s Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson* (Lincoln, 1989), 11-3, 124-6; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:204, 478.

Reflecting Mrs. Grierson's assertion of power, homemaking expert Flora Steel articulated the British officers' wives' imperial attitude with "We do not wish to advocate an unholy haughtiness, but an Indian household can no more be governed peacefully, without dignity and prestige, than an Indian Empire." Similarly, Glenda Riley posits that "women provided the real glue of [American] empire, from attitudes and folkways to domestic consumerism." This female role held such influence, according to Nancy Shea, that when a married military couple received an imperial posting "the government gets the full-time service of two people for the pay of one ... a wife plays an integral part in representing the government." Her social skills became appropriated, gratis, to further (or retard) her husband's career, and acted as a central element of performing and projecting imperial prestige. By analyzing these women as significant actors in the operations of empire, it becomes clear that officers' wives held a duty to design and manage the social and cultural components of empire. Furthermore, they held an obligation to police the imperial community, through the social processes of social calling and domestic rituals. These obligations, however, led to the construction of a reflective, yet flexible model of female behavior that shattered the boundaries of traditional social conventions. This led to an institutional and national backlash of criticism that specifically targeted the military spouse. In creating a less restrained and empowered model of mainstream sociability, these women

Benjamin was mustered out of the Union Army in March 1866, and he sought his wife's advice regarding re-entering the military. Mrs. Grierson's letters to her husband contain many incidences of her authority within the marriage, home, and garrison. An example that highlights her influence is perfectly stated in a letter from Rachel Beck, whose husband, Lieutenant William H. Beck of the Tenth U.S. Cavalry, had just been dismissed from duty, without pay, for one year. Mrs. Beck wrote to Mrs. Grierson, "I beg that you will pardon me for bringing my troubles to you but I know that your request, to the Gen. on our behalf, will guarantee his endorsement in our favor." Lieutenant Beck had been found guilty of "drunkenness and ill treatment of his men," a shortcoming Mrs. Grierson did not tolerate. Alice duly wrote to her husband discouraging any clemency to be shown to the discredited officer. Emphasis is in the original.

became vulnerable to a vicious response that tarnished their reputations — a woman's most valuable imperial currency.⁵

The reconstruction of national values by British and American officers' wives, then, became pivotal to the construction of their identity, and understandings of duty, as imperial ambassadors who shared and supplemented their husbands' obligations. So, what nineteenth-century class ideals did these women transport to India? Leonore Davidoff argues that a "Society is a self-defined status group based on communal lifestyles." She further explains that a fully-fledged member of the upper and middle-class social echelon enjoyed the benefits of a substantial information network, career opportunities, and access to restricted political news. "At the *same time*," Davidoff notes, "participation in the group is a reward and a badge of arrival into these positions, a public seal of acceptance into elite status." The Victorian middle class defined itself by "claims to status honour which were in turn based on a certain lifestyle." Introductions, calls, and entertaining provided a mechanism to construct, populate, and maintain an exclusive class. A newcomer seeking admission to this exclusive set sought entrance by forming an acquaintance with an established family — the pathway zealously guarded by the lady of the house. This "English rule," according to an American etiquette manual, operated on both sides of the Atlantic. Hostess approval sanctioned pan-acceptability. Indeed, an introduction contained a considerable amount of embedded social power. A Scottish manual usefully instructed, "It is neither necessary nor desirable to introduce everybody to everybody You confer no favour on us ... by making us acquainted with one whom we do not desire to know; you may inflict a positive injury. You also put yourself in an unpleasant position; for 'an introduction

⁵ Steel, *Complete Indian Housekeeper*, 11; Glenda Riley, *Taking Land, Breaking Land: Women Colonizing the American and Kenyan Frontiers, 1840-1940* (Albuquerque, 2003), 14; Nancy Shea, *The Army Wife*, 4th ed. (New York, 1966), 281.

is a social endorsement,' and you become, to a certain extent, responsible for the person you introduce. If he disgraces himself in any way, you share, in a greater or less degree, in his disgrace." Thus, a middle-class woman, whether British or American, held *substantial* social power. It was she who vetted callers, determined eligibility, and proffered introductions.⁶

Social calling in upper-middle class America, just as in British society, functioned as an assessment of acceptability. Catherine Allgor asserts that this ritual provided the upper and middle classes a mechanism to exchange information, create political and business networks, and screen individuals. This "ceremonial act" of an "urban custom," Allgor notes, determined the suitability of newcomers as members of a reciprocal "social world where [social, political, and economic] claims could be made on any member." Karen Halttunen adds that the American middle class sought to advertise their social identity through notions of gentility, a sentimental politeness, and by behaving with "true courtesy." An acknowledged hypocrisy underpinned Victorianism in both England and the United States. Under the British façade of sincerity, piousness, and morality lay "bourgeois propriety lust and greed." In what Halttunen considers an equally hypocritical "cult of sentimentality," the American middle class "shaped their culture around sentimental platitudes ... indulged in bourgeois self-congratulation and endeavored to disguise the evils of the nineteenth-century social order they were helping to usher in." The design, operation, and sustainability of this model of sociability pivoted around the practice of formal visiting.⁷

⁶ Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London, 1973), 37, 41-2; Mrs. John Sherwood, *Manners and Social Usage* (New York, 1887), 15-6, 44; Anonymous, *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette and Guide to Correct Personal Habits* (Glasgow, 1904), 63-4. First emphasis is in the original, the latter is the author's.

⁷ Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville, 2000), 4, 149-57; Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, xiii-xiv, 92. Allgor describes the personal calling card as measuring two inches by three inches. The contents, handwritten or embossed, often proffered gilt edging, mottoes, and images. The card, she argues, provided a buffer zone and by "using cards as proxies made the system more flexible and less personally hurtful." John Kasson,

Because of the social, economic, and political power conferred by acceptance of a newcomer, etiquette manuals codified this process. According to Mrs. Beeton's home-making manual, formal calling was conducted under the following auspices. "After luncheon, morning calls and visits may be made and received. These are divided under three heads: those of ceremony, friendship, and congratulation or condolence. Visits of ceremony, or courtesy, which occasionally merge into those of friendship, are paid under various circumstances." She further instructed, "they are uniformly required after dining at a friend's house, or after a ball, picnic, or any other party." She instructed an optimum length of encounter, and dictated a dress code with, "These visits should be short, a stay of from fifteen to twenty minutes being quite sufficient," and finally charged, "A lady paying a visit may remove her boa or neckerchief; but neither her shawl nor bonnet." Mrs. Beeton systemized, then, a sociability that signified membership in the British middle class.⁸

In the Americas, Catharine Beecher's household manual mirrored her British counterpart's codification of domestic rituals. Mrs. Beecher delineated the American "duties of hospitality," and insisted that "Politeness requires us to welcome visitors [sic] with cordiality; to offer them the best accommodations; to address conversation to them; and to express, by tone and manner, kindness and respect." She counseled that "a courteous and hospitable custom" should be established by "offering the hand to all visitors [sic], at one's own house." Halttunen asserts that in proffering such hospitality, American elite women

another historian, examines the American social ritual of calling to agree with Davidoff (thus underscoring the similarity in the British and American practices), that by folding the card in a predetermined fashion a caller signaled a distinct message to the receiver — a sort of origami protocol. Turning down the upper-right corner indicated a personal call; the upper-left designated congratulations; the lower-left — condolences, and the lower-right announced an imminent departure. See Davidoff, *Best Circles*, 43; Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 121, and John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990). Allgor and Kasson are historians.

⁸ Wells, *Letters to her Father*, 93; Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, 10. Protocol dictated that ceremonial calls (such as marriage, childbirth) must be made between 3.00-5.00p.m., semi-ceremonial calls 5.00-6.00 p.m., and intimate calls may be undertaken from 6.00-7.00p.m. See Davidoff, *Best Circles*, 43.

formalized, and maintained “the fabric of Society, as semi-official leaders ... [and as] arbiters of social acceptance or rejection.” The requirement to call, then, functioned as a central element of sociability throughout the nineteenth British and American empires. The subsequent extension of welcome functioned as a social endorsement providing access to economic and political power holders — a rejection — ostracization from the privileged elite.⁹

Calling provided a mechanism for an outsider to obtain admittance to, and enjoy the benefits of, middle-class status. The requirement to present a calling card provided a liminal social space to scrutinize, classify and accept suitable persons, and according to Allgor, reject “vulgar peoples, social parvenus, and imposters.” Women, in both England and America, policed this social portal to guard class boundaries and restrict access to privileges. In the outer regions of the empire, however, this reproduced social ritual provided the officers’ wives with substantial responsibility. They not only determined markers of suitability and controlled membership, but also held responsibility for establishing and maintaining the representative body of an empire.¹⁰

Pat Barr briefly describes calling in India as a practice that convention demanded, providing the visitor with “a sense of mission,” and the visited “a feeling of distinction.” Scholars who have in large part studied the Indian Civil Service community, extend this argument to highlight this social act as a duty, a portal to gain entrance into the imperial set, and a social mechanism for inclusion and integration. Indeed, a hostess had no option but to

⁹ Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 144; Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 222.

¹⁰ Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 120-1. For a discussion on the American calling card protocol see Daniel Lombardo’s editorial “Calling Cards used for Social Reasons, A Look Back,” *Amherst Bulletin* 26 April 1995, 4.

accept a *bona fide* civil servant. Proffering a card that confirmed a caller's employment removed the need for a wife to assess the credentials of a caller. Thus, the Indian Civil Service reduced female social power, as the simple production of a card affirmed imperial worthiness. Within the military world, however, a calling card embossed with a rank and regimental crest did *not* automatically guarantee entry to the imperial coterie. Officers' wives, particularly the *Burra Mem*, used the practice of calling to screen personally each officer. Incorporating this transported custom in India, with its highly mobile military population, provided the officers' wives with a very real duty to identify and exclude social pariahs and parvenus from accessing social, political, and economic networks. By this flexing of female domestic power, these women dictated and reinforced internal coherence, confidence and authority, and consolidated an external public image of a united Empire.¹¹

Delivering a calling card on arrival in a station provided a device for the immediate assessment of suitability based on a person's background, appearance, and behavior. Originally an aristocratic custom, with a card placed on a silver salver and passed to her ladyship by a servant, became mimicked — minus the salver and solemn-faced butler — by simply dropping a card into letter boxes. Agreement, post card scrutiny, to welcome newcomers acted as a public endorsement of a couple's social acceptability. American Ruby Gray described this female power in action. Shortly after arrival at a new station she grumbled, "Charles told me that there was to be a dance at the Club given by a senior wife, she let it be known that as we had not called on her we could not be asked to it. I had somehow not connected life in Almora [United Provinces] with visiting cards, we had some hurriedly printed in the bazaar, the results were quite unique, then with a sketch map I

¹¹ Barr, *Memsahibs*, 173-4; MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, 180-1; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 58-9. Author's emphasis.

wandered around the footpaths dropping my cards into letter boxes.” The discombobulated Mrs. Gray neglected to post the senior lady’s card, so she hastily retraced her steps, whereupon she “was shown into the room where a lady was having tea, she looked rather startled, I had apparently broken another custom, you never called in person.” In failing twice to act according to the demands of social protocol, Mrs. Gray found herself in jeopardy of exclusion from the imperial set. Her memoir, unfortunately, does not report on whether the couple gained imperial approval and a subsequent invitation to the aforementioned Club dance.¹²

Advice on calling etiquette from “A Lady Resident” in India provided clear and non-negotiable social forms to follow. All newcomers, she instructed, “will have to commence a series of visits in the following absurd Indian fashion. If Captain and Mrs. A arrive in a station, the captain is expected to call upon all the ladies, who then return the visits with their husbands Bachelors call on ladies, whether old inhabitants or not. Up country, in the hot weather especially, people pay friendly visits early in the morning, at the ‘*chota hazree*,’ or ‘little breakfast’ hour, when tea, coffee, fruit, biscuits, &c., are offered to the guests. Large parties are often asked at this hour, instead of to dinner.”¹³

Georgiana Paget agreed with Mrs. Gray to confirm that the social convention of calling in India operated as an imperial obligation. She explained, “It is the custom in India for all the gentlemen in a station to call on newly arrived ladies, and I was considerably amused and surprised at first, at my morning *levées* of officers in full uniform, with their swords on.” A time difference appears to be the only change from the British ritual that created cause for concern. Both Ellen Drummond and Georgiana Paget found the late

¹² Ruby Gray, Unpublished Memoir, 60.

¹³ A Lady Resident, *Englishwoman in India*, 40.

morning practice more difficult than late afternoon. The latter noted, “I am not yet reconciled to the hours for visits being so early — between eleven and two; but the plan of sending in your card, that no mistake in made in your name, is an excellent one.” The ladies in India adhered to the station protocol that dictated that cards should be delivered, or credentials entered in a dedicated “visitors book,” prior to an actual meeting. Corroborating this practice, Christian Stirling recorded that “life was full of ‘people’ coming and going — mostly wives, as the soldiers were on manoeuvres [sic] with Uncle Alf, and we had to return all the ‘calls’ written in the ‘book.’” This method of introduction not only allowed officers’ wives to filter out social undesirables, but also required a corresponding return call. This process, then, provided an essential duty in a military world of constantly changing orders. The transient nature of the station population afforded even greater importance to the officers’ spouses to construct, maintain, and protect the privileges of an exclusive and homogenous imperial coterie.¹⁴

Calling as an imperial duty operated throughout British India. Although Mrs. Paget attested that the bachelor officers held an obligation to call on the newly arrived wives, Madeleine Churcher agreed with Mrs. Gray by asserting that as a newcomer, she held the responsibility to call on fellow officers and their wives. On arrival with her husband at the Bareilly station, Upper Provinces, they made eight such calls on their first day. Reaching the commander’s home, they intended simply to enter their names in senior wife’s visitor book. Mrs. Gray commented, however, that “Mrs. Henry” recognized her husband so invited the couple in for “a little chat.” Although breaking with protocol, the *Burra Mem* had prior knowledge of the officer and thus deemed the couple appropriate for immediate inclusion in

¹⁴ Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 93; Ellen Drummond to Minnie Thornhill, 29 March 1868; Showers-Sterling, *Notes on Her Life*, 22. Emphasis is in the original.

the station's social set. Margaret Hannay also demonstrated the obligation to call, even in tented accommodations. She mentioned whole afternoons dedicated to visitors during the regimental march from Mysopoorie to Mhow. Christian Showers-Sterling similarly confirmed the pervasiveness of this imperial duty. She complained that visiting and entertaining occupied most of her time from "October to March" of each year. She found the constant "curtsies and handshaking" both tiresome and irritating. Yet her account substantiates that in British India, calling functioned as a duty, a mechanism to create and sustain a social network whose privileged members legitimized and broadcast prestige.¹⁵

Similarly, American military wives stationed in the West adapted transported social rituals to create an imperial community. Patricia Stallard describes garrison sociability as "an exchange of social courtesies," with officers dressed in "full-dress uniforms" celebrating "the glitter of the good life." An etiquette manual written by Mary E. W. Sherwood provided instructions to correct, "The mischievous tendencies of our society The vulgar worship of wealth, the imitating of foreign vices and follies, contempt of the domestic virtues ... and the fast and immodest manners of young women, should all be taken into consideration The manners of our people must proceed from their morals; and, as we have no queen, no court, no nobility, to set our fashions, we must set them ourselves." In a complete chapter dedicated to "The Etiquette of Cards," Mrs. Sherwood considered the card as the "Alpha and Omega of all social intercourse." She instructed that the correct protocol of calling required the younger to call on the elder, visits are to be scheduled between two and six in the afternoon, and in returning a card, as "sent by mistake" inferred a refusal to receive an introduction—a social snub. The social currency contained in this ritual could not be

¹⁵ Churcher, *Indian Impressions*, 6-7; Hannay, *Journal*, 1829, 1-2; Christian Showers-Sterling, *Notes on Her Life*, 58.

ignored or bypassed. Furthermore, the etiquette coach cautioned, “Indeed, a fashionable woman ... reads the cards on her hall table as a merchant reads his day-book or ledger. It is her debit and credit account [as all visits must be returned]. It is a record of her social bankruptcy or her soundness For all, the little white messenger, engraved with a name, is the ready-money of society.” The American officers’ wives, however, did not simply trade welcomes and indulge in glittering festivities. These women, like their British counterparts, reworked the mainstream model of sociability to generate female power that designed, controlled, and maintained the authority of an empire.¹⁶

In reconfiguring this “debit and credit” accounting in the American West, Alice Paulding (before her marriage) illustrated not only the social “ready-money,” but also female authority attached to the “white messenger.” In 1894 she accepted a cordial invitation to spend a winter at Fort Sill. In joining her college friend Geraldine and her father, Major Henry Wessells of the Third Cavalry, Mrs. Paulding hoped to find glamour and adventure in the “wild west.” On her second day at the remote garrison, she recorded that she “was introduced to the good old army custom where everyone called on a visitor, beginning with the Commanding Officer and his wife and on down to the newest Second-Lieutenant.” Eleven years later, and as the wife of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Tenth Cavalry, she managed a greater, and more elaborate duty of entertaining as the female grenadier. As a post commander’s wife, she appreciated that “the women in our own regiment gave me loyal support,” and dismissed criticism with, “if a few outsiders were rather disagreeable, I don’t think it worried me or cramped my style unduly.” Thus, “The good old army custom” of visiting dutifully undertaken in a strict rank order functioned as screening process. Mrs.

¹⁶ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 43; Mary E. W. Sherwood, *Etiquette, the American Code of Manners* (New York, 1884), iv-v, 182, 184, 186-7, 191.

Paulding clearly understood her imperial obligation to lead junior wives, control access to social currency, and ignore any complaint from the rejected “outsiders,” as a hazard of her authoritative position.¹⁷

Newly arrived visitors, however, found the social ritual of calling quite unexpected in the West. Fanny Corbusier recalled the arrival of Miss Ida Teed at Fort Grant in 1886. On entering the Corbusier home, and instantly being surrounded by officers and their wives, the new tutor “was surprised at their very courteous manners and refinement. She rather expected to meet men made rough by their employment of fighting Indians and frontier life.” Imperial obligation prompted Martha Summerhayes similarly to extend immediate overtures of welcome to newcomers. She recorded that “the boat arrived one day bringing a large number of staff officers and their wives ... for Fort Whipple ... I ... went to the boat to call on them, and We asked them to come to our quarters for supper.” In these instances, the ritual of card-leaving appears abandoned. Mrs. Paulding, as a female grenadier, wielded adequate social power to negate the screening of a tutor. Mrs. Summerhayes mirrored the Indian Civil Service practice by relinquishing her social power to the inherent endorsement of the military institution. She, without hesitation, accepted the imperial credibility of Fort Whipple’s latest arrivals based on their army commissions alone.¹⁸

Reflecting the experiences of Margaret Hannay and Christian Showers-Sterling in British India, Marion Brown, who arrived at Fort Sil, on 18 November 1867, confirmed the pervasiveness of calling in the American West. After entertaining thirteen guests during her first evening at the garrison, including “Maj. And Mrs. Theirington, Capt. and Mrs. Custer, and her little sister, and eight single gentlemen,” she informed her parents “one is expected to

¹⁷ Paulding, *My Army Life*, 1, 4, 90; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:1019.

¹⁸ Stallard, *Fanny Dunbar Corbusier*, 140; Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 165-6.

receive callers until 11 p.m.” Over the next eight days she and her cousin Carrie attended numerous hops and dinner parties, and reported that they had successfully returned “all of our calls. We went to the Custers, Vanderbliss, Pueringtons, Johnstons, and Dodges. Had pleasant visits to the places.” Echoing Miss Brown’s sentiments, Ellen Biddle, on rejoining her husband in the West in 1894, found that “Fort Robinson was remarkable for its society. In no city would you have found a more charming coterie than was there when I arrived.” On the day after arrival she recalled, “We were just finishing dinner, when two officers called and their cards were brought to me.” Both Miss Brown and Mrs. Biddle found calling enjoyable. Yet beneath the veneer of social pleasantries this social ritual functioned to promote the formation of an imperial coterie, protect social, economic, and political currency, and police imperial behaviors and practices.¹⁹

Adding a viewpoint of sociability from the upper echelons of the military institution, Elizabeth Custer confirmed how she, as an officer’s wife, held the imperial authority to regulate behavior. She described the expectations of Major-General Alfred Gibbs, who commanded the Seventh Cavalry at Fort Riley in 1866, to explain that her “husband, absorbed in the drilling, discipline and organization of the regiment, sometimes overlooked the necessity for social obligations, and immediately came under the General's witty criticisms. If a strange officer visited our post, and any one neglected to call, as is considered obligatory, it was remarked upon by our etiquettical [sic] mentor.” In penning the following vignette, Mrs. Custer demonstrated her considerable power in military affairs. A military man who drank alcohol, but stayed sober enough for duty was acceptable. She wrote, however, of her experience with a “hopeless case” of an inebriated officer. “A new appointee,” she advised, “made his entrance into our parlor, when paying the visit that

¹⁹ King, *Letters from Fort Sill*, 4, 6, 9; Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 222-3.

military etiquette requires, by falling in at the door, and after recovering an upright position, proceeded to entangle himself in his sword again, and tumble into a chair. I happened to be alone, and was, of course, very much frightened.” Determining that the new officer’s behavior was inappropriate, she immediately reported her concern to her husband. Later that same afternoon, “the officers met in one of their quarters, and drew up resolutions that gave the new arrival the choice of a court-martial or his resignation before night; and by evening he had written out the papers resigning his commission.” In determining the unsuitability of this officer as an imperial representative, Mrs. Custer not only rejected him from the social circle, but also stripped him of his commission. Officers’ wives’ social authority, then, encompassed far more than simply managing polite hospitality. They designed an imperial model of sociability, policed its boundaries, and instigated political and economic sanctions.²⁰

Calling in British India and the American West operated as a duty with its own weighty currency. This informal, yet rigidly controlled process transported from the home nations, functioned to sift out unsuitable pretenders to the imperial class. Officers’ wives held roles as designers, managers, and gatekeepers of this social ritual. In comparing the British and American female experiences, it becomes clear that similarities existed. Mary Sherwood aptly identified calling as ready-money, a means to vet and determine the suitability of newcomers, and this process operated in both locations. In British India, calling protocol appears to have been slightly more formal and disciplined with the use of a dedicated visitors’ book. Both communities, however, adhered to set times, specific dress codes, and the use of a personal cards of introduction.

²⁰ Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, 406; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:452. Unfortunately Mrs. Custer does not provide the “new arrival’s” name, rank, or regiment. It is probable as an “appointee,” he did not graduate from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

The pervasiveness of calling as a central element of imperial duty occupied much of a woman's time. This ritual, as Christian Showers-Sterling complained, invaded her private time and intimate space, with its endless curtsies and handshaking. Yet, behind the cordiality lay a mechanism to create and sustain a privileged network whose members accessed, legitimized, and displayed power and prestige. Indeed, the forced resignation of an American officer following Mrs. Custer's interview plainly illustrates the level of authority wielded by an officer's wife. These military women, then, shared similar experiences in garnering a substantial amount of power in the imperial holdings. They exclusively regulated the process of calling, determined markers of suitability, awarded entrance to those whom they deemed fit, and rejected, sometimes damagingly, unsuitable applicants.

The ritual of social calling, adapted from mainstream social mores, provided a central stratagem to impose standards of respectability, sift applications for admissions to the imperial circle, contain privileges, and promote imperial prestige. *The Times* of London reporter William Russell clearly understood the centrality of such understanding performances in maintaining imperial legitimacy. He recorded, "Our position would be improved, and our national character would be exalted by the repression of [unprincipled] acts we must provide some means of correcting the evils of the low standard which Indian life has forced upon us. I think that every Englishman in India ought to look upon himself as a sort of unrecognized unpaid servant of the State, on whose conduct and demeanour towards the natives may depend some of the political prestige of our rule in the whole empire." Once one gained admission, invitations to formal dances, balls, and regimental dinners shortly followed. Dining etiquette, just as visiting, became formalized to

demonstrate affluence, civility, and authority throughout the British and American Empires. To enable readers to understand values, the indomitable Mrs. Beeton delineated the correct ordering of entrance and seating in England. She advised, “Dinner being announced, the host offers his arm to, and places on his right hand at the dinner-table, the lady to whom he desires to pay most respect, either on account of her age, position, or from being the greatest stranger in the party. If this lady be married and her husband present, the latter takes the hostess to her place at the table, and seats himself at her right hand.” She added, “The rest of the company follows in couples, as specified by the master and mistress of the house, arranging the party according to their rank and other circumstances which may be known to the host and hostess.”²¹

The British communities in India exaggerated these social rituals, and women held responsibility for this imperial version. Indeed, the procession and seating of guests became so important to the orderliness and stability of the empire it became codified by the government. Mimicking Royal protocol, the nineteenth century Indian “Warrant of Precedence” became the hostess’s bible. In denoting prestige to all personages according to title and official rank, women in India followed the dictates of the list religiously. This ordering rippled outwards to encompass all social encounters. Whether dining, playing badminton, or even sitting on the designated ladies sofa in one of the “clubs,” the most senior *memsahibs* demanded and received deference. These women clearly reconfigured middle-class conventions by intensifying ritualized domestic practices to legitimize status and power.

²¹ Sir William H. Russell, *My Diary in India in the Year 1858-1859*, vol. 2 (London, 1860), 145; Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, 13. As the *London Times* correspondent, Russell introduced the role of the war correspondent with his frontline reports of the Crimean War, including eye-witness dispatches of the Charge of the Light Brigade.

In so doing, they forged an imperial class that relied upon strict obedience to a rank-determined order of social positioning.²²

Once accepted into the ranks of the privileged, invitations to obligatory dinner parties, which provided another central element of imperial sociability, soon followed. Although located in the home, a domestic arena, these spaces became appropriated to conduct the business of the empire. Officers' wives, then, operating as event planners and directors, gained access to male knowledge and became instrumental in the assembly of power and privilege. Building professional relationships as informal confidants and advisors, these imperial wives obeyed, and enforced, the ranking conventions. To fail to do so would immediately result in expulsion from the imperial set, thus being removed from access to the source of power. Such adherence, however, required compliance with an exact system of social ordering. For example, at the end of the evening one had to wait for the *Burra Mem* to depart before even the most tired of guests could bid farewell to the host. While attending a dinner, Isabella Fane provided an example of the seriousness of following dining protocol. After attending a dinner at Government House, she advised: "In the morning we had been studying the book of precedence appertaining to rank and quality ... I was nobody at all and need not trouble myself as to when and where I was to be in any grand march or ... great dinner ... it is little matter to me whether I am first or twentieth. Conceive my horror and amazement when Lord Auckland stepped forward ... and walked me out ... before *three* other *married* ladies. It was totally wrong ... but I hope and trust my character may be spared. The requirement of an official mandate to dictate dining protocol reveals the insecurities of the British power holders in India. In enforcing a precise official and

²² Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire*, 13, 15; MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, 41, 46.

unofficial etiquette, a collective symbol of respectability would reinforce the affluence, orderliness, and stability of the empire.²³

Such rigorous obedience caused many officers' wives to find their social obligations as imperial representatives both inconvenient and tiresome. Emma Roberts voiced a useful description of the women's troublesome duty by observing, "The family of the commandant of a small station ... were content sometimes to put off their own repast for the convenience of their guests, and to see company occasionally after the most approved fashion."

Apparently, "The sacrifice of domestic comfort upon these occasions was very great indeed at nightfall, it would have been much more agreeable to prepare for bed than to sit upon the *chubootur*, or terrace, in expectation of guests, from whose conversational powers little pleasure could be anticipated; and frequent repetition had diminished the amusement at first derived from the great absurdity of making a formal and state affair of a meeting between persons located in the same wilderness." She atmospherically continued, "At the hour prescribed by a goddess destined to reign supreme amidst the untamed savages, the wolves and hyaenas of an Indian plain, these votaries of fashion began to arrive; carriage after carriage drove up to the door ... the ladies dressed in ball attire, and the gentlemen uncomfortable in the prospect of being obliged to sit with their feet *under* instead of *on* the

²³ Ibid., 35, 41; Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 102; Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 313; Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 80-1. The Warrant of Precedence minutely details the rigid etiquette to be observed. See Bernard Burke, *The Book of Precedence* (London, 1881). For military officers, see pages 78, 81-2. "Lord Auckland may have been correct in taking Miss Fane's arm. She, as the representative of her father General Sir Henry Fane Commander-in Chief of the Indian Army, could have been the highest ranked woman at the dinner. The revised Warrant announced by Queen Victoria on 18 October 1876 (pages 85-7) demarcated Brigadier-Generals in India as First Class, Lieutenant Colonels as Third Class, and placed Majors (along with civilians aged twelve to seventeen years!) within the lowest Fourth Class group. An addendum advised, "All ladies to take place according to the rank here'n assigned to their respective husbands, with the exception of wives of Peers, and of ladies having precedence in England independently of their husbands, and who are not in rank below the daughters of Barons; such ladies to take place according to their several ranks with reference to such precedence in England, immediately after the wives of Members of Council at the Presidencies in India." Updated regularly in some Indian States, it is still in existence today. See "Warrant of Precedence," http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/guidline_govt_mp/chap11.pdf, accessed 27 March 2011. The emphasis is in the original.

table.” Unfortunately for Miss Roberts, “The dinner of course was dull, the conversation confined to those common-place topics which may be made agreeable in a family party, but which offer litten [meager] entertainment to a formal circle. After a few hours, wasted in vain attempts to amuse people who belong to the most difficult class in the world, a sort of universal joy takes place at the separation; the guests are glad to go, the hosts are glad to see them depart ... they rejoice that a disagreeable duty has been performed, and that a considerable period will elapse before they shall think themselves called upon to perform it again.” Clearly then, some officers’ wives’ viewed entertaining at home a domestic imposition and an eminently dreary imperial obligation.²⁴

With regard to the imperial currency of an invitation to dine, Miss Roberts provided an unambiguous example of the social significance and ramifications inherent within domestic hospitality. She explained, “With a regiment passing through, the family were anxious to invite all the strangers as well as the individuals composing their own circle, but it could not be accomplished” due to sheer numbers. The *Burra Mem* of the station decided to offer two functions, but “not a soul would condescend to come to tea; it was therefore necessary to make a selection: the married people were asked, and the young men were left to their tents. There was no use in giving them the option of coming in the evening, they would have been offended by so great a mark of disrespect as the supposition that they could be induced to act in a manner so derogatory to their dignity.” Thus, the rigid social protocol could not be short circuited, even by a well-intentioned senior wife. The insistence on exact performance reveals the insecurity of these imperial representatives, who needed

²⁴ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 2, 264-7. Emphasis is in the original. For other examples of obligatory and dull dinner parties see, Parkes, *Wanderings*, 306; Eden, *Up the Country*, 17; Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 79, 182.

standardization of all rituals to ensure that their privileged identity remained stable and intact.²⁵

On the prevalence of such formalities, Miss Roberts continued, “This spirit pervades every part of India; in Calcutta, the seats at a dinner party, vacated by any unforeseen contingency, cannot be filled up; intimate acquaintances, who would readily come in a friendly way at a day's notice, will not submit to stop a gap after invitations to others have been sent out.” Thus, even close friends would not deign to make up numbers for fear that their reputations would be blemished. She further explained that if more than a couple of invitees declined, “the evil becomes very serious ... illnesses or deaths assume the character of affronts, for the guests who fulfill their engagements are, in nine cases out of ten, annoyed at having so few persons to meet them, and receive the apologies of the master and mistress of the house with ill-concealed resentment.” The hostess, therefore, held a responsibility to ensure a goodly number of visitors attended to provide a networking event. The difference from dining in England, apparently, lay in the hospitality afforded to “young men, who in England would feel honoured by being invited to attend the ladies in the drawing-room, must in India be treated with all the respect and consideration due to age and rank; they are offended by any distinction, and the ensign, if invited at all, must be invited with the same form and ceremony observed towards his colonel.” Thus, the officers’ wife held a duty to invite all appropriate guests, schedule the event at an appropriate time, guarantee a high attendance, and ensure that all imperial men receive the correct level of deferential adulation.²⁶

²⁵ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 2, 268.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 268-9.

A failure to appear at a required social ritual could spell disaster for an imperial couple. In December 1856, Surgeon Walter Wells became ill and was unable to attend the many regimental domestic functions. His wife, however, expressed relief that illness provided a *bona fide* excuse for non-attendance. She revealed a lack of interest in imperial sociability, and her general antipathy towards military wives, by noting that she did “not care” about attending regimental balls, as she found it “quite disgusting to see how some married ladies dance and go on in this country.” She then proceeded to criticize the behavior of the Forty-Eighth’s newest bride. “Mr. [Subaltern] Lewin of the Artillery[‘s]” wife had apparently committed a fatal social *faux pas*, as the captain’s wife grumbled, “They are the only people here who have not called upon us as they are neither of them worth knowing.” She righteously continued, “I will not say more ... she is a pretty looking thing and very young and ... her husband is a fool, and in consequence I should not like to be spoken of as she is.” In judging Mrs. Lewin, Mrs. Wells revealed her griping disdain, and the rumormongering that determined that the junior officer’s pretty new wife was unsuitable material for an imperial representative.²⁷

Similarly, the ladies in the American West standardized behaviors within the garrison by creating a distinct model of imperial sociability. The military spouses transported and applied exaggerated social rituals that upheld pretensions of imperial supremacy. In so doing, they did not directly challenge traditional roles prescribed by the Cult of True Womanhood, but extended their sphere of influence. But as Sandra Myres argues, while they gained new freedoms and skills in response to the changed realities of life, the public role and image of womanhood remained static. Thus, templates of female-governed sociability, transported to

²⁷ Frances J. Wells, Letters to her Father, 118-9.

the outer reaches of the American empire, became enhanced and enforced by the officers' wives to ensure imperial status and stability of their identity.²⁸

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly published in 1888 included an article titled "A Lady's Account of Life in the Far West." The author posited, "The ladies, besides overseeing the domestic affairs of their households, entertain largely and elegantly. One of their dinner parties presents a scene pleasant to look upon, as well as to participate in. The table, with its snowy linen, rich china, cut glass, silver, and epergne of fruit in the centre; the ladies in evening toilets of various hues, but all blending so perfectly that the most fastidious could find no fault." The article suggested that "the gentlemen in evening-dress or full-dress uniforms: the bright lights, gay laughter and good cheer, make it also a thoroughly enjoyable occasion." In commendation of the military spouse, the contributor claimed, "The hostess deserves the praise bestowed upon her, for it is not an easy matter to provide for such a dinner party." This published accolade found confirmation in Ellen Biddle's memoirs with, "I soon found that the life here was much more formal Invitations to dinners were sent out a week in advance, and when seated at the table you would not have known you were not in Washington, or some large city, the silver, glass and china were so beautiful." Plainly, the officer's wife stationed at the remote western garrison transported and even exaggerated the eastern middle-class dining model and accoutrements to include snowy linen and an epergne of fruit. Although not operating within the rigid confines of the British Warrant of

²⁸ Coffman, *The Old Army*, 294, 327; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 182; Myres, *Westering Women*, 186, 211-2, 269; Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, 1989), 67; Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 151-174; Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 10-1, 28, 31, 38-9. Evans is a historian.

Precedence, the increased formality, similarly spoke to the need for stability and showcasing of an American imperial gentility.²⁹

These military women also strengthened their version of ambassadorial authority and status by participating in male activities. In expanding the sphere of female occupations, they participated in buffalo hunts, observed bullfights, and attended American Indian Councils. Such activities provided an avenue to discard traditional gender boundaries and experience multi-cultural rituals. Within the domestic space, however, the American officer's wife demonstrated an imperial sociability that reflected class conventions. For example, Alice Grierson successfully created an elegant middle-class home at Fort Davis, transporting luxury furnishings, including a piano, to host formal gatherings. Even her son Charlie, on leave in the East, became a pressed collaborator to ensure lavish hospitality. His mother instructed, "there is one little thing I want you to bring from Jacksonville with you — *'and don't you forget it'* — that little black Japanese matchbox ... [and] the half dozen fancy little sauce plates I left in the dining room closet. Matchboxes and sauce plates are articles we are quite short of." In dutifully offering courteous hospitality to guests considered to hold equal social standing, Mrs. Grierson clearly needed the class markers of plates and matchboxes to legitimize her imperial identity.³⁰

²⁹ *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, vol. 25 (Jan. to June 1888), 187; Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 187, 222-4. Emphasis is in the original. The extract taken from *Frank Leslie's* was from an article entitled "A Lady's Account of Army Life in the Far West."

³⁰ Fougera, *With Custer's Cavalry*, 220; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 64; Leckie, *Colonel's Lady*, 152-4. For a report of the ladies' Christmas entertainments see *Army and Navy Journal*, Jan. 7, 1888. Three officers' wives included details of their participation in a buffalo hunt, see Fougera, *With Custer's Cavalry*, 144-157, Roe, *Army Letters*, 13-5, and Brian Pohanka, ed., "A Summer on the Plains, 1870: From the Diary of Annie Gibson Roberts," in *Custer and His Times Book One*, ed. Paul Hutton (El Paso, 1981), 22, 34; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:1065. Elizabeth Custer "innovatively" attended a Cherokee Indian Council by invitation, see Custer, *Following the Guidon*, 100-2, and Caroline Winne sat with the officers as they negotiated with Sitting Bull and other Lakota Sioux chieftains. Mrs. Winne gave her opinion of the proceedings as, "I do pity these poor wretches, for they are all deceitful," she added, however, "there is no doubt they are dreadfully imposed upon and cheated by the Indian agents and traders. They don't get half that the Govt. sends them, and they are as poor as poverty itself." See Thomas R. Buecker, ed., "Letters of Caroline Frey Winne from Sidney

Officers' wives stationed at the western garrisons, extended hospitality to complete strangers based on the imperial currency of rank. Providing lodgings and meals for new arrivals became an accepted practice. Mrs. Boyd confirmed this duty by recording that in 1870, newly arrived at Camp Bowie, she and her husband "received a hearty welcome, and were feasted and fêted in true army fashion." This exclusive welcome to fellow officers and their families created a cohesive imperial class that used the domestic space to manufacture a cohesive imperial identity. This social ritual, however, was not simply a matter of exchanging pleasantries. As an imperial hostess, Lydia Lane complained, "we had guests to entertain — people passing from one post to another, — and we had more than our fair share of them we became very weary with entertaining people of whom we knew nothing." This obligation to offer hospitality to socially equal visitors, just as the British women admitted, as an onerous duty.³¹

In her role as a guest, rather than a host in the "Western Empire," Frances Grummond revealed her view as an imperial ambassador. Posted to Fort Phil Kearny in 1866, she commented, "The ladies of Sheridan [Wyoming Territory] were charming hostesses in their well-appointed homes. To one born and reared in the East, suddenly transported to the environment of our Western cities, she would observe that the people generally are refined, her equals — if unprejudiced — perhaps *crude* in some things." This coarseness, she maintained, arose from the "delightful freedom manifested in social intercourse." She found

Barracks and Fort McPherson, Nebraska, 1874-1878," *Nebraska History* 62 (Spring 1981):9-10. Frances Boyd and Lydia Lane both found Mexican bullfights tiresome. Mrs. Boyd expressed her disappointment with "to American onlookers it seemed a cruel sport, unworthy of its historic greatness." See Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 288-9, and Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 102, 120. Emphasis is in the original.

³¹ Ibid., 23-4; Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 157. On the day she recorded her complaint Mrs. Lane described offering the hospitality of her home at Fort Inge, to three ungrateful "citizens," a "young German baron," and "a Texas Ranger, Captain Walker . . . who was employed by the government to look after the Indians on the Western frontier." It is possible that Mrs. Lane entertained Captain Samuel Walker who collaborated with Samuel Colt to produce the Colt Walker revolver.

“the dress of the women according to prevailing modes elsewhere, and with pompadoured hair; indeed the marcel wave was at high tide, the desideratum of women who make concessions to prevailing modes not determined by geographical lines.” Despite Mrs. Grummond’s ostentatious narrative style, she offers some insightful and witty observations. For example, she noted, “A bright Western woman recently said in an Eastern Convention of Women, that ‘there were but two classes in the West, the quick and the dead.’ Sufficient has been said on this point indicating that the ladies of Sheridan do not belong to the latter class.” Thus, as an officer’s wife she regarded western civilian society not quite of imperial caliber — but as “equals” with a rider — “quick,” somewhat “refined,” yet even with their fashionable pompadour styles and marcel waves she considered them “crude,” clearly unsuitable as ambassadors of the nation.³²

The American military hostess, then, held an obligation to control, dress, behave, decorate, and provide imperial hospitality. It appears that in addition to demonstrating these cultural and social graces, officers’ wives needed to conform to a biological type. In private letters to her family, Helen, the wife of Captain William Chapman of the Second Artillery stationed at Fort Brown, described a remarkable, yet ungainly military lady. Maria, the wife of Major David Hunter, an army paymaster, stationed in Matamoros in 1848, failed to fit Mrs. Chapman’s ideal of a feminine imperial representative. Apparently, Mrs. Hunter had “large and white” hands and “largeness of wrists,” coupled with “too much spirit to be exactly a fine lady” thus ensuring her unacceptability. The spirited wide-wristed woman, nonetheless, became likeable despite being “rather dictatorial, and fond of power.” With

³² Carrington, *My Army Life*, 236, 238-9. Inspired by Jeanne Poison — official mistress of the King of France Louis XV — the pompadour hairstyle with its heavy backcombing and bouffant arrangement gained popularity in eighteenth-century France. The “marcel wave” also originated in France in 1872, and consisted of horizontal curls manufactured by curling tongs. Carrington’s narrative, published in 1910, made reference to this hairstyle as fashionable in 1866. Emphasis is in the original.

regard to the Hunter marriage Mrs. Chapman ventured that the Major “has the feminine, she the masculine qualities and she controls [him], not always delicately However, his chains hang very lightly, for she never annoys him with trifles, adapts herself perfectly to every situation, never frets at inconvenience, makes him perfectly comfortable, entertains company handsomely, and makes a delightful home for him.” This case study offers an example of an almost complete transfer of gendered authority, as according to Mrs. Chapman, large hands and an excess of spirit allowed Mrs. Hunter to have masculine control over her husband.³³

In taking an authoritative role in the remote settlements of the empires, officers’ wives gained visibility, but this visibility had its cost — a concomitant vulnerability to criticism. In considering the British women in India, Jane Haggis argues that “Colonialism and empire have both been seen as a boys own frontier by participants and historical researchers alike.” In this setting, *memsahibs* gained notice as “indolent, pampered socialites.” In focusing on the Anglo community, and the reconfiguration made to middle-class social rituals to craft a template of imperial sociability, it becomes apparent why officers’ wives acquired such bad press.³⁴

Mrs. Ricketts contemplated the underlying causes for such a rise to notoriety. She insisted, “In India it is one of the conspicuous facts of life that everybody knows everybody

³³ Caleb Coker, ed., *The News from Brownsville: Helen Chapman’s Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852* (Austin, 1992), xviii, 9, 13-4, 26; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:296, 355, 557. Following Taylor’s military successes in the Mexican American War, Colonel William Davenport commanded an occupying force that remained in Matamoros to enforce martial law. Captain Chapman acted as the assistant quartermaster in this Mexican city. Although Mrs. Chapman described Major Hunter as completely feminized, he was Commander of the Department of the South during the American Civil War. His General Order No. 11 issued in 1862, freed the slaves in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Lincoln fearing a political backlash from the border states quickly rescinded the order. Hunter earned the nickname of “Black Dave,” and gained additional notice as the chair of the committee who tried the conspirators involved in the assassination of Lincoln. See Edward J. Miller, *Lincoln’s Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter* (Columbia, 1997).

³⁴ Haggis, “Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender,” 105.

else's affairs. Nothing that could affect the reputation of any member of the community ever passes unnoticed. No skeleton is ever permitted to rest in its cupboard." Paralleling this social control, however, ran a "live and let live" standpoint, "inscribed above the portals of Anglo-Indian society." This "dangerously elastic" situation occurred, posited the author, because of the lack of "sobering influences" provided by children, retirees, and English servants. Fortunately, according to Mrs. Ricketts, this unrestrained type of person populated the minority. Most members of the Anglo-Indian society, she proclaimed, "are the pillars which are at once the support and its ornament, and it is in their clean, strong hands that the fame of the great Indian Empire rests."³⁵

In considering women in India, Thomas Tausky claims, "For all that she played no part in the administration of British India, the *memsahib* ... has figured prominently in the complex mythology of that society [she] has been portrayed as heroine, martyr and villainess." Various nineteenth-century commentators and current researchers interpreted the attitudes, actions, and representations of British women in India as detrimental to imperial harmony. For example, John Morris, a retiree from the Gurkha Rifles, succinctly expressed the male disdain with "Most of them started out as perfectly reasonable, decent English girls, and many of them in the course of time developed into what I can only describe as the most awful old harridans." Nineteenth-century novelist Sarah Duncan, the Canadian wife of an East Indian civil servant working in Calcutta, described the English *memsahib* in a very unflattering light. During her first "at home" to callers, the novel's protagonist, Helen Browne, received advice and information from her female callers. "It's really awfully frivolous here," [a] Mrs. Toote remarked. "Don't you think so — after England?" "But are the ladies all frivolous?" Helen asked. "Oh, dear, no! And the unfrivolous ones — what do

³⁵ Ricketts, "English Society in India," 684-5, 688.

they do?’ ‘They mess about with charities, and keep their husbands in their pockets, and write eternal letters to their children in England. I’ve less patience with them than with the other kind,’ Mrs. Toote avowed.”³⁶

Mrs. Toote preferred flippant imperial woman, yet why did these claims become generated and more importantly, what purpose did they serve? A female observer in British India argued that cultural rituals undertaken at the Clubs encouraged such accusations. Found in every station, this social establishment, with its “green lawns, cooling drinks, a multitude of English papers, a library, tennis, racquet and badminton courts, bridge tables, and Billiard rooms,” fuelled the claims of frivolity and scandal – a charge this female author vehemently denied. Similarly, Valentine Prinsep blamed the holiday atmosphere of a hill station for the allegations of indiscretion. He opined, “At length I have left Simla and its civilized gaieties and scandals, and can resume my journal with some chance of recording

³⁶ Sarah J. Duncan, *The Simple Adventures of a Memsahib*, ed. Thomas E. Tausky (Ottawa, 1986), vii, 112-114; Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, 212-4. In the introduction to Duncan’s novel, Tausky a literary scholar, catalogues the works that cast the *memsahib* in her three roles. With regard to typecasting as a villain, see Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills* (New York, 1889), 14-8, 53-9, 92-7, 118-123, 148-154, 163-7, 224-9; Edward M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (New York, 1924), 11, 214. According to David Cannadine critics consisted of “non-official British inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and other commercial centers, who resented the power and snobbery” of the official imperial set. For a discussion on scholarly critics see Nupur Chaudhuri, and Margaret Strobel, “Introduction,” in *Western Women and Imperialism*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, 1992) 3-4. Examples of historians who interpreted the *memsahibs*’ attitudes as racist and frivolous are, Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India* (London, 1963); John K. Stanford, *Ladies in the Sun: The Memsahibs India 1760-1860* (London, 1962); Mark Nadis, “Evolution of the Sahibs,” *The Historian* 19 (1975): 425-35. Scholarly inquiry that temper this stereotype includes, Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, 125-9; Michael Edwardes, *Bound to Exile: The Victorians in India* (New York, 1970), 173-185; Geoffrey Moorhouse, *India Britannica* (New York, 1983), 121-3; Indira Ghose, “The Memsahib Myth: Englishwomen in Colonial India,” in *Women and Others: Perspectives on Race, Gender, and Empire*, eds. Celia Daileader, Rhoda E. Johnson and Amilcar Shabazz (New York, 2007), 107-128; Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana, 1987), 3-30; Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire*, 1-15; Knapman, *White Women of Fiji*, 4-18, 175. Allen takes the negative female image a step further to assert that the Strobel examines and debunks “the myth of the destructive woman” by underscoring scholarship that links the arrival of European women with greater immigration of men and women, larger Indian land holdings, increased racism, and the Evangelistic impulse to eradicate concubinage. She does accept, however, that the elaboration of transported social rituals – managed and controlled by women – preserved and patrolled the social boundaries and racial distances. In her analysis of the hero and villain *memsahib* stereotypes, Knapman asserts that such categorizing reveals “more about the values of the authors, and the pervasive values of our society, than about the attitudes and behavior of men and women in multi-racial societies.”

therein something more than the flirtation of Captain A. with Mrs. B., or the quarrels and jealousies of C. and his wife.” He considered the society at Simla “a curious study ... like an English watering-place gone mad. Real sociability does not exist. People pair off directly they arrive at a party ... [and] do not trouble themselves about the general hilarity. Indeed, the *muffin* system, like that in Canada, is the order of the day [There arose the] most frequent and terrible squabbles, especially among the fair sex, and it is difficult to find two of the dear creatures who are on friendly terms.” Hence, these two commentators regarded imperial society in India far less reserved and straight-laced than that at home — a curious study indeed.³⁷

This derogatory image of the imperial community made good copy, and women became targeted as the culprits. An 1891 critique of Rudyard Kipling’s work, published in *The Fortnightly Review*, included a review of *Plain Tales of the Raj*. “Here, then,” reported contributor Francis Adams, “we have at last the Anglo-Indian ‘society’ life of to-day, and we see it from every side. Duty and red-tape tempered by picnics and adultery — it is a singular spectacle. But we are to ascribe much, very much, to the climate.” Sir Edward Buck, however, described the good works of Ladies Lansdowne, Elgin, and Curzon to counter such indictments, “Surely,” he asked, “it is women such as these who have done, and who continue to do, more to raise the tone of Simla society, its morals, and its general influence than a dozen carping detractors of ordinary innocent amusements.” Buck concluded, “The Anglo-Indian lives 'en evidence' from morning till night and night till morning, and many a peccadillo is enlarged into a scandal in consequence, in which a

³⁷ Ricketts, “English Society in India,” 683; Val C. Prinsep, *Imperial India: An Artist’s Journal* (London, 1879), 262, 267. Prinsep was a nineteenth-century Royal Academy artist touring India. The term *muffin* is Canadian slang for a woman who accompanies the same male to all social occasions. Emphasis is in the original.

Londoner might indulge and go scot-free. Society at home is not, as many suppose, more irreproachable than it is at Calcutta and Simla; and perhaps were the recording angels to compare records, London could not show quite so clean a bill of moral health as would our Eastern City of Palaces.” In comparing the major urban centers of England and India, Buck underscored a pivotal element of life as a representative of empire; the obligation to act, both in private and public, as an unquestionable model of British civility and respectability.³⁸

Maud Diver also attempted to rescue the *memsahib* from such character assassinations by positing, “that Englishwomen are disposed to pass judgment on their Anglo-Indian sisters, as a class, is undeniable. From pedestals of sober respectability and energetic industry, they denounce [women in India] as idle, frivolous, and luxury-loving.” Male accounts of decadent behavior also fuelled such finger-pointing. Colonel Robert J. Blackham, Honorable Surgeon to the Viceroy of India, provided an example of a parlour game popular in Simla at the turn of the twentieth century. He candidly revealed, “the men went underneath and the ladies sat round the edge of a large table, dangling their legs. The men were allowed to inspect as far as the knee and to recognize the fair competitors by what we call ... their lower extremities” — perhaps not the best choice of entertainment for showcasing respectability. Diver, nonetheless, had to concede “that a surface glance [at the British women in India] ... would appear to justify much of the unsparing criticism” but that “it would be well for those at home to realize ... the special dangers and difficulties problems and perplexities” that converted some females into “Anglo-Indian” women

³⁸ Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 173; Francis Adams, “Rudyard Kipling,” *The Fortnightly Review* 56 (January to December 1891): 692; Buck, *Simla Past and Present*, 174. *The Fortnightly Review*, a highly popular and influential British magazine, ran during the years 1865-1954. It reacted to partisan journalism and was the first journal to use contributors’ names instead of pseudonyms. See Mark W. Turner, “Hybrid Journalism: Women and the Progressive Fortnightly,” in *Journalism, Literature and Modernity: From Hazlitt to Modernism*, ed. Kate Campbell (Edinburgh, 2000), 72-90.

frivolous, and free and easy in both mind and manners.” She concluded her defense, however, by supporting Buck and contending that “India’s heroines and martyrs far outnumber her social sinners; and it is a fact of which English men and women may justly feel proud.”³⁹

Officer’s wife, Florence Marryat supported Diver’s rebuttal to declare, “I believe the charge of extra levity against ladies in India to be unfounded, and to have taken its rise simply in the reason that there are, comparatively speaking, so few of them, and those few have so much leisure, that liaisons and flirtations, that we should at home have no time to talk about, are considered sufficient to form matter of discussion for a whole cantonment abroad.” This excess time fuelled intrigue and rumormongering. Questions such as “Who Mrs. So-and-so is flirting with now, and why Captain Dash is to be seen constantly at Suchaone’s house, are untiring themes for inquiry and decision; and the idle gossip which I have heard repeated about men and women, whom I believed to be entirely innocent of any intention beyond showing friendship towards one another, has sickened me of listening to scandal about any one.” Indeed, she concluded, “The women who were fondest of relating such stories, I generally found to be those most open to suspicion themselves.” Hence, the consensus among detractors, apologists, commentators, and imperial women alike, was that females enjoyed greater freedoms to interact with males than was the case at home. Despite Kipling’s condemnation of life as “duty and red-tape tempered by picnics and adultery,” most accounts understood that the British in India, whose behavior mirrored the urban centers in England, lived under extreme scrutiny. As imperial representatives officers’ wives, however, held a responsibility to model an impossible ideal. Inappropriate behavior

³⁹ Diver, *Englishwoman in India*, 5-8, 10, 25-6; Colonel Robert Blackham, *Scalpel, Sword, and Stretcher: Forty Years of Work and Play* (London, 1931), 194.

and any hint of sexual indiscretions quickly became not just local or regional, but national knowledge that held ramifications for an entire empire.⁴⁰

In considering and comparing the nineteenth-century military protocol in the United States, Darlis Miller suggests that the army, like American society at large, observed a double sexual standard that tolerated “male indiscretions,” but punished “outward promiscuity” exhibited by a wife. Here, then, is an explanation as to why females bore the brunt of criticism in both India and the West. The gendered construction of behavior implicitly included acceptance of a certain level of masculine excesses. As Miller observes, the female role met with no such tolerance.⁴¹

For example, Duane Greene, former lieutenant of the Sixth Cavalry, penned a vicious exposé of the American army wife. Published in 1880, the prose read like the very worst kind of sensational reporting. The disgruntled officer opined, “the presence of ladies in the Army is prejudicial to good order and military discipline,” and blamed these wives for forcing men to neglect duties and disobey orders. He continued his rant with “A lady of fine social qualities, whose husband may be an irredeemable drunkard, a disgrace to the Army ... insures his commission by the adroit manipulation of her admirers. If he stands condemned before a court-martial, she may be the means of his salvation. Her artfully planned supplicants ... restore[s] her lord to all the dignity of his former rank and position. Thus the nation, as well as the Army, feels her power.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Marryat, *Gup*, 38-9. Procida offers the following observation regarding the character assassination of military wives in India, “The problem with the memsahib, according to her many critics, was that she was both spoiled and lazy ... and revelled in her status as the Colonel’s wife.” Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 81.

⁴¹ Darlis A. Miller, “Foragers, Army Women, and Prostitutes,” in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives* (Albuquerque, 1986), 142.

⁴² Duane M. Greene, *Ladies and Officers of the United States Army, or American Aristocracy, A Sketch of the Social Life and Character of the Army* (Chicago, 1880), 4, 16, 27-8; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:474. Greene, according to Edward Coffman, was forced to resign on 31 December 1877 following several instances

The former officer continued his diatribe with, “there is more caste distinction among the ladies of the Army than among its officers,” and continued, “when *Mrs.* General A meets *Mrs.* Captain B, she assumes an air of superiority which is incompatible with her intellectual accomplishments. *Mrs.* Captain B realizes that *Mrs.* General A is her inferior in everything that distinguishes a lady, but is too polite to show that she notices her pomposity, and charitably covers it with the veil of submission.” Additionally Greene warned, “jealousy and imaginary slights produce much of the unpleasantness,” and many wives, “are inflated with aristocratic ideas [with no] desire for anything but ‘brass buttons,’ costly dresses, fine dinners, and flirtations with bachelors.” Recognizing more than just a penchant for frocks, food, and flirtations, he announced, “The ladies do not only manipulate the social affairs of the Army, but they are the power behind the throne which directs the administration of much of the official business.” The commanding officer’s wife, Greene complained, “chooses the garrison of the Headquarters Posts ... designates the companies ... most agreeable to her He [the commander] is simply her executive, and through him she persecutes with an excess of onerous and unpleasant duties all officers who are unwilling to ‘bow and sue for grace.’” While attacking the officers’ spouses, Lieutenant Greene, possibly inadvertently, revealed the officers’ wives’ access to social, political and economic power. A wife who could gather male supporters to defend a drunken husband at a court martial, and successfully pleaded his case, plainly commanded considerable influence. If she was the “power behind the throne” and her husband merely the “executive,” there was no doubt, in this officer’s opinion, who held the ultimate imperial authority.⁴³

of questionable behavior. Charges included an alleged seduction of, and adultery with, a fellow officer’s spouse. See Coffman, *The Old Army*, 284-5.

⁴³ Greene, *American Aristocracy*, 31-2, 34, 38-9, 61-3. Emphasis in the original.

The requirement for officers to proffer obeisance to military wives was not a one-way ritual. The ladies also held an obligation, albeit potentially a pleasant one, to provide company and conversation for the commissioned bachelors. In 1868, Annie, the daughter of Colonel George Getty of the Thirty-Seventh Infantry, and fiancée of Captain Charles McClure of the Subsistence Department, Fort Union, recorded a dinner party held at the home of Mrs. Casey. Miss Getty remarked, “there were nothing but married men there so we did not have as nice a time as at the other posts.” To an eastern onlooker, just as the British at home viewed the imperial wives in India, this agreeable element of sociability appeared incongruent with the ideals of female gentility. These friendly, and perhaps flirtatious, interpersonal relationships between the married women and single men, however, constituted a duty at the isolated posts. As Elizabeth Custer explained, “Officers all watch and guard the women who share their hardships. Even the ... bachelor officers ... soon fall into a sort of fatherly fashion of looking out for the comfort and safety of the women It often happens that a comrade, going on a scout, gives his wife into their charge. I think of a hundred kindly deeds shown to all of us on the frontier; and I have known of acts so delicate that I can hardly refer to them with sufficient tact.” She continued, “In the instance of some very young women ... I have known a little word of caution to be spoken regarding some exuberance of conduct sometimes, when we went into the States ... it would not occur to us ... [that] the freedom and absolute naturalness of manner that arose from our long and intimate relationship in isolated posts, ought perhaps to give way to more formal conduct [so] that we might satisfy the exactions of that censorious group of elderly women who sat in hotel parlors.” The colonel’s wife concluded her dialogue to justify, even further, this unusual custom of married women dancing, walking, and visiting — unchaperoned — with young

officers. She also mentioned that lone officers would police male candidates for imperial membership, by sending word that “they did not want us to continue to cultivate someone of whom we knew nothing, save that he was agreeable. How my husband thanked them ... and said his say about what he owed to men who would not let a woman they valued be even associated with anyone who might reflect on them.” She delineated the difference between civilian and military life with, “A man is supposed to be the custodian of his own household in civil life; but it must be remembered that in our life a husband had often to leave a young and inexperienced bride to the care of his comrades, while he went off for months of field duty. The grateful tears rise now in my eyes at the recollection of men who guarded us from the very semblance of evil as if we had been their sisters.” Mrs. Custer clearly explained the facts to justify mixed-sex relationships as purely natural, kindly, and paternal.⁴⁴

Despite Elizabeth’s “grateful tears,” Lieutenant Greene disputed such innocence, claiming that a patent sexuality existed within these “intimate relationship[s].” He commented, “It is a recognized privilege of an Army lady to call upon any officer for a favor in the absence of her husband.” To support this assertion, he provided an example of the independence and authority of an indisposed woman who invited male guests to her home — in predictably derogatory prose. He salaciously recounted, “here she [the officer’s wife] held her little court, all the bachelors and some of the married gentlemen nightly gathering at her bedside, smoking and drinking, and entertaining her with songs. Madame de Staël surrounded by the most distinguished men of her time, discussing literature, politics, and philosophy, was not happier than this woman, who exclaimed on one of these occasions, ‘I’m in my glory now!’ Her husband, hearing of her ‘indisposition,’ came and took her back to his station.” Undeniably, this officer’s wife shattered Victorian gender boundaries by

⁴⁴ Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, 176-7.

entertaining bachelors in her bedroom. Additionally, she enjoyed the freedom to actively participate in cultural and political discourse. In so doing, this American “Madame de Staël” blatantly ignored the confines of the traditional middle-class female space and role to take full advantage of her autonomy as an imperial hostess.⁴⁵

Officers’ wives in both British India and the American West, then, garnered substantial freedoms, and an influential and visible role. This very power, nevertheless, triggered a female vulnerability to public notice. Dinner parties, although located within the domestic domain, became an integral element of the empire, providing a space for military women to gain access to heretofore male knowledge and the ability to assemble imperial power. Military spouses, as social arbiters of empire, designed the events and ensured compliance with all requirements of etiquette. As confidantes, wives shared many military, economic, and political conversations. As consultants, they cultivated male members of the imperial coterie, and negotiated, not military tactics, nor political treaties, but a shift into the masculine world of information. In so doing, they proceeded to access and possibly influence the male decision-making process. As in British India, the unconventional model of sociability constructed by officers’ wives in the American West created a backlash of scorn and contempt. The negative response did not reach the heights of the British national level, but clearly caused comment. Despite this, officers’ wives, in both imperial peripheries, acted as national hosts and ambassadors, holding a duty to offer hospitality — a welcome that intrinsically permitted or refused access to power .

⁴⁵ Annie Getty to Anna (last name unknown), 4 October 1868, Gibson-Getty-McClure Family Papers, Box 5, Library of Congress; Greene, *American Aristocracy*, 76, 80; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 452, 657. The lady who “held court” in her bedroom probably remained at her husband’s permanent post while her husband was on a detached duty. Greene likens the unconventional officer’s spouse to the French Enlightenment salon host Madame de Staël, who actively engaged in supposed subversive political and philosophical discourse, so much so that, Napoleon Bonaparte ordered her to be kept under surveillance.

In comparing the experiences of the British and American spouses, it is apparent that both sets of women constructed a new social reality complete with reflective, but exaggerated rituals of the core societies. Formal calling, in both British India and the American West, operated as a national duty. This informal social process transported from the home nations, became a process to sift out unsuitable pretenders to the imperial class and its innate privileges. Officers' wives held roles as designers, managers, and gatekeepers of the imperial communities, gaining substantially greater power than their sisters at home. Formal calling acted in both locations as a means to vet imperial aspirants. In British India, disciplined visiting protocol utilized both cards and visitors books. The pervasiveness of calling as a central element of imperial duty occupied much of a woman's time. This ritual, as Christian Showers-Sterling complained, invaded her private time and intimate space, with its endless "curtsies and handshaking." In the American West, calling cards appear to have been equally prevalent, but less formal. Behind the veil of obligatory cordiality in both imperial sites lay a mechanism to create and sustain a privileged network whose members accessed, legitimized, and exercised power. Indeed, the forced resignation of an American officer following Mrs. Custer's interview plainly illustrates the level of authority wielded by an officer's wife. These military women, then, shared similar experiences in garnering a substantial amount of female power in the imperial holdings, unavailable to women in the core territories. They exclusively regulated the calling process, determined markers of suitability, awarded entrance to those whom they deemed fit, and rejected, sometimes ruinously, unsuitable applicants.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 120-1.

Dining, as an attendant imperial duty, required officers' wives to perform as unpaid event planners. Both sets of women held high-profile imperial roles as social architects, logisticians, administrators, directors, food and beverage managers, and gracious hosts. Again, the British women operated under the stifling strictures of the Warrant of Precedence. The Americans, although less regulated, also held obligations to offer hospitality to all commissioned visitors, even when doing so became, as Lydia Lane confessed, a duty both tedious tiresome. Thus, the officers' wives in both locales generated female power through their positions as imperial hosts. In vetting membership, and through influencing high ranking military and political statesmen, these women gained access to knowledge and considerable authority and, as Lieutenant Greene revealed, became the power behind the throne.

This female empowerment, nevertheless, held a downside. Noticeability of efforts in India, to construct a reflective, yet adapted model of middle-class sociability, became subject of national censorship and disparagement. The *memsahib's* reputation deteriorated empire-wide, into one of laziness, frivolity, and disrepute generating claims that women caused the ruin of the empire. In recalling the parlor game of dangling female limbs over a dining table with men scuttling about underneath, one can perhaps understand why. In the American West, the reputations of the military spouses received less public attention. These women obviously generated greater autonomy to visit, dance, and dine with the unattached men stationed at the isolated forts. This alteration to mainstream gendered behaviors remained somewhat hidden, reaching institutional and local level only. Acting as gatekeepers of the imperial set, these women manipulated gender boundaries and practices to substantially increase female access to power and privilege. Consideration of the dynamics

within the Anglo community, however, only tells half the story. To understand more fully the authority and impact made by nineteenth-century officers' wives, in India and America, the dialogue must shift to examine attitudes and behaviors towards servants employed in the home. In considering domestic racial and class prejudices, a more complete picture emerges that identifies the erstwhile overlooked authority and empowerment of imperial women.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Callaway, *Gender, Culture, and Empire*, 3-29, 227-241; Charles Allen, *Raj: A Scrapbook of British India, 1877-1947* (London, 1977), 88. Callaway wrestles with the enduring claim that white women, as racists and isolationists, caused the ruin of the British Empire. This representation evolved from novels and popular media as confirmed by Allen's compilation of oral histories that reports, "It has often been said that all the worst faults of the Raj — its petty intolerance, its prejudices and snobberies, its cold-hearted arrogance — stemmed from the *memsahib*." In the 1970s scholarly works generally supported this image, Miller ventured that the British *memsahib* was "the most noxious figure in the annals of British imperialism." See Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex, and Class: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London, 1980); Michael Banton, "Urbanization and the Colour Line in Africa," in *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*, ed. Victor Turner, 256-285 (Cambridge, 1971); Fernando Henriques, *Children of Caliban: Miscegenation* (London, 1974); Charles H. Miller, *Khyber: British India's Northwest Frontier, The Story of an Imperial Migraine* (London, 1977), 46. In an attempt to dispel such negative stereotyping Gartell argues that a few antagonistic wives in Uganda deserved such blame, but most, however, were victims of oppression caused by the rigidity of colonial society, thus rendered completely powerless. Brownfoot examines *memsahibs* in Malaya to posit that men controlled British women's activities within a protected enclave, then criticized them for such a limited social presence. She maintains that women gained some "onerous" power, as they were held responsible for upholding the prestige and status of the white community. In an interesting twist Callaway's examination of the Nigerian colonization effort from 1900-60, she agrees that women helped the downfall of empire. Most women arrived in Nigeria in the 1900s when independence was forecast. Their efforts towards education, health, and welfare "contributed to the loss of Empire by helping to gain the Commonwealth. The 'masculine' ethos of the imperial era — characterized by hierarchy, authority, control and paternalism — had to be replaced by ... 'feminine' modes required for the 'family of nations' — sympathetic understanding ... diplomacy and flexibility." See Beverly Gartrell, "Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?" in *The Incorporated Wife*, eds. Helen Callan and Shirley Ardener, 164-186 (London, 1984); Janice N. Brownfoot, "Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya: A Study of European Wives in a British Colony and Protectorate, 1900-1940," in *The Incorporated Wife*, eds. Helen Callan and Shirley Ardener, 186-210 (London, 1984).

CHAPTER IX

IMPERIAL WIVES' PREJUDICE:

ATTITUDES OF RACE, ETHNICITY, AND CLASS TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD

SERVANTS

*I always felt the keenest sympathy with the action of an officer in our regiment, who, aggravated at the slow and solemn manner in which a young Mussulman in his employ was carrying a pile of plates ... jumped up, and regardless of the fate of his crockery, gave the tardy domestic such an energetic kick that he sent him flying, plates and all, down a flight of some dozen steps, into the garden Their [Indian] characters may be summed up in a word: the men are cruel, crafty, and indolent; the women notoriously vicious.
Florence Marryat.⁴⁸*

Adding to the hostility articulated by Mrs. Marryat towards Indian servants, a British journalist traveling through post-Mutiny India recorded the symbolic value of a white complexion. On arrival at Allahabad he noted, “At the gateway of the bridge ... Sikh sentries are on duty, who examine all natives, and force them to produce their passes; but on seeing my white face they present arms. My skin is the passport — it is a guarantee of my rank. In India I am at once one of the governing class — an aristocrat in virtue of birth — a peer of the realm; a being specially privileged and exempted from the ordinary laws of the State.” Adding an internal layer to imperial status, a gentleman’s advice manual advised on the role of an imperial male: “we occupy in India, a double social position; that which belongs to us among our friends, and that which belongs to us in the market, in the hotel, or at the dinner table, by virtue of our servants. Please yourself ... in the choice of your personal friends and companions, but as regards your servants keep up your standards.” Maria Graham remarked not upon a white complexion, or on the prestige afforded by one’s domestic workers, but specifically on being British. She observed, “Calcutta, like London, is ... peopled by inhabitants from every country in the world. Chinese and Frenchmen, Persians

⁴⁸ Marryat, *Gup*, 35.

and Germans, Arabs and Spaniards, Armenians and Portuguese, Jews and Dutchmen, are seen mixing with the Hindoos and English, the original inhabitants and the actual possessors of the country. This mixture of nations ought, I think, to weaken national prejudices; but, among the English at least, the effect seems diametrically opposite. Every Briton appears to pride himself on being outrageously a John Bull.”⁴⁹

On the American frontier, although not likening herself to Uncle Sam, Frances Roe accompanied her husband to his new position in the Department of the Platte Headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska. She complained of missing army life at Fort Shaw, and felt restricted and uncomfortable in the city, being “not of the Army — neither are we citizens.” Mixing with female civilians she reported that “All the women here have such white skins, and by comparison I must look like a Mexican, my face is so brown from years of exposure to dry, burning winds.” Used to the attention afforded to her as an imperial ambassador, she added, “It is the feeling of loneliness I mind here — of being lost and no one to search for me I shall never forget how queer I felt when I heard myself discussed by perfect strangers in my very presence — not one of whom knew in the least who I was. It made me think that perhaps I was shadowy — invisible.” Complaining of her tanned skin, then, she used a biological reference to indicate a lack of imperial whiteness, a central indicator of nationality. In addition, the citizens of Omaha failed to acknowledge her status or assign value to her as an American ambassador. The awareness of her presence as “shadowy” and “invisible” plainly caused her discomfort and fostered a desire to return to her “cheery garrison.”⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Russell, *My Diary*, 59; Edward H. Aitken, *Behind the Bungalow* (Calcutta, 1889), 5-6; Graham, *Journal*, 139. Edward Aitken served as a Customs and Salt duties collector in Bombay. John Bull, a jolly, rotund middle-aged country farmer, wearing a waistcoat, breeches and frockcoat, is the personification of the English nation. First created by Dr John Arbuthnot in 1712, this symbolic middle-class (indicated by his shallow-crowned top hat) male is still visible in twenty-first century popular culture.

⁵⁰ Roe, *Army Letters*, 364-6.

The racial marker of skin color was accompanied by the requirement to display a loyalty to American manufactures at all times and in all things. Captain John Bourke observed of Prescott, Arizona, the post-Civil War home of the Military Department of Arizona, that it “preserved the distinction of being thoroughly American Its inhabitants were Americans; American men had brought American wives out with them from their old homes in the Far East, and these American wives had not forgotten the lessons of elegance and thrift learned in childhood.” He continued, “The houses were built in American style; the doors were American doors and fastened with American bolts and locks, opened by American knobs There were carpets, mirrors, rocking chairs, tables, lamps, and all other appurtenances There were American books, American newspapers, American magazines — the last intelligently read. The language was American, and nothing else The stores were American stores, selling nothing but American goods.”⁵¹

Within the British and American imperial landscapes, then, white skins and the transportation and display of national artifacts provided the foundation of identity and authority. Race is described by today’s scholars as an elastic social construction, yet in the nineteenth century a person’s physiognomy in particular skin color, provided the central defining marker. In India and the American West military wives viewed their new neighbors through the prism of Anglo prejudice. They utilized complexion and cultural difference as vehicles of subordination, constructing a binary opposite to reify the white imperialists. Focusing solely on the home, it becomes clear that the relationships these women developed with their servants mirrored the larger ideologies of the empire. The home in India, scholars argue, operated as a microsite of imperial governance. The white occupying minority insisted on discipline and respect to subdue and control indigenous peoples. An officer’s

⁵¹ Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 159-160.

wife not only utilized these principles within her home, but concomitantly personified and thus legitimized Anglo superiority. Thus, in the remote military stations private and public spaces collapsed, leading Steven Patterson to contend that homes and households “represent the ground zero of empire in India.” In testing this assertion by comparing the British and American imperial practices, it becomes clear that officers’ wives held critical roles in the maintenance of empire. Within the domestic space these women both racially censured East Indian, American Indian, Mexican American, African American, and Chinese staff, and feminized the male other. Additionally, they subordinated — through class — their Anglo servants. In so doing, they constructed an empowered female identity that reinforced imperial superiority and authority at the most intimate point of contact.⁵²

The nineteenth-century domestic role in India cannot be directly aligned with that of a British wife. The greater availability of leisure *time* facilitated the construction of a female imperial identity. An officer’s wife’s time, made available at the cost of removing power from the retinue of servants under her employ, was dedicated, according to Mary Procida, “to the work of the Empire.” Wives having no recognizable role as a working, philanthropic, or domestic woman, understood their occupation as that of their husbands, and entered this employment on the 1881 *Census of India* returns. Despite this awareness of imperial work, officials altered the record to classify women employed in the home as “unoccupied.” This move officially removed any claim to an imperial appointment and buttressed the assumption that all wives generated identity and purpose through housekeeping chores. Yet, argues

⁵² Ian F. Haney López, “The Making of Race, Sex, and Empire,” in *An Introduction to Women’s Studies: Gender in a Transnational World*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, (New York, 2002), 52, 54-5; Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 87; Steven Patterson, *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India* (New York, 2009), 167-207. Procida examines imperialism through the female experience within the home, while historian Patterson’s similar focus analyzes issues of honor and masculinity.

Procida, “the central paradox of the Anglo-Indian domestic life, as indeed of the Raj itself, was that the crucial mechanism for running the home and empire were entrusted to Indians, with the British relegated to the role of symbolic, if authoritative, presence.”⁵³

An officer’s wife then needed to manage her household as the “ground zero” of empire, through confidence, power, and command. With no real experience of how to project such an image, household manuals attempted to coach women in India on how to perform the unofficial service of empire. Flora Steel and Grace Gardiner counseled, “In India, the attention of the mistress is infinitely more needed,” and if she failed to supervise her staff rigorously “she will find the servants fall into their old habits This must be faced as a necessary condition of life until a few generations of training shall have started the Indian servant on a new inheritance of habit.” According to the domestic experts learning the language ranked as the first duty in imperial supervision. Indeed, army officers commissioned to serve in India had to pass the Lower Standard Urdu Examination within one year of taking up duty. This requirement to communicate in the *lingua franca* was essential to gain respect, maintain relationships, and enforce order in the ranks. Although the government sponsored three-month courses in Urdu for the British women, only one officer’s wife mentioned attending such a course. In their recollections most communicated little more than the most rudimentary knowledge of the language. Indeed, E. M. Forster

⁵³ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 82, 84, 90; Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink, and Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract, and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London, 1999), 28; “Census of India 1881,” <http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/dcd/census1881.htm>, accessed 15 January 2012. Author’s emphasis. Imperial governance in India rested on gaining the respect of the indigenous peoples through cooperation, order and discipline. This prohibited interference in social and cultural customs, thus women could not participate in formal philanthropic efforts. Charitable aid could only be offered to female staff, female relatives and children.

considered that a Memsahib “learned the lingo ... only to speak to her servants, so she knew none of the politer forms and of the verbs only the imperative mood.”⁵⁴

The officers’ wives’ resistance to learning Urdu, despite the sage advice from Mesdames Steel and Gardiner, appears curious. An explanation offered by the wife of a civil servant (Madras Woods and Forest Department) indicated that Englishwomen understood more of the language than they revealed. In so doing they could issue orders effectively, and eavesdrop on servants’ conversation. This strategy she considered “a good plan on the whole though we did not relish all we caught.” Florence Marryat, however, revealed a perhaps more accurate justification. She recounted “a lady going out to India nowadays has no more need to speak the language than she would have to speak French on going to Paris ... I was rather desirous at first of studying Hindustani with my husband, but he would not permit me to do so.” Mrs. Marryat apparently overcame her disappointment as she advised “Afterwards I saw the sense of his decision; for as he was either quartermaster or adjutant of his regiment the sepoys, who were constantly coming up to his office with various complaints, are not very choice in their language, and what is said in one part of an Indian house is heard all over it, it was better I should not understand them. I have been told that the conversation of the natives, as a rule, is too filthy to be imagined.” This episode clearly supports an interpretation that imperial business was regularly conducted in the home, and officers’ wives, as ideal representatives of imperial values and superiority, could not be allowed to establish cordial relationships with the East Indians. The continuance of imperial control relied upon a distinct and non-negotiable separation of rulers and ruled. If language barriers were broken, the *memsahib* would have access to power that would enable her to bridge and

⁵⁴ Steel, *Complete Indian Housekeeping*, 2, 3, 31-82; Leonora Starr, *The Colonel’s Lady* (London, 1943), 24; Chota Mem, *The English Bride in India, Being Hints on Indian Housekeeping* (London, 1909), 54-86, 96-7; Farwell, *Armies of the Raj*, 98; Forster, *Passage to India*, 42.

reduce Anglo and Indian social divides. A second duty, the manual authors insisted, was that orders given to servants were to be carried out without question. “The secret lies,” Mrs. Steel stipulated, “in making rules, and *keeping to them*. The Indian servant is a child in everything save age, and should be treated as a child; that is to say, kindly, but with the greatest firmness.” A reward system offered the most effective way to gain obedience. With the docking of wages prohibited by law, wives were encouraged to introduce a bonus system of “*bakshish*, conditional on good service.” With obedience thus firmly entrenched, the new mistress should quickly gain respect as the voice of authority.⁵⁵

Such manuals, along with recipes, gardening tips, and dress suggestions, contained detailed information on what duties are performed by each servant — from the *Khansamah* (head servant) to the lowly *Ga’ola* (cowman) — and the individual wages to be paid. The picture becomes even more complicated in India as caste determined a servant’s occupation and limits of social interactions. The intricacies inherent in this stratified social system created a veritable supervisory minefield for a new officer’s wife. Without exception, page after page of household arrangements filled the officers’ spouses’ letters and journals. A military household generally employed a minimum of six employees; the commander-in-chief employed sixty-eight, while the Vicereine supervised a number in excess of nine hundred! As Mary Sherwood noted, servants not only provided manual service, but also indicated status. Thus, she found the home of a newly arrived gentleman acceptable to visit as it contained “the usual complement of servants found in and about the houses of persons of certain rank in India.” Construction of imperial identity rested, in part, on the employment of servants, and the number engaged reflected ranking within the imperial hierarchy. If one

⁵⁵ Steel, *Complete Indian Housekeeping*, 3; Marryat, *Gup*, 55. Emphasis is in the original. Urdu and Hindi are both Indic languages and mutually intelligible. They share grammar and phonology and are often considered one language.

expected to read of the general delight in the availability of such domestic assistance, one might be disappointed. The officers' wives frequently expressed exasperation with, and hostility toward, their Indian servants.⁵⁶

For example, in 1827 Mrs. Fenton explained, "The retinue of servants you are forced to keep is absurd, but one of the tyrannies of custom that cannot be remedied." This captain's wife usefully described her household staff, mirroring many other officers' wives lengthy descriptions. She advised, "A set of servants have been transferred to me by an officer going home, at least those connected with the table, and they are eight in number — a cook, a *mussolgee*, who is a sort of cook's attendant and holds a lanthorn [lantern], which none of the bearers will do, as perchance it might have been made of a cow; a *khaunsamah*, or principal attendant at table, who receives your orders and purchases all things for food." She continued, "There are two *kitmutgars* who stand by your chair and all but cut your food. The *khaunsamah* is only supposed to carry in the last dish, the soup, and, standing behind his

⁵⁶ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 84-5; Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 101. For complete listings of servant titles, pay scales, and duties see Steel, *Complete Indian Housekeeping*, 31-2. A brief table of Indian attendants and functions is provided in Appendix A. No survey of the complex Indian caste system and its application to racism in British India exists, and such an analysis falls outside the remit of this discussion. This social system is a vast and extremely intricate subject, with its origins in the civilizations of ancient India. In brief, status relies on the Hindu concept of karma (a belief that acts and deeds performed in a previous life determined one's current caste placement). The ancient Hindu epic *The Mahabharata* contains an explanation of the origins of the caste system. Essentially, there are four *Varnas* with color, occupation, and power associations: *Brahmin*, white (priests), prestige, *Kshatriyas*, red (kings, warriors), political, *Vaishyas* brown (farmers, merchants), economic, and *Shudras* black (artisans, laborers), service. A fifth group, the *Dalits* (untouchables), deal with tasks associated with the dead, such as human funerals, working with leather, and other "unclean" occupations. The *Mlechcha*, a sixth caste, is comprised of foreigners, whose occupation defines admission into one of the *Varnas*. Belonging to a certain caste is further divided along professional, cultural, locational, and linguistic lines as sub-castes (*jātis*). Intermarriage is forbidden, but flexibility exists if a *jātis* introduces an economic diversity that places it within another category. Some districts reporting in the 1891 Census included caste classification. One researcher estimated that if each presidency, princely state, and province accurately recorded this information, the number of *jātis* would range from 300,000 to 500,000. For a discussion of caste as sacred law see F. Max Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 25, *The Laws of Manu*, trans. George Bühler (Oxford, 1886). For a discussion on number of castes and *jātis* see "Census of India 1881-1941," <http://www.samanvaya.com/main/contentframes/knowledge/articles/census1881.html>, accessed 16 January 2012. My thanks to Dr. Arun Surendran who summarized this social ordering as, "In reality, caste can be looked at as religiously sanctioned slavery that has been used for centuries to exploit the poor and underprivileged in the society. It is fundamentally racism as the Sanskrit word for caste — *Varna* — means color."

lady's chair, to superintend No other person's servant will wait on you Next," she listed, "there is a *bheestie*, whose sole employment is to carry water A sweeper, who is to sweep your mats twice in the day; then a *dobee* or washerman. I am told we still require about eight or ten others: four bearers, two of whom are to attend Neil, the sirdar bearer holding the same place in a gentleman's retinue that the *Ayah* does in a lady's." Given the sheer number of servants the *memsahib's* confusion seems perfectly understandable. Fanny Parkes summed up the general opinion of Indian servants. She ventured, "Some of the natives are remarkably handsome, but appear far from being strong men. It is *impossible* to do with a few servants, you *must* have many; their customs and prejudices are inviolable; a servant will do such and such things, and nothing more. They are great plagues; much more troublesome than English servants." With this statement Mrs. Parkes captured the majority of women's attitudes regarding their indigenous staff. The observation of male attractiveness supports scholarly interpretations that debunk the Victorian female stereotype of sexual reticence. Yet, by modifying her admiration with weakness, she reaffirmed the virility of British masculinity. Finally, Mrs. Parkes chose to interpret caste limitations, not as socio-religious structure, but as a sign of indigenous idleness.⁵⁷

Some officers' wives attempted to work with the caste system occupational limits. For example, in 1815 Eliza Fay mentioned, "Since I wrote last, we have had a good deal of trouble with our Mahomedan servants on account of an old custom. Not one of them would touch a plate in which pork had been laid. So that, whenever we had any at our table, our plates remained till the cook or his mate came up to change them. This being represented as a

⁵⁷ Fenton, *Journal*, 70; Parkes, *Wanderings*, 35. Emphasis is in the original. For further examples of officers' wives lengthy reports of their household servants see Fane, *Miss Fane in India*, 101-2; Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 1, 62-71; Graham, *Journal*, 29-31; Katherine B. Guthrie, *My Years in an Indian Fort*, vol. 1. (London, 1877), 242-252.

religious prejudice, I felt it right to give way, however ridiculous it might appear. In fact it was an inconvenience we felt in common with the whole settlement, except the gentlemen of the Army.” Losing patience with such inconveniences, however, she decided to take a stand and dismiss the offending servants. After four days of unemployment, the *Khitmatghars* returned to work with the agreement that after touching “the very vessels which contained this abhorred food, they were allowed to bathe [in the Ganges River] and cleanse themselves.” She, nonetheless, summed up the situation with “From this you may judge of their excessive idleness.” The military wives, then, were well aware of the Hindu task-orientated dogma but chose to ignore and explain the occupational restrictions as ridiculous and inconvenient.⁵⁸

Ladies’ maids, similarly, came under fire. The low caste of a Hindu *Ayah* relegated her to the bottom of the possible employee list. Many officers’ wives’ transparent racism regularly appeared in descriptions of their maids. As Mrs. Guthrie unkindly noted, “Our *Ayah* ... so stiff and shrivelled ... was very small, and very black ... she looked exactly like a monkey wrapped up in white muslin.” Mrs. Fenton disclosed an equal abhorrence of the *Ayah*’s services, “Observe,” she instructed, “I had declined the service of Mrs. C.’s *Ayah*, who with her attendant of lower caste is always supposed to stand at your side to *put on* and *take off your* clothes— a ceremony which nothing could ever induce me to comply with. I could not endure their hands about me; the oil which forms a part of their toilet, the pawn [shrimp] they eat, renders them so offensive that I could not bear them in my room.” Yet, she admitted, “To every lady I have met, but myself, these women are necessary. I am satisfied it is in many cases from ostentation I looked into the next room where an *Ayah* lay on the floor, on which was strewn many articles of a lady’s dress; she seemed so like a

⁵⁸ Fay, *Original Letters*, 144-5.

dog keeping watch on them.” Emily Eden claimed, “The *Ayah* has been the happiness of my life.” Yet, a codicil tempered this positive statement. At night, she observed, “there she [*Ayah*] was wrapped up in a heap of Indian shawls, flat on the ground, with her black arms . . . crossed over her head—very picturesque, but rather shocking, and I wish she would sleep anywhere else.” Like the majority of officers’ wives, Mesdames Guthrie and Parkes viewed their Indian ladies’ maids through an imperial lens of class and racism. The need to employ East Indian domestics served to reify internal class status, and provide a foil upon which the identity of the officer’s wife could be constructed. Their disdain and extreme racism subordinated the Indian women.⁵⁹

In concluding this summary of the British military spouses’ views of their indigenous servants, two final elements add layering to the discussion. Emma Roberts captured both factors: “In India, we may almost invariably read the character of the master in the countenances and deportment of his servants.” Indeed, “If they be handsomely, but not gaudily dressed, respectful but not servile in their demeanour, quiet, orderly, and contented, they bear evidence of the good qualities of their superiors,” observed Miss Roberts, “but where servants exhibit any signs of terror or of absurd obsequiousness . . . where they are dirty, ragged, noisy . . . the head of the house may safely be pronounced tyrannical, unreasonable, or a bad paymaster.” This comment reveals that not only did the number of the servants reflect status, but also that their appearance and behavior signaled the respectability of the imperial household.⁶⁰

In some households, particularly those of high-ranking officials, personalized liveries added yet another cultural vehicle to signal imperial status. Harriette Ashmore and Harriot

⁵⁹ Guthrie, *My Year in an Indian Fort*, 11, 243-4; Fenton, *Journal*, 15-6; Eden, *Letters*, 9. Emphasis is in the original.

⁶⁰ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol.1, 69-70.

Georgina Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, commented on these handsome outfits. The Marchioness, who accompanied her husband to his appointment as Viceroy of India in 1884, recorded, “The principal servants in the house wear scarlet and gold ... The ‘*khidmatgars*’ or men who wait at table, have long red cloth tunics, white trousers, bare feet, white or red gold sashes ... and white turbans. The smarter ones have gold embroidered breastplates, and the lower ones have a D. and coronet embroidered on their chests the housemaids (and they are legion) are men with long red tunics, turbans, and gold braid – oh, so smart! — while every now and then ... a creature very lightly clad in a dingy white cotton rag makes an appearance.” She concluded, “The consequence is that, instead of one neat housemaid at work, when you go to ‘my lady’s chamber’ you find seven or eight men in various stages of dress, each putting a hand to some little thing that has to be done.” The number and dress of Indian servants provided status symbols to define Anglo status and gentility. Such was the British reliance on the display of prestige to command legitimacy that even the work clothes of their Indian servants — embroidered with golden coronets and the letter D — became a way to reinforce imperial prestige. The Marchioness, like Fanny Parkes, repeatedly feminized the male servants by referring to them as “housemaids,” thus accentuating British manliness. The domestic ranking, with its lower ranks portrayed as creatures, suggests a darker interpretation that categorized servants as possessions, uncomfortably resonating with the animal references made by Katherine Guthrie and Emily Eden.⁶¹

Echoing these disparaging remarks, officers’ wives in the American West similarly incorporated animal references to describe their domestic servants. For example, on reaching

⁶¹ Ashmore, *Narrative of a Three Month’s March*, 47; Harriot Georgina Rowan-Hamilton Blackwood, Lady Dufferin, *Our Viceregal Life in India: Selections from My Journal*, vol. 2 (London, 1889), 8, 15-6.

Fort Abraham Lincoln, Katherine Fougera revealed her prejudice towards African American servants. She observed, “Cuff was a small negro waif to whom someone had once fed a decent meal . . . the little darkey promptly adhered to the regiment in true barnacle fashion . . . he concentrated a slavish devotion upon Lieutenant Gibson . . . and even began to dog *my* footsteps like a black poodle.” After asking Cuff about the origins of his nickname, the child replied, “‘I’se de general handy man ‘bout here . . . and,’ he added proudly, ‘I’se de regimental mascot.” This military wife, then, reaffirmed her imperial status by deriding the African American child, mocking his proud claim as regimental mascot and likening him to a “black poodle.” Additionally, when her sister Mollie introduced the McIntosh cook with, “‘I’willa . . . this is my sister,” the newcomer responded, “I had heard many odd names given to the dusky race, but this one capped them all.” The servant obligingly explained, “Yas’um. [sic] Dey [sic] calls me Iwilla for short, but I was christened ‘I Will Arise,’” and Miss Fougera heartlessly admitted, “I controlled my impulse to laugh.” These prejudicial attitudes provided a way for the officers’ wives to subordinate their African American servants by unkindly belittling Cuff and Iwilla.⁶²

Despite evidence of such prejudicial attitudes, some scholars attest that the isolated garrison environment encouraged more tolerant and integrated communities. In examining the military home in the West, it is clear that unlike the imperial household in British India, the American officer’s wife did not manage six servants, let alone a Viceregal complement of nine hundred. A genteel household in the East, according to one scholar, required at a minimum — a cook, a maid, and a nursery nurse. In the western garrisons, however, not a

⁶² Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 67, 145-6; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:669. Katherine Gibson Fougera joined her sister Mollie, the wife of Lieutenant Donald McIntosh of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry, at Fort Abraham Lincoln, in 1875. Katherine married Lieutenant Frank Gibson within weeks of her arrival. Emphasis is in the original.

single officer's wife recorded employing more than one staff member. The most popular (and necessary) imperial servant proved to be a cook, and in this role the officers' wives generally preferred an African American female. Yet, despite this demand for culinary services, interactions with racial minorities who undertook domestic work for the army ladies reveal negligible change in transported prejudices. These women considered the African American, Mexican American, American Indian, and Chinese servants racially inferior, thus reaffirming and reinforcing imperial notions of an elevated Anglo status.⁶³

Yet, officers' families often brought their African American servants to the West, and most women expressed fondness and gratefulness for their devotion. "Fortunately our cooks were colored women. Army people like the Negroes, and find a quality of devotion in them that is most grateful when one is so dependent on servants, as everyone is in military life," declared Elizabeth Custer. Even while viewing them as inferior, officers' wives hailed the erstwhile slaves as valuable domestic servants. Confirming this view, Caroline Winne wrote home, "I have two or three [people] on the lookout for a servant and hope to have a colored woman." Seven months later she advised, "I have at last succeeded in getting a girl. She is very good — a colored woman." Fanny Corbusier similarly recorded a positive and familiar relationship with "a very large and very African American woman, Julia, who was a fine cook. I told her she might have one beau at a time and one she always had ... I scolded her for neglecting her work on account of the attentions of men, she picked me up and carried me from the kitchen into the dining room." Julia plainly considered her relationship with Mrs. Corbusier as familial, and following her not unexpected marriage, the Corbusiers engaged

⁶³ Smith, *The View from Officers' Row*, 4, 27; Myres, "Army Women's Narratives," 197; Myres, *Westering Women*, 80, 85; Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-90*, Urbana, 1987), 125; Anne B. Eales, *Army Wives on the Frontier: Living by the Bugles* (Boulder, 1996), 56, 129.

Maria, again viewed as a “very excellent mulatto woman.” Reflecting the attitudes of the British women, praise and gratefulness were tempered with character flaws — in Julia’s case her familiarity and romantic liaisons — that removed any claim to respectability.⁶⁴

Penning a less than kindly account of an African American male, Frances Boyd, while stationed at Fort Clark, wrote “the peculiarities of our colored servants would fill a volume.” She recalled, “It took our first colored cook, a huge, strapping creature, who seemed a very giant in strength and stature, three days to scrub our tiny kitchen floor ... our last colored cook was so surly I was afraid of him, and rejoiced when he was replaced by a white man.” The latter servant, Mrs. Boyd sensationally recounted, moved rapidly from surliness to murder and arson. The death of an “innocent widow” led to the detachment of a full garrison of men to prevent the lynching of the aforementioned servant. Captain Boyd heroically diffused the situation and returned home to his wife, who gratefully concluded, “I was allowed to have a white cook ... and there is no fear known on earth as that a woman experiences when confronted by a drunken negro.” Her use of the terms “peculiarities,” “strapping creature,” and “surly,” and an unproved murder charge, reveals the concerns or prejudicial views that categorized the African American male as racially inferior, tragically echoing the British women’s view of the East Indians.⁶⁵

Another illuminating account of African American domestic service is offered by Frances Grummond. She described an Indian “siege” of Fort Phil Kearny to report, “Everybody’s senses seemed under fair control ... with a single exception ... Mrs. Carrington’s colored servant Dennis, who seemed to be actually possessed by a demon ... he would strike his head with all possible force against the boards of the partition ... like a

⁶⁴ Custer, *Following the Guidon*, 227-8; Buecker, “Letters of Caroline Frey Winne,” 5; Stallard, *Fanny Dunbar Corbusier*, 135-6.

⁶⁵ Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 255-260.

veritable mad-man.” Fortunately, with the arrival of Colonel Carrington touting a revolver, “equilibrium was restored and Dennis became contented to live a while longer and discharge the normal functions of his usual employment.” This vignette of white fearfulness of African Americans reveals the underlying insecurity of the imperial set. The ladies, as a group, retained their composure and contained their fear in the face of what they imagined as imminent death. The “single exception . . . Dennis,” proved useful as both an African American and a male. He exhibited insanity, uncontrolled emotional outpourings, and a need for protection — all feminine characteristics. The white women remained calm and collected, watching “the surrounding Indians . . . brandishing spears, yelling like very demons, desperate for our blood.” This vignette provided a racial and gender binary opposition. Dennis became a foil through which Mrs. Grummond could illustrate the dutiful stoicism of the imperial female ambassador.⁶⁶

Garrison life reinforced the women’s racist attitudes towards African Americans. Mesdames Fougera, Winne, and Boyd hailed from Washington, D.C., and New York, and Mrs. Corbusier from Armitte, Louisiana, and their accounts written of time in the West between 1867 and 1908. Although servants generally received gratitude for their loyalty and culinary skills — Julia, the fine cook, and the excellent Maria — such appreciation becomes overshadowed by negative character assessments. Three women traveled west from the north-east coast and one could expect their attitudes to be less vitriolic toward the African American servants. Yet, they recorded the surliness of the Boyd’s cook, and the demonic madness of Dennis, and the disarming Cuff was likened to a dog. Mrs. Corbusier, the lone Southerner, was actually the least caustic of the four women. This becomes even more intriguing as the officer’s wife disclosed “with the Tenth Cavalry came a crowd of women

⁶⁶ Carrington, *My Army Life*, 59, 159; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:482.

and children, we had no difficulty in procuring servants.” Hence, both Julia and Maria were campfollowers of an African American regiment. Patricia Stallard argues that Mrs. Corbusier stayed loyal to the Southern cause “in spirit,” but deferred to her New York husband in most matters, and performed her “official duties with grace and style.” Mrs. Corbusier certainly was more graceful in her criticism of her African American servants than her Northern sisters, Mesdames Fougera, Winne, and Boyd. This is not an unexpected pattern of racial prejudice as scholars have identified discrimination throughout the nineteenth century U.S. The small number of wives in this sample, however, would not be representative of a complete survey of officers’ wives’ attitudes toward African American soldiers, servants, and civilians. It does reveal that prejudice was one of the elements utilized by these women to ensure the continuing superior identity and authority as representatives of empire.⁶⁷

In considering another minority group encountered in the West, the officers’ wives’ views of Mexican Americans reveal seemingly contradictory racial attitudes. Scholars similarly vacillate between assertions that these women reflected nineteenth-century negative class prejudices, and that they viewed their new neighbors as helpful and vibrant. In examining the officers’ wives’ accounts, it appears that the *peons* of the working class were considered amusing or offensive, yet the *ricos* (land-owners), whom the army wives considered of equal social rank, became acceptable as suitable acquaintances. For example, Teresa Vielé viewed Mexican Americans as a whole as “an amiable, smiling, innocent race of people, utterly unconscious of the higher emotions of civilization.” She created, however, “a new circle of friends and acquaintances” throughout her husband’s assignment in the West

⁶⁷ For an example of Northern prejudice held against African Americans see Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle’s Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Washington, 1994).

and befriended “a specimen of the high life,” the “handsome and intelligent” Dolores. The women enjoyed intimate discussions and smoking cigaritos together. Despite Vielé’s positive interaction, Mrs. Summerhayes described her maid as, “Quite young and very ignorant and stupid, and spoke nothing but a sort of Mexican ‘lingo’ ... the girl did not know anything ... sometimes I succeeded in getting an idea through her impervious brain, but more often she would stand dazed and immovable ... we had to let the creature go.” Her troubles with domestic help did not stop at the dazed and immovable girl. Following the birth of her first son at Fort Apache, in 1874, she revealed, “Mounted men scoured the country around, to find me a nurse Finally, the sutler sent word that a girl had been found in a Mexican wood-chopper’s camp near by I borrowed a Spanish dictionary ... and tried to teach the girl to be of some use to me, but she was very stupid.” Maria, the wife of Colonel James P. Kimball, Deputy Surgeon General, made a telling statement regarding race relations between the Anglos and Mexican Americans by maintaining that “In the garrison, lines were strictly drawn. Turks and Christians never hated each other worse than Northerners and Mexicans.”⁶⁸

Mexican Americans often worked as garrison laundresses and held responsibility for the officers’ wives clothing. One bizarre tale of a laundress revolved around Mrs. Nash, who worked for the Seventh Cavalry. Her past, according to Elizabeth Custer, included “marriage” to at least four enlisted men. Mrs. Custer began the tawdry tale, set in Fort Abraham Lincoln, with a search for an experienced midwife. “Fortunately,” she “remembered at last one of the camp women, who had long followed the regiment as a

⁶⁸ Myres, “Army Women’s Narratives,” 197; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 61; Myres, *Westering Women*, 80, 85; Cheryl J. Foote, *Women of the New Mexico Frontier 1846-1912* (Colorado, 1990), xvi, xviii, 30-2, 46-8; Eales, *Army Wives on the Frontier*, 136-7; Vielé, *Following the Drum*, 155, 180-2, 187; Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 106-7, 111-2, 157-8; Maria B. Kimball, *My Eighty Years* (Boston, 1934), 23, 40.

laundress, and had led a quiet, orderly life ... she was our laundress, and when she brought the linen home, it was fluted and frilled so daintily that I considered her a treasure.”

Disposing with the need for official divorces, as a fourth husband Mrs. Nash had “captured the handsomest soldier in the company ... we often admired the admirably fitting uniform his wife had made over, and which displayed to advantage his well-proportioned figure ... the bride and groom returned from the ceremony performed by the Bismark clergyman, and began housekeeping.”⁶⁹

Katherine Fougera continued the story as her wedding to Lieutenant Frank Gibson approached. Her “fluffy summer dresses” required attention, so “Mollie [her sister] solved the problem, for she summoned to our aid the wife of Sergeant Nash, who was the superlaundress of the regiment ... swarthy of countenance, black-eyed, with a mass of thick black hair, she nevertheless preserved the Latin coquetry of always wearing a veil.” In addition to washing, “No party was complete without her culinary assistance, and few births occurred without her expert help. She was a careful midwife, no less an embryo trained nurse ... things jogged along uneventfully, until one day the garrison received a shock. Mrs. Nash suddenly died ... the regimental laundress, midwife and cook was no more.” Here, the officer’s wife’s story takes an unexpected turn. Now married, Mrs. Gibson exclaimed, “but the worst was yet to come. Mrs. Nash proved not to have been Mrs. Nash at all. Neither had she been an Aztec princess in disguise, nor a nun who fled from religious persecution ... in short, she had been a man! Rumors about Mrs. Nash filtered through the reservation as far as Bismark, where her Mexican tamales were conceded to be of the best.”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 197-204. Mrs. Custer advised that the laundress retained her first husband’s surname of Nash.

⁷⁰ Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 190-3, 222-4.

The tale of the superlaundress, remarkably, does not stop there. According to Mrs. Custer, Sergeant Nash, “After enduring the gibes and scoffs of his comrades for a few days, life became unbearable to the handsome soldier who had played the part of husband in order to gain possession of his wife’s savings and vary the plain fare of the soldier with good suppers; he went into one of the company stables . . . and shot himself.” The revelation of the laundress’s sexual identity raises class, race, sex, and gender issues. Mrs. Nash who faultlessly washed and repaired clothing, cooked wonderfully, and supervised childbirths — all working class female duties— was a Mexican male, who lived with their husbands’ soldiers. Undoubtedly the officers’ wives were at a loss as to how to record this episode. Although Mrs. Custer offered a positive view of Mrs. Nash, she countered this by likening her to a “giraffe,” and stating, “like the rest of that hairy tribe she had so coarse and stubborn a beard that her chin had a blue look after shaving, in marked contrast to her swarthy face. She was tall, angular, awkward, and seemingly coarse, but I knew her to be tender-hearted.” Thus, she excluded the “coarse woman” of the “hairy tribe,” on grounds of race and class, from any claim to imperial status.⁷¹

“Mrs. Nash,” had marital relations with four imperial soldiers, attended to the officers’ wives during the most intimate of occasions, childbirth. Company surgeons were often dismissed by the ladies in matters concerning childbirth, due to being “wholly inexperienced in such matters.” This gendered duty then, fell to the most experienced midwife, and in Fort Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. Nash held the confidences of all, despite the fact that “she was very shy, and kept a veil pinned about the lower part of her face.” Thus, reticence, “gauzy, low-necked gowns,” and a veil, provided a male with an unquestioned

⁷¹ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 198, 202. Although the sergeant’s suicide was attributed to ridicule from his peers, the level of disgrace bought upon the Seventh Cavalry would have been momentous. The possibility that he was informally ordered to shoot himself cannot be discounted.

identity as a female. With regard to the gender and sex issues raised, both Mesdames Custer and Fougere chose to disregard the fact that gender boundaries had been navigated and crossed by a male masquerading as a woman. Both women ignored the obvious homosexual element by contending that the relationship with Captain Thomas Custer's sergeant "was certainly a *mariage de convenance*." Elizabeth Custer made a considerable effort to convince the reader that Mrs. Nash "was undeniably homely, she could cook well ... and ... she was already that most desirable creature in all walks of life — 'a woman of means.'" In applying a smokescreen that emphasized Nash's feminine allure, the officers' wives attempted to obscure this highly irregular matter, thus preserve the reputation of the Seventh Cavalry, and by extension the empire.⁷²

A third group encountered by the officers' wives was the American Indians. Their journals and letters contain countless references to these indigenous people. Generally expressing nineteenth-century mainstream views that cast these indigenous people in ways combining good/bad and noble/ignoble, the officers' wives attitudes ranged from outright fear and loathing to friendliness and admiration. For example, Lydia Lane (whose fearfulness of the American Indians remained with her throughout her fifteen years in the west) recorded a journey of a military party from Fort Bliss to San Antonio, Texas, which exemplifies a belief in the "savage" stereotype. Her overwhelming trepidation found an outlet through her sensationalized writing. "Woe to the hapless party that fell into the devilish hands of a band of Indians!" she warned, "Men were generally put to death by slow torture, but they were allowed to live long enough to witness the atrocities practiced on their wives and children, such things as only fiends could devise. Babies had their brains dashed out

⁷² Ibid., 198, 200; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:348. Emphasis is in the original. The name of Captain Custer's Seventh Cavalry sergeant is not known.

before the eyes of father and mother, powerless to help them. Lucky would the latter have been, had they treated her in the same way; but what she was forced to endure would have wrung tears from anything but an Indian. Do you wonder at our dread of them?" The American Indian clearly remained to Mrs. Lane a heartless and savage enemy.⁷³

Elizabeth Burt, however, held the opposing view. She "was never afraid of the Indians ... they always seemed so peaceful and quiet." She reiterated this lack of fear with "As I have said, I was never afraid of these Indians. The Shoshones and Pah Utes often came into the house and brought skins ... baskets and beadwork, for sale." Similarly, Mrs. Dyer reflected, "While it is impossible to make men equal, because God has put the stamp of inequality upon them [the Cheyenne and Arapahoe] it took but a glance to distinguish those of aristocratic tendencies. Inflexible, erect of carriage, broad of shoulder, deep of chest ... combined dignity with the ease and grace of an earl." These positive accounts plainly support the noble warrior stereotype.⁷⁴

Few American Indian servants were employed in the West, and the brief glance at the attitudes of Mesdames Lane, Burt, and Dyer illustrates the range of the officers' wives' prejudices. Mrs. Lane's outrage and terror, carefully listing the expected atrocities, follows the style elements of captivity narratives. This genre delineates the other as a negative foil through which, during times of insecurity, Anglo societies forged a positive, superior, and civilized identity. Mrs. Lane used this vehicle to reaffirm the notion of imperial legitimacy by reiterating an opposing image of devils, torturers, and fiends. Mrs. Burt, however, provides a more respectful view of Shoshones and Paiutes, with whom she shared, if not a friendship, then a mutually supportive trading relationship. The intrepid souvenir collector

⁷³ Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 13, 74, 193.

⁷⁴ Biddle, *A Soldier's Wife*, 82-3; Dyer, *Fort Reno*, 106. The nineteenth-century Cheyenne warrior society known as dog-soldiers carried strong reputations as effective combatants against all enemies.

Mrs. Dyer, however, offered an admiring account of the Cheyenne dog-soldiers whom she likened to Anglo aristocracy, which may be seen as elevating the warriors. With this brief survey of the officers' wives' racial references, the three following accounts of American Indian domestic encounters can be more fully understood.

In 1866, Marion Russell, stationed at Fort Bascom, provided a rare account of an American Indian child servant. She recounted, "an old Spaniard gave a little Indian slave boy to Richard Our José Russ ... was a problem child. Ambitious and willing his little feet were forever running errands for me. Yet," she complained, he "was a liar [and] a thief. Nothing was safe from his pilfering fingers." Shortly after the arrival of the boy, her husband took a corn shipment to the Navajo reservation. Here, by coincidence, he met the child's father, to whom he returned his son — to the Navajo parent's "great ... joy." Mrs. Russell heaved a sigh of relief and admitted, "I was glad to get rid of the first and only slave I ever had." Not quite the fiendish character penned by Mrs. Lane, José Russ nevertheless received a less than glowing character reference from this officer's wife, despite his willing little feet.⁷⁵

Martha Summerhayes provided an astonishing description of an American Indian male servant. In Ehrenberg, Arizona, she employed "Charley," a Cocopah Indian, as her "man about the place, my butler in fact ... as he knew how to open a bottle of Cocomonga [sic] gracefully and to keep the glasses filled." He appealed to the officer's wife's "aesthetic sense in every way. Tall, and well-made, with clean cut limbs and features, fine smooth copper-colored skin, handsome face, heavy black hair done up in pompadour fashion ... a small feather at the crown of his head, wide turquoise bracelets upon his upper arm, and a

⁷⁵ Russell, *Land of Enchantment*, 120, 154. Mrs. Russell indicated that the Mexican government encouraged the enslavement of the Navajo and Apache Indians, and understood that General Henry H. Sibley recommended this type of private enterprise.

knife at his waist — this was my Charley, my half-tame Cocopah.” On hosting friends from the “States,” she astonished her guests when her servant “waited on them at the table, for he wore nothing but his gee-string, and although it was an every-day matter to us, it rather took their breath away.” This practice, clearly different from eastern norms, confirms imperial female autonomy and authority. No longer operating within the social or sexual confines of the domestic United States, officers’ wives designed behavioral privileges that clearly delighted Mrs. Summerhayes.⁷⁶

An episode concerning a visit to Alice Baldwin’s home by a medicine man usefully adds a final study of the attitudes of the officers’ wives towards the American Indians. Openly penning her empathy for the “enemy [Lakota Sioux] ... half dead with exposure” captured at Fort Keogh, Mrs. Baldwin argued that the “harassed, cheated, lied to, and deceived” were “shorn of their very birthright by an already rich nation professing Christianity and humanity.” Tempering this impassioned plea, however, she declared that despite the absence of “unfriendly demonstrations they were not always to be trusted.” Largho, an elderly Navajo *Hatalii* (medicine man), who walked unannounced into her home, nonetheless contradicts this statement. The healer sat beside the cradle of her “fretful and crying” baby and “began to chant, meantime shaking the [rattlesnake] rattles ceaselessly, while I looked on in wonder and astonishment. Sure enough! The baby’s cries grew fainter ... and she fell asleep.” Additionally, a group of Navajo women who admired Alice’s curled hair paid frequent visits to her home to learn how to use hairpins. She concluded, “such an array of giggling, crimpheaded squaws had never before been seen in all the history of Fort Wingate. Feminine vanity and tastes are much the same the world over, no matter what the

⁷⁶ Mattes, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry*, 2, 3, 228; Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 162. Southern California vineyards produced (and are still manufacturing today) Cucamonga table and dessert wines.

race or color ... thereafter the Indian women were my firm friends, and rendered me various favors and kindnesses.” So, this officer’s wife who apparently distrusted American Indians allowed a *Hatalii* to minister to her teething child and played hairdresser to a group of giggling women, both encounters within her home. While this imperial ambassador espoused the racial line, in actuality, Mrs. Baldwin’s domestic interactions with the Lakota Sioux and Navajo illustrates a political sympathy for, and genuine affinity with, the indigenous peoples.⁷⁷

To present an analysis of attitudes towards the American Indians based on two brief servant examples would not adequately explain the women’s complex views. Various scholars consider that women in the West initially expressed fear of the indigenous people, yet over time and with frequent contact, changed their opinions regarding individual tribes and actors. Initial articulations of dread moderated to acceptance, even friendliness and empathy for the indigenous people’s plight. Indeed, according to Sherry Smith, no single military mindset existed, and perceptions differed according to the reputation of a specific tribe, an officer or his wife’s particular temperament, and the circumstances of the encounter. Gendered attitudes existed, according to Glenda Riley, who claims that men did not change convictions of American Indian inferiority. The posturing of Anglo male military prowess, fuelled an indigenous militant response that further justified white encroachment. Women, she argues, due to the learning experience of life on the frontier, realized they were stronger

⁷⁷ Baldwin, *Memoirs*, 20, 109, 116, 165, 167. Mrs. Baldwin came into contact with the Lakota Sioux and Crow Indians at Fort Keogh, and the Navajo at Fort Wingate. Historians have argued that officers’ wives views reflected the army’s categorization of American Indians as either hostile or friendly. The Lakota Sioux for whom Mrs. Baldwin expressed sympathy, however, boasted leaders such as Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, and Crazy Horse, warriors who played active roles in the Great Sioux War of 1876-7. Her encounter with Largho and the Navajo women occurred shortly after Juanita’s (her daughter) birth in 1867. The Navajo tribe, under the leadership of Barboncito had recently agreed to relocate to the Bosque Redondo reservation. Fort Wingate, located on the south edge of the Navajo territory acted as a staging point for the “Long Walk [450 miles].” In neither encounter did Alice Baldwin express disdain, fear, or even discomfort in her interactions with the “hostile” Lakota Sioux, or the “friendly” Navajo.

than conventions prescribed, but attempts of female reform, were largely ineffective. Thus educated, women adjusted self-images and developed sympathetic and friendly relations with the American Indians.⁷⁸

In considering the officers' wives views of their American Indian servants, the child José Russ appears to hold little more than a nuisance value to Mrs. Russell. Acknowledging his willingness to run errands, she diminishes such praise by calling him a liar and cheat. Although we are not given the time spent with the military family, which appears to have been fairly brief, Mrs. Russell shows no friendliness or sympathy in her attitude toward her "slave." Additionally, Lieutenant Russell's serendipitous return of the boy to his Navajo father was not exactly the gendered attitude of arrogant provocation asserted by Riley. Similarly, Mrs. Summerhayes had lived in the West for about a year when Charley became her servant. The handsome butler clearly did not cause her any fear or discomfort, in fact quite the opposite. Unfortunately we are not privy to Lieutenant Summerhayes's opinion of this half-clad Cocopah, these relationships suggest that neither wife felt fearful of her American Indian servant. José Russ was at worst considered a nuisance. Charley was paraded in front of eastern visitors as living evidence of Mrs. Summerhayes's more liberal and authoritative lifestyle — as an imperial adjunct she proved she could employ and control an armed American Indian.

A final minority group discussed by the officers' wives was the Chinese. Although this population was infrequently mentioned by the officers' wives, interactions with this group usefully illustrate the attitudes of the imperialists. For example, Ellen Biddle, while stationed at Fort Whipple in 1878, threw a dinner party for an extremely important guest. "All of the officers and their wives, as well as all of the bachelor officers, were asked to meet

⁷⁸ Smith, *The View from Officers' Row*, 4, 6, 12, 182-4; Riley, *Confronting Race*, 173-211.

him. When I was presented he took my hand [and] He had a chair placed beside him for me to sit down ... I felt quite like a queen ... it seemed to me a great thing to have this great man make much of me.” The military dignity in question was no other than William T. Sherman. Mrs. Biddle excitedly continued, “The evening came for our dinner to the General and it was very good. I had a most excellent Chinaman cook named ‘Flang,’ quite young, and he always dressed in very pretty Chinese coats, and, to match the costume, a hat that had a tassel on it, which he had a peculiar way of throwing to one side.” The main course for twenty guests was a great success, yet this officer’s wife exclaimed, “When the dessert was brought in I had a great fright. A large fish was presented to me. ‘Oh! my,’ I thought, ‘has he [Flang] cooked another fish?’ My heart was beating very fast, when someone said, ‘Did you ever see anything so perfect?’ It was a Charlotte Russe; the Chinaman had imitated the fish, and it was perfect, greatly to my relief.” Mrs. Biddle’s view towards Flang appears positive, she thought him an excellent cook, and praised the innovative mousse dessert. Yet, by describing his “pretty” outfit, the tossing of his hat tassel, and the “perfect” quality of his baking, Mrs. Biddle feminized the “excellent Chinaman,” thus aggrandizing the masculinity of the American male guests.⁷⁹

Another officer’s wife who employed a total of four Chinese servants adds another layer to the officers’ wives’ racial attitudes. Francis Roe revealed her initial prejudice while stationed in Fort Kit Carson in 1871. She admitted she preferred Cagey’s (her African American cook) less than wonderful cooking to a “Chinaman’s ... judging from what [she] saw of them” in the garrisons. She supported this view with a tale of Mrs. Conrad’s servant who was considered an “excellent servant in every way except ... doing the laundry work.” When informed of his failings, Mrs. Roe repeated, “The heathen ... said to the lieutenant’s

⁷⁹ Biddle, *Reminiscences*, 174, 176-9.

wife, ‘Allee light, you no like my washee, you washee yoursel’” and emptied a pan full of wet clothes onto the floor. Seven years later at Fort Shaw, however, this imperial spouse announced that, “we are almost settled now, and Sam our Chinese cook, is doing splendidly. At first there was trouble, and I had some difficulty in convincing him that I was mistress of my own home and not at all afraid of him.” The lieutenant’s wife does not explain why she experienced fear in managing Sam. Perhaps the heathen’s temper tantrum that ended in wet washing all over Mrs. Conrad’s floor caused her much anxiety.⁸⁰

Sam, nonetheless, was quickly replaced by another Chinese servant, Charlie, whom Frances Roe considered “a treasure.” Unfortunately for all concerned, it did not remain smooth sailing for long in the Roes’ kitchen. The officer’s spouse complained, “I made some Boston brown bread ... I went to the kitchen to put it in the oven When he saw what I was about to do he became very angry He said, ‘You no put him in l’oven.’ I said ‘Yes, Charlie, I have to for one hour.’ He said, ‘you no care workman, you spoil my dee-nee [dignity], you get some other boy.’ Now Charlie was an excellent servant and I did not care to lose him, but to take that bread out was not to be considered. I would no longer have been mistress of my own house, so I told him quietly, ‘very well,’ and closed the oven door with great deliberation.” Charlie calmly departed, considerately informing Mrs. Roe that he would send “another boy.” This assured servant threatened the officer’s wife’s sense of imperial identity. The closing of an oven door reestablished her authority, and denied any claim the Chinese held to self-respect. The officer’s wife’s very next line in her memoir advised that “the ‘other boy [confusingly also called Charlie]’ came in time to give us a delicious breakfast, and everything went on just the same as when old Charlie was here.” It

⁸⁰ Roe, *Army Letters*, 108-9, 128; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:322. Mrs. Conrad’s husband, although Roe has not provided his first name or his company, appears to be Captain Casper H. Conrad of the Fifteenth U.S. Infantry.

appears that by the time the lieutenant's wife had employed three Chinese cooks, she had learned how to assert her imperial authority, even at the cost of losing a domestic "treasure."⁸¹

Charlie Number Two apparently adored the Roes' fowls and like his predecessor showed signs of self-confidence, becoming irritated if anyone interfered with his avian charges. After a move to Fort Shaw, Mrs. Roe encouragingly reported that "the Chinaman, squirrels, and chickens" had settled well into their new home. Mrs. Roe found this Charlie "splendid and most resourceful," but without warning he resigned. Despite the officer's wife's entreaties to stay, he left admitting he "feel vellee bad." Frances soon discovered that the "splendid" servant was in fact "a high-binder ... the Chinamen in the garrison were afraid of him, yet he seemed so very trustworthy in every way. But a highbinder in one's own house!" Undeterred by such scandal, and now apparently a seasoned mistress, she hired a fourth Chinese servant, Hang. Indeed, in assisting at a dinner party given by a fellow officer's wife, this fourth Chinese cook had "a glorious time. He evidently frightened the old colored cook into complete idiocy, and was ordering her about in a way that only a Chinaman knows." When Lieutenant Roe received a posting as quartermaster at Fort Ellis, in 1884, necessitating another move, his wife provided the servant with the greatest of compliments, "I shall miss Hang! How am I to do without him I do not quite see."⁸²

In recording domestic interactions with Flang, Sam, the Charlies, and Hang, the officers' wives observed and acknowledged a high level of domestic competence in these "heathens," yet tinged such positive comments with race and class prejudices. The women

⁸¹ Roe, *Army Letters*, 132, 135-6. Boston brown bread was made with rye flour and raisins and normally steamed in a coffee can.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 138, 152, 162, 164, 184. The term highbinder referred to a dangerous criminal or assassin in the immigrant Chinese community.

used descriptors such as “pretty,” and “treasure” to feminize and undermine their cooks’ masculinity. All recorded dialogues that mimicked and belittled attempts at English pronunciation and, in calling the servants “boys,” mocked and subordinated the Chinese male immigrants.

In examining the attitudes and behaviors of imperial wives stationed in India and the American West, both sets clearly displayed prejudices towards culturally and racially different domestic servants. In India, the number of servants symbolized status and one’s position in the imperial hierarchy. Indian bodies became appropriated, through dress and behavior, as a marker of the employer’s external and internal imperial identity. The British women generally viewed the East Indian male servants, such as the *Khansamah* dressed in his gold and scarlet finery, as handsome. This viewpoint expressed a certain level of admiration, a physical attractiveness in the indigenous male. Yet, invariably qualifying comments of weakness or over-obsequiousness reduced masculinity. In contrast, American spouses articulated no such admiration for the physical presences of African American, Mexican American, or Chinese male servants. The description of Dennis as a demonic madman, and Mrs. Boyd’s of her surly creature-cook, removed any claim to refinement. Similarly, the exploits of the cross-dressing “Mrs. Nash,” highlights among many other issues, the complete believability of a feminine persona enacted by a Mexican male. Thus, these minority groups, while praised for their domestic skills were feminized, utilized as foils to magnify American masculinity and imperial might. The American Indian, uniquely, received sensual appreciation. Who could forget the dog-soldier with the grace of an earl, or Charley, whose tall and handsome figure, bedecked with turquoise bracelets, delighted Mrs. Summerhayes? Yet, echoing the British wives’ responses, the Cocopah was reduced to a

half-tame man about the home, and the combatant Cheyenne warrior was judged to be unequal. Thus, all male servants employed within imperial households were feminized and subordinated. This process allowed the British and American masculinity to be aggrandized and legitimized the mission and supremacy of empire.

With regard to the female domestics, few military spouses on either side of the Pacific Ocean afforded positive portrayals of these service employees. The East Indian *Ayah* invariably was described as idle, slatternly, and dissipated, with veiled references to promiscuity. Her domestic usefulness to the officer's spouse was both utilitarian and as an instrument through which imperial insecurity could be assuaged. By contrasting and denigrating the body and behavior of this lady's maid/wet nurse/nanny, the mistress of the house rendered her own identity superior, genteel, and civilized. The American spouses, in comparison, employed female kitchen staff, but relatively few maids or nannies. They clearly thought highly of the African American cook, preferring "colored women" for their unfailing "devotion." Yet, a rider to such appreciation, just as in the British case studies, subordinated the dedicated employees. The ridicule of I'lla, and the tale of promiscuous Julia, substantiate this imperial insecurity. The admiring accounts of indigenous males suggest that these imperial women safely observed, pondered, and commented on indigenous bodies. A non-white male could be admired as he did not represent a potential sexual partner. In most descriptions, officers' wives revealed imperial insecurities by adding negative codicils. Thus, by reducing indigenous masculinity, and removing respectable femininity, they created a foil on which imperial strength and superiority could be showcased.

Such were the racism and hostility expressed by the officers' wives in both British India and the American West towards their indigenous servants. If these domestic workers created such problems, why didn't the officers' wife simply employ Anglo servants? Many working class women and men traveled eastward and westward to find employment and perhaps economic opportunities not available at the core centers. To help unravel the mystery, consider the terms in which the British imperial observer Emma Roberts in 1828 compared the Indian *Ayah* with a European woman. She explained, "The difficulty regarding female domestics is certainly very great. It is generally considered essential for the *Ayah* to be a Moosulman [Muslim] woman, as none but a low Hindoo [Hindu] would take the office; and it may safely be averred, that not one respectable woman out of a hundred is to be found in this class." Adding insult to injury, these female servants apparently did not even take "the slightest pains to make themselves acquainted with the mysteries of the European toilette; they dress their ladies all awry Folding up dresses is an art wholly unknown, and Griselda herself would find it difficult to keep her temper in the midst of crushed flounces, broken feathers, and gauzes eaten through and through by cock-roaches." So, the Indian servant appeared completely unsuitable, yet, this officer's wife appended, "European women, if attainable, demand enormous wages; they soon learn to give themselves airs, and require the attendance of natives during the hot weather." Plainly, Emma Roberts considered the servant situation extremely problematic. She confirmed the drawback, at least in the imperial women's view, that employing Anglo staff would result in the working-class female's aspiration to middle-class status through appearances and behavior.⁸³

⁸³ Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 1, 70-1. Griselda is a character of great patience, sincerity, and loyalty in "The Tenth Day, Novel Ten" in Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron*, vol. 4 (London, 1822), 228-247. Written in the fourteenth century, this collection of tales, told by a group of seven young women and three men, has

The British and American Anglo servant remains, in the most part, a puzzling cipher. There are few diaries, letters, or memoirs that articulate this actor's life. Two memoirs of enlisted men's wives, although not servants, offer a brief glimpse of imperial life from the bottom up. Ellen Williams, wife of Bugler Charles Williams, entered the army as a laundress with Company A of the Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, who were mustered into the U.S. Army in 1861. She recorded the regiment's answer to the orders to pursue "bushwhackers" throughout eastern Kansas and western Missouri. Here Mrs. Williams served as both laundress and nurse and chronicled the "trials and travels of the Second Colorados [sic]." In describing the regiment Ellen Williams characterized both the commissioned and non-commissioned men in honorable terms. When Company B saw action in the "fierce and desperate" Battle of Valverde, she recorded that each unit "grandly perform[ed] their duty In the battle General [Edward] Canby showed himself the brave, considerate commander and after it was over, as he went through the ranks of the wounded, he wept as only a comrade would who loved his fellow soldier; a truly noble man he was." Company A, meantime, reported at Santa Fe, and were immediately dispatched to Fort Union. The women were ordered to stay in situ and sadly watched the men march away. Almost immediately a rumor warned that the "rebels" were en route, and "in a few hours stragglers began to arrive, and began to take all they could lay hands on from the soldiers' wives." The women dug hiding places for their provisions, and Mrs. Williams noted, "About the time we had finished we learned that the officer in command was Captain Battles, with whom our Captain's wife was acquainted, and at her request he put a stop to such doings." It is clear that Mrs. Williams held the general, as a leader on the battlefield, in high regard. The

provided structure and inspiration to authors from the fifteenth-century protofeminist Christine de Pizan to controversial American magazine publisher Hugh Hefner.

captain's wife, nonetheless, in staying behind with the women, used her social currency to end the plunder and pilfering that unsettled the soldiers' wives.⁸⁴

Another laundress, Mrs. Rachel [Lobach] Brown Matthews, married Private Henry F. Brown of the Fourth Infantry in 1874 at Fort Sanders, Wyoming. Moving to the Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska, Rachel laundered for the men from their log cabin home. Her reminiscences included memories of the officers' wives dressed in bright bustles and basques', an Indian brave who offered her husband a pony, saddle, buffalo robe, beads, blankets, and moccasins as a trade for her, and a short friendship with Calamity Jane. In June 1876, following the news of Custer's Massacre, she traveled by train and stagecoach along with other military women to a "safe" location. She remarked, "the officers' wives were very kind in helping me with the baby. They saw that I was sick with fear and frequently offered to take care of him. I was relieved when they took him for I thought that they could protect him better than I." Despite the officers' wives' general low opinion of the servant class, Mrs. Brown appeared to have established cordial relations with the elite females. This practical revelation illuminated a very real social divide. Passing Henry to an officer's wife would command greater protection for her son. The imperial officers would, without question or hesitation, safeguard a child in the arms of a lady.⁸⁵

These two lone accounts written by laundresses in the American West do not represent the attitude of the servant class as a whole. Both, nonetheless, hold interest as neither Mrs. Williams, nor Mrs. Brown, appears to be the insolent, drunken, or coarse woman portrayed in the ladies' reminiscences. This indicates that the officers' wives used rank as a

⁸⁴ Williams, *Three Years and a Half*, 3, 7-8, 19; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:279. Captain Battles is not listed in Heitman.

⁸⁵ Alice M. Shields, ed., "Army Life on the Wyoming Frontier," *Annals of Wyoming* 13 (October, 1941): 332, 336-8.

class marker to stereotype the privates' wives as the worst of characters. Thus, by measuring themselves against this ill-behaved female archetype, an imperial figure of opposition could be crafted — a genteel and refined lady.

To the imperial women, characters such as Mesdames Williams and Brown, provided a necessary service. Yet, as Miss Roberts noted, availability and aspirations to middle-class status formed the central obstacles to satisfactory servitude. In both locations Anglo servants proved extremely difficult to hire and retain, hence the low numbers. In the instances when white domestics appear, however, the officers' wives, lacking a racial justification to decree inferiority, ridiculed hireling claims to status to reemphasize their own class suitability as ambassadors of empire.

In British India the officer's wives made mention — albeit brief — of Anglo governesses, cooks, maids, housekeepers, and handymen who shared their daily imperial life. Captain Williamson somewhat explained the invisibility of these individuals by venturing, “Regarding European servants, and English cattle. It might be said, in brief, that neither the one, nor the other, is found to answer in India.” Validating Miss Roberts's opinion, he confirmed that “An European servant must have nearly as many natives to attend him as an officer requires; he must have a house; and a million of indulgences ... [and] after saving a little money ... they have set up in some business, and with very little warning, or ceremony, quitted their masters.” In considering the Anglo woman Williamson postulated, “Whenever a lady has carried out an European female servant, whether old or young, ugly or beautiful, it has usually happened that a speedy separation has taken place: many, indeed, have deserted from their mistresses [once they arrived] at Madras.” Alternatively, the captain suggested,

working conditions in India did not offer a welcome prospect for even the most desperate of maids and governesses.⁸⁶

Soldier-servants and their wives, nonetheless, did find employment with the imperial families, and became visible through the *memsahibs'* recollections. Mary Sherwood engaged her house-servants on board *The Devonshire* before the weighing of the anchor in Portsmouth. She wrote, "I could do no other than choose our man-servant's wife, Betty." She described "Mr Sherwood's servant" as "Luke Parker, a private soldier [who] had attended Mr Sherwood in every capacity of servant nearly as long as he had been in the regiment [he] was singularly hard-featured ... most generally well-conducted, and invariably honest when not under the temptation of strong liquors." It appears that the captain's wife found her husband's batman acceptable; however, she recorded that "in arranging a table, a room, or whatever else it might be ... he was a perfect martinet ... when he had set the dishes at meals, he would make a retreat ... to judge correctly whether the lines of plates, dishes, spoons, and cruets were in perfect exactness." Few accounts mention the military servants in India, but Mrs. Sherwood offered a view of the Army system of the commissioned officers enjoying the privilege of a soldier-servant. Private Parker appeared to be the perfect batman, trustworthy, respectful, and honest. Yet, as this officer's wife pointed out — only when sober. His lack of control with regard to alcohol allowed her to place him firmly in the lower level of the imperial hierarchy.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Spear, *Nabobs*, 53; Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, 334-6, Barbara Kerr, *The Dispossessed: An Aspect of Victorian Social History* (London, 1974), 203.

⁸⁷ Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 235, 255-6; Great Britain War Office, *The Queen's Regulations*, 142-4, 315-9. Six wives of non-commissioned officers and privates for every one hundred men were "allowed to proceed with their husbands" on foreign service. For further details of the British Army practice of employing a batman (from *bât*-horse man, *bât* meaning packsaddle in French) as a personal servant see Evelyn C. Vivian, *The British Army from Within* (London, 1914), 155-6.

During the voyage to India Mrs. Sherwood called upon another Anglo servant, “Mrs. Sergeant Strachan ... [who] was the first person of her kind with whom I had then ever had the honour of conversing She had the most decided and most fearful cast in one eye ... and her person was broad and clumsy in the extreme but, such as she was, we should have been lost without her.” The officer’s wife appreciated the ministrations of the Parkers and Mrs. Strachan, yet a clear class divide existed. In describing the sergeant’s wife as a “person of her kind” and “broad and clumsy,” Mrs. Sherwood identified her as a member of the servant class, who would be of great service to the *memsahib*.⁸⁸

Another sergeant’s wife, referred to simply as “poor thing” by Georgiana Paget, accompanied the Royal Horse Artillery to India in July 1857. The imperial mistress reported that the “poor thing, was obliged to leave me ... [and] established with her husband in a little house near ours I have engaged a Portuguese *Ayah* for myself, but my greatest comfort in the house is in old James, our soldier servant, who is left to look after me.” Mrs. Paget expressed her relief of having a British servant to attend to her needs, when on arrival in Bombay she exclaimed, “We ... went straight to our hospitable friends ... who had provided in every way for our comfort ... even to *borrowing* an experienced English maid, who undertook the care of baby for some hours.” It is unclear whether this purloined maid was a military spouse, but this random sentence uncovers a preference, and a status value, in employing an Anglo servant.⁸⁹

Minnie Blame delightedly recorded hiring “a most excellent nurse for my approaching confinement.” “She is the wife of our Quartermaster Sergeant Benaham, and bears an excellent character. Our great comfort is that she drinks neither wine, beer, nor

⁸⁸ Sherwood, *Life and Times*, 243-4.

⁸⁹ Paget, *Camp and Cantonment*, 2, 188, 376-7. Emphasis is in the original.

spirits of any kind. So many of these women do so to excess.” Mrs. Blane reassured her mother that the nurse had “good certificates, and the ladies of the regiment all recommend her as an industrious and hard-working little woman.” Yet, the imperial woman removed any threat to her identity and status by reference to the lower-class alcohol consumption and ability to work hard. Adding an example of Anglo upward mobility in India, Edith, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas G. Cuthell of the Thirty-Eighth Foot, spitefully remarked, “The convalescent detachment, as it is called, of white-faced invalid soldiers, young recruits, and whiter women and children, marched away down the Mall days ago *en route* for a hill sanatorium. The women are more or less a poor feckless folk, their English physique enfeebled by the climate, and their moral fibre enervated by the unwonted possession of a servant or two.” Thus, evidence of class status, partially signaled by the employment of servants, was available to even the lowly soldiers’ wives. No wonder Mrs. Cuthell thought it necessary to remove any claim to respectability by implying fecklessness, feebleness, and weakness on the part of the Anglo working class.⁹⁰

Harriette Ashmore provided another example of efforts made to portray servants as less than worthy to represent the nation. While preparing to march with her husband’s regiment from Calcutta to Cawnpore, she listed the Indian servants and “a very active Irish woman as my own servant.” During the leg from Bankipore to Dinapore, Mrs. Ashmore revealed her inferior view of the Irishwoman, Mrs. Carigg. The officer’s wife recounted an episode of high drama as, “thieves had attacked the ... hackeries [transport wagons] the loss fell the most heavily upon my Irish woman, who ran to meet me ... wringing her hands,

⁹⁰ Blane, *From Minnie*, 75-6; Edith E. Cuthell, *My Garden in the City of Gardens: A Memory with Illustrations* (London, 1905), 209-10. Verification of Mrs. Cuthell’s marriage to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas G. Cuthell was included in her obituary featured in the (London) *Times*, 2 February 1929. Emphasis is in the original.

and, as usual with her, vociferating in a most violent manner. Some time elapsed before I could understand one word that she uttered Poor Mrs. Carigg exhibited all the violent grief so characteristic of her country people.” The Irishwoman further compounded her mistress’s dim view of her during an Indian festival. Mrs. Ashmore reported, “During the Mohurrun [sic], little booths are erected on the road-sides ... where the rich dispense sherbet [fruit and spice punch] to the poor ... I was once somewhat disturbed at seeing a remarkably well conducted female servant of my own sadly overpowered with its effects.” Apparently Mrs. Carigg had added “ardent spirits” to the sherbet and had been “tempted to taste and taste again, the consequence of which She fell; again and again sprawling on the floor.” Such unladylike behavior clearly reinforced the officer’s wife’s view of her servant’s subordinate place in the imperial hierarchy.⁹¹

Bessie Fenton, however, delightedly recorded the employment of a British maid whom she recognized as an old neighbor. She noted, “Anne had been born beside my father’s house and left an orphan She shared the fate of most pretty country girls and married a soldier Her gratitude to Niel and affection for me was unbounded, and though she had just been confined she brought baby and ayah and all, determined to stay while she could serve me.” The satisfied officer’s wife added, “nurses are privileged gossips The ladies did not stand high in her estimation, and she boldly pronounced that there were no companions for *me* there [Calcutta].” Mrs. Fenton plainly appreciated her servant’s considerate attention. The fact that Anne employed an *Ayah* indicated upward social upward

⁹¹ Ashmore, *Narrative of a Three Month’s March*, 101, 164-5, 270-1. The Muharram celebrates the Islamic New Year. Festive sherbet provided travelers with non-alcoholic refreshment made with rosehips, cherries, and spices.

mobility. Hence, the officer's wife highlighted the gossipy and impertinent lower-class nature of the otherwise helpful nurse.⁹²

Finding and retaining domestic servants such as Anne proved extremely difficult, not only in British India but also in the American West. With no batman system operating in the American Army, the officers' wives could not avail themselves of an orderly's wife as a servant. The absence of a maid created enormous difficulties for an officer's wife. Colonel Forrest R. Blackburn commented on the difficulties of obtaining reliable Anglo help at the remote garrisons. Just as Williamson discerned in India, young girls, Blackburn argued, seemed "useless to import" as they quickly married one of the many eligible bachelors. Elizabeth Custer confirmed this critical state of affairs with, "The question of servants was a very serious one to those living on the borders of civilization as we did servants ... were almost certain to marry It often happened that delicate ladies had to do all kinds of menial service for a time. Except for a kind-hearted soldier now and then, who was too devoted to the wife of his company officer to see her do everything, I hardly know how army ladies would have endured their occasional domestic trials."⁹³

Most military spouses echoed Mrs. Custer's grievance. The engagement, let alone the retention, of female servants often proved impossible. Almost immediately young domestics were courted and wed by lonely soldiers. The officers' wives, finding such affairs of the heart frustrating, changed tactics and sought plain, middle-aged spinsters. This strategy unfortunately failed to solve the problem. Mrs. Boyd, for example, procured an Anglo servant whom she described as "a grenadier in looks and manners; and although not absolutely hideous, was so far from pleasing that we were confident of retaining her services,

⁹² Fenton, *Journal*, 58-9. Emphasis is in the original.

⁹³ Forrest R. Blackburn "Army Families in Frontier Forts," *Military Review* 49 (October 1969), 22; Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 195.

so made a contract for a year.” On reaching Fort Union, however, she soon married an enlisted man and left the household. Her ex-mistress recalled, “We had soon discovered the fallacy of our belief that her plainness would prevent the possibility of a lover The one who she finally married ... engaged a carriage at Las Vegas for the wedding trip before ever having seen her ... she had made my life harder in every way, and taught us the folly of taking a servant accustomed to eastern civilization into the Western wilds.” It appears that no matter how unmarriageable domestics appeared to their imperial employer, enlisted men, sometimes sight unseen, hastily proposed! Working-class females, then, who ventured west had no difficulties in finding a marriage partner — rather like Williamson’s domestic “fishing fleet” in British India — typically preferring to be a soldier’s wife rather than a lady’s maid.⁹⁴

The army ladies experienced great difficulty not only in retaining female servants, but also in controlling the inappropriate behaviors of these women. In December 1867, Frances, the second wife of Colonel Henry Carrington, stayed for a short time at Fort Casper. Events worth recording during her stay included the regimental band’s passable rendition of the *William Tell Overture* and the “flailing” of Laura. Laura, a domestic servant, refused to obey orders from her mistress, Mrs. Wands, who whipped the girl “into subordination by the help of a trunk strap.” In the absence of any official army regulation concerning the punishment of women, neither woman felt any compunction in beating the allegedly “obstreperous and independent” female domestic to quell the “rebellion.” By challenging the authority of the upper echelon of the imperial social structure, this servant threatened the flimsy threads by

⁹⁴ Ibid., 197; Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, 190, 192-4; Lane, *I Married A Soldier*, 154-5. In the seventeenth century the East India Trading Company shipped women from England as marriage partners. This business practice was abandoned in the eighteenth century, but after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, many unmarried women traveled to India in search of a husband. See Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, 4-5, 127, 129, and Anne De Courcy, *The Fishing Fleet: Husband Hunting in the Raj* (London, 2012).

which it hung. Needing to sustain the illusion of power, the elite females reacted violently. This incident reveals a structural weakness of the imperial society. The working-class Anglo, unfettered by mainstream conventions, could act with greater independence. The physical punishment administered on this occasion, nevertheless, appeared to shore up the cracks in imperial authority.⁹⁵

Caroline Winne also mentioned her difficulties in hiring and retaining a reliable servant, writing, “I have had all sorts of trouble with servants ... the green Irish girl ... came as promised early Monday morning, and glad was I on Tuesday to send her off on Wednesday. She knew nothing, and I don’t believe she ever will. She was worse than no one.” She haughtily continued, however, “Servants ought to obey their masters in this primitive state of Nebraska — but servants don’t I have heard of my good Fanny (and really if she wouldn’t drink so, I never would ask for a better servant) in jail two or three times lately. I fear she is past redemption. Poor girl. It is too bad. She is a nice cook and a most beautiful washer and ironer as I ever saw.” After confiding in Mrs. Sumner (a fellow officer’s wife), Mrs. Winne disclosed the depth of anxiety by admitting, “She [Sumner] said she did pity me so for she always felt trouble with servants was only next worse to a death in the house.” Although one can understand the domestic difficulties presented to these imperial women, the attitudes towards their female employees exposes the fragility of imperial class status. In the remote garrisons where traditional social divisions provided only a tentative hold, officers’ wives sought to reinforce their imperial superiority by utilizing beatings, verbalizing unmistakable class and ethnic prejudices, and underscoring troublesome behaviors.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Fougere, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 96; Carrington, *My Army Life*, 198-9.

⁹⁶ Buecker, “Letters of Caroline Frey Winne,” 13, 18-9, 36; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:150.

Not all female servants, however, caused problems. Maria, the wife of Colonel James Kimball, experienced her own considerable dilemmas with her domestic help. Her first cook, the “faithful Norah,” soon married; Norah’s replacement, Lona managed to serve every dish undercooked, so was quickly exchanged for the imposing and fanciful corporal’s wife, Signora Luca. After the Kimball’s transferred to Fort Marcy, however, a Scottish cook called Marjorie joined the family. This “intelligent and capable” Highlander stayed with the Kimballs for over a year. Marjorie diligently attended to her duties, yet Mrs. Kimball observed, “Her ideas of propriety were often amusing. To her a soldier must be viewed askance by a self-respecting girl, but a tradesman was another story . . . though Marjorie was slow to recognize socially our infantrymen, she was friendly enough with the butcher and baker of the town.” The capable servant unexpectedly inherited an ostrich farm in the Transvaal, married a Private Duncombe, and according to Mrs. Kimball “lived happily ever after.” Whether a recalcitrant Laura, an imprisoned Fanny, a fanciful Mrs. Luca, or a redoubtable Marjorie, the Anglo female servants at best provided a relatively short-term but efficient service, and at worst threatened the imperial class hierarchy. Mrs. Kimball plainly held confidence in her imperial identity and took the loss stoically. Mrs. Carrington and Mrs. Wands, however, revealed their insecurity (or cruelty) by taking a surprisingly harsh punitive line — resorting to thrashing a young woman with a leather trunk strap to coerce obedience and respect.⁹⁷

Relief, then, from domestic duties proved problematical to the ladies of the American empire who expected to delegate such mundane tasks. The services of an enlisted man, not

⁹⁷ Maria Brace Kimball, *My Eighty Years*. N.p., 1934, 27, 38-9, 51-7; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:598. Transvaal, a province of South Africa, existed during the period 1910-94. Marjorie Duncombe’s English husband was a baker who enlisted in the American army, thus he satisfied the Scottish lass’s penchant for a tradesman as a marriage partner.

exactly the equivalent of the British batman presented a solution to their dilemma. Alice Grierson, during her husband's tour of duty at Fort Davis, found that the enlisted "striker" proved to be the most dependable source of domestic labor. Due to depletion in the army ranks, the use of a soldier for such purposes received no official sanction, and became explicitly forbidden in 1870 by General Order No. 92. In practice, however, the soldiers enjoyed the extra work that provided additional income, better living quarters and meals, and furnished release from military duties. In 1872 Nannie, the wife of Lieutenant Cyrus S. Roberts of the Seventeenth Infantry, stationed at the Cheyenne River Agency, Dakota Territory, stated that her "girl" was entirely unsatisfactory; and informed her in-laws, "Miss Mulligan is to marry her lover tomorrow She is so dirty, and after she put pepper and salt in my pumpkin pies and sugar in the dressing for chicken I concluded I did not want her services anymore." However, she found the replacement soldier cook "a real comfort as he is so clean and good-natured." Thus, the officers' wives came to depend upon the ministrations of their strikers — the loyal, indispensable, and trustworthy soldier-servants of the imperial ladies.⁹⁸

Miss Forrestine Cooper provided many descriptions of her daily interactions with the men under her father's command. At Camp Supply she recalled that "all the enlisted men of the Tenth Cavalry were colored soldiers of the best type. Their wives became cooks, laundresses, and nursemaids to the children of the officers." She also observed, "The presence of a manservant was a feature of each home Soldiers who were not strikers,

⁹⁸ Harry H. Anderson, ed., "An Army Wife Among the Sioux: The Experiences of Mrs. Cyrus S. Roberts at Cheyenne River Agency, Dakota Territory, 1872-73," *The Westerners Brand Book* (1949): 73-5; Mary L. Williams, "Servants at Military Posts: A Glimpse at 'Domesticity' through the Letters of Alice Kirk Grierson," *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 11 (1999):145-6, 152-3; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:835; Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 75. Williams advises that the etymology of the term striker "appears lost in antiquity," but suggests the moniker originated with "to strike a tent," a routine duty for an enlisted man.

probably because such positions were limited in number, called them “dog-robbers,” intimating that the family dog was deprived of tidbits by the presence of the striker.” On a trip to meet with her father returning from Austin to Fort Concho, she described the noble actions of the family striker, Private George Clark of A Troop. After lights out, loud voices woke the young girl’s mother who discovered “white soldiers ... looking towards Clark [who had stationed himself in front of the Cooper’s tent]. Then they started toward him.” Forrestine then heard her mother “askin [g in] a low voice, ‘Clark, do you think there is any danger?’ ‘Not so long as I’s [sic] alive, ma’am!’ he answered. After that I heard him call out, ‘I’ll shoot the first man that comes near this tent. Keep back. I’ll shoot to kill!’ They knew he mean’t it ... Old George Clark sat all night long with his loaded carbine, protecting the wife and children of an officer.” As a young bride, Alice Baldwin, on arrival at Fort Harker in 1867, similarly discovered the value of such a servant. In recording her horror when she discovered that her new quarters were nothing more than a squalid dug-out, her anxiety became lessened under the loyal administrations of her “family factotum,” Joe Bowers, who may have held the rank of private. His contributions to her comfort allowed her to cope with the primitive circumstances and to declare she felt able to “make the best of everything.”⁹⁹

Several journals reflect the high value the imperial spouses placed on the domestic talents of these military attendants. Fanny Corbusier, while stationed at Camp Sheridan in 1877, remarked on the benefits of having an enlisted man to help around the house. She recounted what appears to have been a regular domestic event; “Louie [the maid] was a fine

⁹⁹ Coffman, *Old Army*, 347; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 29; Mattes, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry*, 142; Mattison, *An Army Wife on the Upper Missouri*, 214; Barbara Fisher, “Forrestine Cooper Hooker’s Notes and Memoirs on Army Life in the West, 1871-1876” (MA Thesis, University of Arizona, 1963), 10, 38, 41-2, 107-110; Baldwin, *Memoirs of the Late Frank D. Baldwin*, 122-3, 128-129.

cook and never tired of work but about once a month had paroxysms of rage, and then she would fling saucepans, flat irons, or anything else she had at hand at our soldier striker, Lewis He wished to return to his troop but was too good a man to lose.” Similarly, Catherine, the wife of Colonel William O. Collins of the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, wrote to her daughter from Fort Laramie in May 1864. She admitted “boarding” with John, who was engaged by her husband to “keep the table” for her during the colonel’s absence. This unusual living arrangement allowed Catherine to pursue her genteel hobby of drawing the local fauna and flora.¹⁰⁰

Frances Boyd hailed the domestic talents of the family striker when she joined her husband at Fort Halleck in 1867. Calling her soldier-servant a “treasure,” she recalled, “the delight with which an offer of help from a soldier in my first effort at housekeeping ... his forethought when the floor was soaked with rain in always having a large adobe brick heated ready to be placed under my feet when dining, will never be forgotten.” Mrs. Boyd continued, “the greatest proof of devotion I ever received was when that man, learning that the laundress declined employing her services on our behalf, saw me preparing to essay the task myself. To prevent that he rose sufficiently early to do the work, and continued the practice so long as we remained there, despite the fact that it subjected him to the ridicule from other soldiers.” Martha Summerhayes supported such complimentary views with “In the long march across the Territory [in 1874], they [soldiers] had cared for my wants and performed uncomplainingly for me services usually rendered by women.” Mrs. Summerhayes’s soldier-cook “Bowen the Immortal,” with his “white apron and hair

¹⁰⁰ Fougera, *With Custer’s Cavalry*, 75; H. H. McConnell, *Five Years a Cavalryman; or, Sketches of Regular Army Life on the Texas Frontier, Twenty Odd Years Ago* (1889; reprint, New York, 1938), 12; Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 29; Custer, *Following the Guidon*, 286-7; Corbusier, *Fanny Dunbar Corbusier*, 83; Agnes W. Spring, ed., “An Army Wife Comes West: Letters of Catherine Weaver Collins, 1863-1865,” *Colorado Magazine* 31 (October 1954): 266; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 2:90.

rolled back in a fetching style,” copied recipes such as “Aunt Hempsey’s Muffins ... and “Hatty’s lemon tarts” from her cookery book into his ledger, “in large illiterate characters; and [wrote] on the fly leaf, ‘Charles Bowen’s Receipt Book.’” This caused the officer’s wife to “burst into a good hearty laugh.” Although Bowen proved indispensable to the survival of this imperial ambassador, her feminization and derision of him placed him securely as a lower-class male.¹⁰¹

Despite such glossy accounts, Eveline Alexander displayed little patience with her domestic soldier. While encamped at Camp Creek in 1866, Rudolf the family cook visited with the Choctaw Indians and returned with two small polecats as “pets for Mrs. Alexander.” He placed the gifts in his mistress’s “lunchbox,” which Eveline found unacceptable. For this crime, Colonel Alexander “reduced him to the ranks, and fetched me up another cook.” She found her husband’s “body servant ... most amusing,” as “Sullivan is a great character; he has always been a ‘striker’ to the officer commanding the company and is consequently perfectly worthless.” Francis Roe, however, was not amused by the profanity of her husband’s striker Volmer. This officer’s wife decided to immediately reprimand the foul-mouthed soldier. Her Chinese servant warned his mistress, “he vellee blad man — he killee man — he killee you, meb-be!” Despite her cook’s concern, she decided to go ahead and manage her own affairs rather than call upon the company commander. She “delivered a lecture” to Volmer, who departed the home on her instructions, only to later return, “cap in hand,” to apologize for the outburst. Mrs. Alexander and Mrs. Roe both clearly considered themselves entitled to respect and deference from the enlisted men. The former’s complaint

¹⁰¹ Utlely, *Life in Custer’s Cavalry*, 132, 134; Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, vii, 47-9, 76; Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 100, 108-9, 163, 201-2; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:193.

resulted in a reduction of rank. The latter, who immediately dealt with the insolence, confidently asserted her imperial authority.¹⁰²

Scholars have holistically examined military communities in the American West to conclude that the dynamics of military and civilian interactions as unique and fascinating, and agree that women played a crucial role in the structure of garrison life. All confirm that the wives of officers or enlisted men ameliorated an otherwise desolate life, and thus played a historic role by providing a clearer picture of the army's function in the frontier era. Yet, the role and impact of the domestic servants within the imperial communities has not been fully explored. Anglo female servants employed in the American West proved problematical for the majority of officers' wives. Instant, sometimes sight unseen, marriages provided practical inconveniences and claims to greater independence threatened the delicate social framework on which identity rested. The imperial women resorted to corporal punishment and character defamation to preserve the class line. With regard to soldier- strikers, however, they sought helpful orderlies, whose troublesome language could be controlled by the threat of punishment. Thus, any peril to imperial identity attempted by lower-class men and women who provided domestic service in the American West was quickly ameliorated.¹⁰³

Such scholarly analysis of the military communities in British India has not been made. A general study of white women emigrants during the late nineteenth century, however, argued that such females served demographic and ideological purposes, particularly in South Africa, Canada, and Australia. Due to high numbers of male settlers, working-class

¹⁰² Myres, *Cavalry Wife*, 35-6, 38-9, 56-7; Roe, *Army Letters*, 285-8: Roe's Chinese cook had every reason to fear for his mistress's life. Volmer, a quick-tempered Quaker, had indeed shot and killed a Catholic army deserter.

¹⁰³ Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers*, 64, 82; Butler, *Daughters of Joy*, 125-6; Edward M. Coffman, "Women and Children in the Army, 1784-1812," *Journal of the Council on America's Military Past* 12 (May 1982): 38; Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 277, 281.

females became encouraged to relocate through such agencies as the British Ladies Female Emigrant Society, founded in 1849, and to reproduce the imperialist markers of civilization. Gendered roles of wife and mother existed throughout the empire, and single working-class women viewed marriage or domestic service as the only alternatives available. Marriage, as the discussion of the civilian servants demonstrates, proved the favored course as it held the opportunity to enter the privileged imperial community. The latter course, domestic servitude within a *memsahib*'s home, reveals a juncture of class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Officer's wives such as Mesdames Sherwood, Paget, Ashmore, and Blane established, reassured, and demonstrated their claim to an imperial identity and authority by subordinating, through ridicule, both "poor thing," and the "vociferous" Mrs. Carigg.¹⁰⁴

In comparing the two imperial settings similarities appear. In attempting to procure Anglo civilian females as servants, both failed to succeed in retaining reliable domestics, sometimes losing them immediately to a military marriage. In British India, the wife of a batman or sergeant proved beneficial to all parties involved. By employing a husband and wife team, such as Luke and Betty Parker, the officer's wife gained two servants and allowed the couple to stay together. The assigning of an orderly to a commissioned officer was not, however, an official practice in the American West. A different system evolved of employing a striker who earned extra pay in exchange for domestic duties. The army ladies gratefully and glowingly recorded such characters as Joe Bowers, Lewis, and of course,

¹⁰⁴ Strobel, *European Women*, 25-7. For a discussion of the British Ladies Female Emigrant Society see James S. Olson, Robert Shadle, Patricia Ashman, Pradip Bhaumik, and John Biles et al. eds., *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire* (Westport, 1996), 189-190. Working in the sex industry has also been offered as an alternative means of survival for a working class female. Prostitution in India and the American West, although a fascinating topic, falls outside the remit of this project. For a discussion of the family role of British soldiers' wives who traveled with their husbands, their employment opportunities, the connection between marriage regulations and the profligacy of prostitution, see Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army* (Cambridge, 1984), 68-137. For a discussion of Victorian prostitution see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge, 1980).

“Bowen the Immortal.” These soldiers, then, tended to all the domestic chores; some boarded overnight, and one placed hot bricks under his mistress’s cold feet. In both the British and American experiences these rank and file defenders of the nation became feminized. Luke Parker with his meticulously arranged table, and Bowen’s hair styling and recipe compilation, indicate a shift in gender roles that protected the officer’s wife’s imperial status. In some households domesticity became a male space, and the command of, and deference due from, a soldier became a female privilege.

In the nineteenth-century American imperial home, just as in the British bungalow, issues of class, gender, race, and ethnicity intersected. The striker belonged to the rank and file of the army; thus the officers’ wives could reassure themselves of imperial superiority through aligning his social position with the mainstream working class’s. The showdown between Mrs. Roe and the quick-tempered Volmer revealed this officer’s wife’s fearless assumption of military command. By inverting the traditional female-male roles, an empowered gendered authority evolved that feminized the soldier and masculinized the mistress. The officers’ wives’ recollections of Anglo servants, soldier-stickers, and soldier-servants, then, provide not just a fleeting glance of the lives of these working-class actors, but also an important insight into the fragility of the imperialist identity. To sustain a sense of social superiority and imperial identity, the officers’ wives manipulated Victorian gender traditions to reinforce existing military divides. In so doing, they subordinated servants, batmen, and strikers, crossing gender divides to garner and wield imperial power.

An officer’s wife who joined her husband on the outskirts of empire, whether she was British or American, brought with her notions of a middle-class household, complete with a

retinue of servants who undertook all domestic chores. In analyzing the British and American racial, class, and ethnic attitudes towards service staff, and how such standpoints influenced imperialism, the discussion has been restricted to relationships within the domestic space. To be sure, The military spouses collectively came into contact with a much larger landscape of indigenous actors. They toured the villages of the Indian *mofussil*, entered curtained *zenánás*, and strolled within the Caddo and Arapahoe reservations. The elementary level of empire, and most certainly the most intimate of multicultural contact points, however, was the imperial home. Here, the public and private spaces fused, and military spouses donned the mantle of imperial command and maintenance. Holding responsibility for the Anglo, East and American Indians, African and Mexican American, and Chinese servants, these women constructed, communicated, and reflected the larger principles of empire. By inculcating obedience and respect, in both locations, they marked identity and class divides, subordinating their domestic workers through racial, ethnic, and class prejudices. In visiting an Anglo Indian household, with its attendant number of staff, Mary Sherwood provided a vignette that summarizes this process. She amusingly recounted, “Over all these [servants] was a large, tall, consequential, superbly dressed, high salaried, white woman, probably some sergeant's widow, who sat in state, gave her orders, and talked in superlatives. Woe was there to those who did not pay her the respect she thought due to herself. Under this person was an Ayah, or head nurse, a black woman, who had lived long with the lady of the mansion, and who no doubt felt the yoke of the white woman anything but easy.” Thus, the imperial wife, ‘who sat in state, gave orders, and talked in superlatives,’ reemphasized her own eminent suitability as an imperial ambassador—a woman who assuredly shaped, influenced, and sustained the empire.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Sherwood, *Life of Mrs Sherwood*, 377-8.

CHAPTER X

IMPERIAL STANDARD BEARERS:

CONCLUSION

There is a freedom of manners among the ladies of the Army that does not obtain in the best civilian society. This may be attributed to their exclusive mode of life The ladies do not only manipulate the social affairs of the Army, but they are the power behind the throne which directs the administration of much of the official business. There is always an Egeria to dictate, but, not being of celestial origin, her oracles are not infallible.

Duane Greene, former U.S. Army lieutenant.¹

Writing from India in 1841, Emily Eden reflected Lieutenant Greene's statement on such female authority by repeating an observation uttered by a head of state. She recorded, "Dost Mahomed [Emir of Afghanistan] was here again on Tuesday at a very small party when George [Eden, Governor General] said something to him about our customs, which allowed of women coming into society, &c, he said, 'You are quite right; you make a Paradise; now this [India] looks like one.'" During a trip of the Upper Provinces the Emir and his son again commented on the gender role of the British female. Miss Eden reported, "they were very amusing about the liberty which Englishwomen have ... and [that] it was the only foolish thing they had seen in Englishmen 'In fact,' Hyder Khan [the Emir's son] said, 'you are the slaves of your women, and we are the masters of ours.'"²

It is very unlikely that the army wife considered herself a nineteenth-century Pompeia or Egeria, or that the military officers imagined themselves enslaved. Yet the comparative experiences of the British and American women add a central, yet previously little explored, dimension to studies of empire. By centralizing and comparing the transnational female experiences, and incorporating interdisciplinary approaches, it becomes clear that

¹ Greene, *American Aristocracy*, 61, 75. Egeria, a Celtic woman, who in 381-4 ACE pilgrimaged from Galicia to the Holy Land, recorded her journey in a letter. This is possibly the first formal writing of its kind in the known Western world. Oracles in this statement indicates sage authoritative opinions.

² Eden, *Letters*, 247-8, 260-1.

imperialism was *not* simply a masculine preserve. Acting as informal imperial ambassadors, officers' wives played a significant role in shaping and sustaining an empire. Sharing their husbands' imperial duty and sense of mission, army officers' wives designed and promulgated ambitions of empire. In transferring, adopting, and adapting cultural values and customs, they fashioned a new imperial reality, influencing the course of empire by cutting across and restructuring gender, class, and racial borders.

On arrival at their new quarters in British India and the American West, far from familiar sights, sounds, and vistas, these officers' wives experienced an immediate sense of homesickness and disorientation. In utilizing military structures, — familiar, secure, and comforting bastions of national authority — planned and built by their military husbands, these women discovered a medium to allay apprehension and express patriotism. These installations were meant by their builders to visually represent imperial identity, dominance, and power. As Mary Sherwood marveled, “Fort William [Calcutta] is regularly built ... kept in the most elegant order I was surrounded with all the circumstances of military life ... such as denoted pomp, and riches, and past victories ... [the] handsome buildings [were] appropriated to the use of the officers.” She not only assigned wealth, grandeur, and prowess to the British Empire but also believed that officers held the greatest claim to such prestige. Similarly, when Frances Boyd arrived at Fort Bayard, Arizona, the construction of which her husband supervised, she “felt somewhat settled.” Three years later, her husband's regiment received orders to Fort Clark. She viewed this move with dismay and simply tried to solve “the problem of how to live at all.” Despite this uncertainty she wrote, “nevertheless, strange as it may seem After sunset Our unsheltered, gray parade-ground ... was softened into a semblance of all we desired it to be ... our limestone houses ... toned ... into poetic

beauty, with their shady vines and groups of dainty ladies in white, and gallant officers in uniform. I became wedded, heart and soul, to that part of our life, which made me quite willing to live and die in Texas.” Forts William, Bayard, and Clark then offered a tangible presence of domination, security, and civility — a foundation upon which the “dainty ladies in white” would construct roles as effective imperial ambassadors.³

The officer’s wife interpreted not only architecture as a visual representation of empire, but also her husband’s attitudes, body, and behaviors. Joining their spouses in India and the American West, these women sensed a dynamic *esprit de corps*. The military academies of Sandhurst, Addiscombe, and West Point encouraged and demanded a distinct imperial mindset, complete with a code of behavior that reflected conventional values as befitted an officer and gentleman. The commissioned men carried this air of gentility to the remote stations and garrisons of empire. Martha Summerhayes captured this sense of *noblesse oblige* with “I am glad to have known the Army ... it is good to think of honor and chivalry, obedience to duty and the pride of arms; to have lived amongst men whose motives were unselfish and whose aims were high, who stood ready, at the call of their country, to give their lives for a Government which is, to them, the best in the world.” Evidence suggests that most wives who joined their spouses believed wholeheartedly in, and understood they shared, this call to duty. In so doing, they generated an imperial femininity and a distinct role as ambassadors of empire.⁴

Many officers’ wives gained a sense of security in imperial architecture, and sketched a blueprint of female purpose by connecting into the military *esprit de corps*. On the physical journeys to join their husbands, these women utilized transnational space to shape a

³ Sherwood, *Life*, 260; Boyd, *Cavalry Wife*, 227, 238, 250, 267-8.

⁴ Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, 270.

collective imperial identity. Honoria Lawrence described this new distinctiveness as, “the wife of a Regimental Officer, when she first ‘buckles on the knapsack,’ [and] marries a soldier, ought to recollect that his profession entails on her a definite and often a very arduous duty.” During travel and arrivals, these women expressed patriotic rhetoric and draped mainstream class and racial images across unfamiliar landscapes and peoples. Describing the journey from Gravesend to Calcutta in 1833, Harriette Ashmore illustrated how these women allayed insecurity and forged an imperial identity. The Union Jack became an imposing patriotic, while the disdainful description of her *Ayah*’s appearance, manners, and imitation silver jewelry, plainly contrasted against Victorian dress norms. Within the transnational space of the journey, Mrs. Ashmore held firm to the viewpoints she brought with her from England. To craft and maintain a superior and distinct identity and forge a cohesive imperial community, she espoused her prejudice to vilify and subordinate the indigenous peoples.⁵

Post arrival, the feminization of formal and informal military practices produced a new imperial reality and an empowered female identity that sustained imperialist ambitions. They adopted military titles, language, and dress, and feminized military markers, to generate a female hierarchy — an imperial sisterhood — that appropriated masculine space and authority, commanded over by a powerful senior wife. As Elizabeth Custer announced, “though army women have no visible thrones or sceptres, nor any acknowledged rights according to military law, I never knew such queens as they, or saw more willing subjects than they govern.” The British *Burra Mem* and the American “female grenadier” often built extremely powerful and influential positions. Honoria Lawrence confirmed this imperial role by recording her role as commander of an Indian army, adjudicating on caste disputes

⁵ *Calcutta Review*, July-December 1845; Ashmore, *Narrative of a Three Months’ March*, 2-5.

and acting as an administrator when a regimental elephant ran amok damaging local crops. Amid ‘weeping and wailing for *insaf* and *dohai*,’ she confidently fined the elephant keeper and awarded damages to the villagers. As *Burra Mem* she held full imperial license to preside confidently over such judicial matters.⁶

Under these matriarchs, some wives of captains and lieutenants donned tailor-made military riding habits, and others held all-female “councils of war.” An active sisterhood evolved, each woman placed according to her husband’s rank, each contributing to the maintenance of an imperial sociability. Officers’ spouses performed as self-appointed military adjuncts, observed a female hierarchy, and promoted the order and aims of the empire — these duties both encouraged and sanctioned by the men of the British and American armies.

The commandeering of military symbols, processes, and rankings facilitated the officers’ wives as social functionaries and ceremonial performers. These women held a duty to design and officiate in formal public events. Traditional feminine and masculine values and behaviors became appropriated to symbolize the affluence, civility, and prestige of ruling nations. The traditional Victorian male archetype became adopted as an imperial model, by displaying cultural exclusivity, racial superiority, and a hard-working dedication to duty. His genteel, outgoing, and gracious wife shared and supplemented official duties — and role as an imperial representative. For example, Lady Curzon complained that her husband never

⁶ Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 129-130; Mattison, “An Army Wife on the Upper Missouri,” 192-3, 197, 217; Lawrence, *Journals*, 224, 226.

involved himself in social functions, and that her “Duty” attending numerous events provided “very little pleasure.”⁷

Military spouses, then, were frequently expected to hold roles as imperial adjuncts, dismissing limitations imposed by traditional gender roles, and generating social power as arbiters, promoters, and police officers of an imperial class. In this capacity they played a central role in reaffirming internal confidence within the Anglo communities, and legitimizing external representations of British and American power and prestige.

Cultural imperialism, nevertheless, did not simply materialize in prize-givings and polo matches. Private domiciles acted as the design centers, production lines, and shop windows of prestige. Utilizing dress, and home décor, officers’ wives drafted and projected an imperial identity that reflected, yet transformed middle-class gender models. These women dutifully conformed to traditional dress codes, forbidden to wear the *saris* or *camisas* of the indigenous women. The defiant Martha Summerhayes, in dealing with the near one-hundred degree summer temperatures in Ehrenburg, fervently wished to wear the loose-fitting Mexican garments, yet her husband forbid her adopting such female dress. Officers adapted limited indigenous clothing styles, the British — to subjugate the Asian through association, and the Americans to effect complete Indian relocation. Additionally, both sets of officers’ wives utilized internal décor to signal British gentility or American sincerity. In India, gendered spaces remained static; yet, the incorporation of Indian designs and artifacts supported the empire’s ambition of passive control through affinity. Female authority in the American West expanded to encompass imperial male spaces. The crossing of gender

⁷ Nicholson, *Mary Curzon*, 158; Greenberger, *The British Image of India*, 11, 13, 15, 19; Strobel, *European Women*, 13, 15; Stoddard “The Army Officer’s Wife: Social Stresses in a Complementary Role,” 153-7.

boundaries in both empires, by both sexes, facilitated control over male and female dress and behavior to showcase orderly, authoritative, and cohesive ruling classes.⁸

The significance of the imperial wife's role in the social processes of calling and domestic rituals confirms the formation of a distinct and influential imperial female identity. The reflected but exaggerated mainstream etiquette allowed military wives to design and sustain imperial sociability. Thus, they gained access to political and economic knowledge normally reserved to the male power holders. Throughout British India, a highly ritualized model of visiting, using personalized cards and signature books, operated. Similarly, an equally pervasive, but less formal procedure became established within the western garrisons. A hidden agenda, however, lay concealed behind this overly pedantic protocol. Should a newcomer pass muster, a network of privilege and power became available. The duty of protecting the imperial gateway, rested with a hostess's ability to discriminate — and convincingly reject parvenus. Furthermore, the officer's wife, as the host of dinner parties, recitals, and luncheons, acted as a confidante, diplomat, and social ombudsman. British women dutifully followed, to the letter, the official Warrant of Precedence. As we have seen, American wives, although less regulated, held a duty to host all commissioned visitors, no matter the situation or time of day. This female empowerment and visibility became subject to criticism. The *memsahib's* reputation was subjected to vicious and very public attacks. The military wives in the American West received less bad press, but these ladies nonetheless weathered accusations of frivolity, flirtatiousness, and flamboyancy, even while continuing to undertake duties as gatekeepers and, perhaps, as *salonnières* of the imperial class.

⁸ Summerhayes, *Vanishing Arizona*, 158,192.

To gain a more complete picture of the impact made by officers' wives, an analysis of racial, ethnic, and class attitudes towards domestic servants reveals more about the Anglo-American experience. Although these women had a much greater landscape of contact, in focusing on the domestic sites in British India and the American West, it becomes clear that the mistress-servant relationship both formulated and reproduced imperial ideologies. Hence, in the remote cantonments and garrisons, private and public spaces disintegrated, leading one scholar to portray an imperial home as the point of origin of empire. An officer's wife, whether British or American, transported a mainstream model of a middle-class household, with its complement of servants. Within the imperial holdings the home, the most intimate of interracial, inter-ethnic, and inter-class contact zones, the physiological trait of a white skin, and the exhibition of cultural artifacts signaled identity, status, and authority. Both India and the American West sought domestic assistance through employing East and American Indians, African and Mexican Americans, Chinese, and Anglo servants. Holding command of the imperial home, officers' wives demanded obedience and respect. To gain this they demarcated, sometimes cruelly —Georgina, the wife of Sir Edward F. Campbell of the Sixtieth Rifles, "had to strike the *syce*" for rudeness and a delay in harnessing the horses to her carriage — racial, ethnic, and class boundaries, to subordinate domestic workers. Within this feminine controlled site, they both initiated and reflected the larger ideologies of empire.⁹

⁹ Patterson, *Cult of Imperial Honor*, 173; Georgina Campbell-Metcalfé, Campbell-Metcalfé Papers, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K., Box 1, Letters 13 January 1857, 9 July 1857, 31 October 1857, Georgina Metcalfe to Edward Metcalfe; Letter 12 September 1857, Civil Auditor, Punjab to Edward Metcalfe; Baillie, *Indian Biographical Index*, 1:228. Georgina Campbell Metcalfe's nineteenth-century intricate script has proved her letters almost inaccessible. The snapshot of this authoritative and somewhat arrogant officer's wife spoke of striking servants, criticizing military decisions and officials, and demanding a complete summary of her husband's financial provisions regarding her well-being. The letter from the Civil Auditor of the Punjab contains an official notification of "Captain Sir Edward Campbell['s] (baronet)" temporary placement under military authorities for regimental duties with the Sixtieth Rifles.

Traditional imperial histories mainly focus on masculine actions that emphasize battlefield prowess, territorial expansion, and economic advantages. Military wives, although the American spouses have received some attention, have been marginalized, if almost omitted from the historical record. Consider “Colonel [Joseph N. G.] Whistler’s Rules for Wife Behavior”:

1. You will see that all meals are served on time.
2. You will come to the table in a wrapper.
3. You will smile at breakfast.
4. If possible, you will serve meat at least four times a week.
5. You will not move the furniture without my permission
6. You will present the household accounts to me by the fifth of each month.
7. You will examine my uniforms each Tuesday and if they need repair you will take the necessary action.
8. You will do no work in the evenings. You will entertain me.
9. You will not touch my desk.
10. You will remember you are not in command of anything except the cook.¹⁰

Despite this list of rules, shockingly sexist to the modern eye, officers’ wives’, on both sides of the Pacific generated and wielded substantial power. Indeed, in holding pivotal social roles in shaping and sustaining imperialism they exerted female power in a, heretofore accepted, masculine arena. Clothed in a wrap and smiling at breakfast, the officer’s wife appropriated male space, created a powerful role, and enjoyed a distinguished ambassadorial identity. Wives emanated such poise and authority that it is no surprise that Hyder Khan, in 1841, recognized and confided to the Governor General of India — “you are the slaves of your women.”

¹⁰ Colonel Reeder, *Born at Reveille* (New York, 1966), 15; Eden, *Letters*, 247-8, 260-1; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:1026; “Military Times Hall of Valor: Colonel Forrest E. Williford,” <http://militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=18367>, accessed 3 February 3, 2012. Colonel Joseph Whistler of the Fifteenth U.S. Infantry handed his new bride his personal regulations during their honeymoon in 1869. In 1909, Colonel Red (Russell Potter) Reeder, Jr., who later became a much decorated World War Two hero, received a copy of the rules from his aunt, wife of Colonel Forrest E. Williford, and included them in his autobiography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Manuscript Collections**National Army Museum, Templar Study Centre, London, U. K.*

Clowes, William. *A List of the Officers of the Army and Royal Marines, on Full, Retired, and Half Pay*. London: War Office, 1945.

Hodson Biographical Index of Indian Army Officers.

Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, U.K.

Campbell-Metcalf, Georgina. Campbell-Metcalf Papers, 1846-1861.

Churcher, Mrs Madelaine Amy, Papers, 1904-1905.

Grant (nee Harvey), Lucy Elinor Lyall, Papers, 1906-1909.

Hammersley-Smith, Magda. "A Great Grandmother Remembers." 1908-1929.

Hanney, Margaret Campbell, Papers, 1839.

Huxham, Mrs A. E., "Diary of the Mutiny." 1857-1858.

Jackson, Anna Madelaine, "A Personal Narrative of the Indian Mutiny, 1857."

Mill, Maria, "Diary of the Mutiny, 1857-1858."

Murison, Margaret, "Memoirs for Lucinda and Susanna by their Grandmother, 1910-1911."

Showers-Stirling, Mrs Christian, "Notes on her Life, 1898-1914."

Stock, Catherine Ann, Papers, 1854-1870.

Wells, Frances Janet, Berners Papers, 1853-1858.

Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library U.K.

Chota Mem. (Mrs. C. Lang). *The English Bride in India, Being Hints on Indian Housekeeping*. London: Luzac and Co., 1909. Rich Papers, mss eur C403/ T35558.

Clemons, Mrs. Major. *The Manners and Customs of Society in India*. London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1841. Oriental Collections T 35687.

Drummond, Emma Thornhill Mss eur B298/15 IOL.

Gray, Ruby. Untitled. Undated. Unpublished Memoir. Mss Eur.D. 1037/11.

Haldane, Julia. *The Story of Our Escape from Delhi in 1857*. Agra: Brown and Sons, 1888. 10602.c.26(3).

Wagontreiber, Miss. *The Story of Our Escape from Delhi in May, etc.* Delhi: Imperial Medical Hall Press, 1857. 9008.c.33(3).

Wonnacott Collection. Mss Eur 376/3.

U. S. Military History Institute. U. S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Paulding, Grace. "My Army Life." Paulding Papers.

Library of Congress

Gibson-Getty-McClure Family Papers.

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.

Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920. Letters Received by Headquarters, District of New Mexico, Sept. 1865 - Aug. 1890. RG 393, M-1088, roll 31.

Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis

William T. Sherman Collection.

Periodicals

Amherst Bulletin.

Calcutta Review.

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

New York Times.

The Fortnightly Review.

The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine.

The Times (London).

United Kingdom Government Publications

Great Britain War Office. *Manual of Military Law.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894.

-----*The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army.* London: Adjutant-General's Office, Horse Guards, 1844.

Horse Guards War Office. *Dress Regulations for the Officers of the Army.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883.

United States Government Publications

Surgeon General's Office, *Circular Number 4, A Report of Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts, 1870.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870.

U.S. Congress. Statutes at Large. *An Act to Increase and Fix the Military Peace Establishment of the United States.* 39th Congress, 1st sess., Vol. 14, Chapter CCXCIX, 1866. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>. Accessed 29 March 2011.

Heitman, Francis. *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army.* 2 vols. Washington D.C.: GPO, 1903.

Contemporary Works

A Lady Resident. *The Englishwoman in India.* London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1864.

Aitken, Edward H. *Behind the Bungalow.* Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1920.

Allen, Charles, ed. *Plain Tales from the Raj.* London: Futura Publications, 1975.

-----*Raj: A Scrapbook of British India, 1877-1947.* London: André Deutsch, 1977.

- Anderson, Harry H. "An Army Wife Among the Sioux: The Experiences of Mrs. Cyrus S. Roberts at Cheyenne River Autonomy, Dakota Territory, 1872-73." *The Westerners Brand Book* 10 (December 1949): 73-80.
- Anonymous, *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette and Guide to Correct Personal Habits*. Glasgow: John S. Marr, 1904.
- Ashmore, Harriet. *A Narrative of a Three Months' March in India; and a Residence in the Doob*. London: R. Hastings, 1841.
- Baldwin, Alice Blackwood. *Memoirs of Major General Frank D. Baldwin*. Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1929.
- Bartrum, Katherine M. *A Widow's Reminiscences of Lucknow*. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1918.
- Beecher, Catherine E. *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849.
- *Domestic Receipt Book*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1846.
- Beecher, Catherine E., and Harriet B. Stowe. *The American Woman's Home: or Principles of Domestic Science*. New York: J. B. Ford and Company, 1869.
- Beeton, Isabella M. *The Book of Household Management*. London: S. O. Beeton, 1863.
- Bellew, Captain Francis J. *Memoirs of a Griffin; or, A Cadet's First Year in India*. London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1843. Reprint, London: William H. Allen and Co., 1880.
- Biddle, Ellen McGowan. *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1907.
- Blackham, Colonel Robert. *Scalpel, Sword, and Stretcher: Forty Years of Work and Play*. London: Sampson Low, 1931.
- Bland Strange, Major-General, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee*. London: Remington and Co. Ltd., 1893.
- Blane, Minnie. *From Minnie with Love: The Letters of a Victorian Lady 1849-1861*. Edited by Jane Vansittart. London: Peter Davies, 1973.
- Bourke, John G. *On the Border with Crook*. 2nd ed. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1892.
- Boyd, Mrs. Frances Anne Mullen. *Cavalry Life in Tent and Field*. New York: J. Selwin Tait and Sons, 1894.

- Buchan, John. *A Lodge in the Wilderness*. London: Blackwood and Sons, 1906.
- Buck, Sir Edward J. *Simla Past and Present*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1904.
- Buckland, Charles E. *Sketches of Social Life in India*. London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1884.
- Buecker, Thomas R., ed. "Letters of Caroline Frey Winne from Sidney Barracks and Fort McPherson, Nebraska, 1874-1878." *Nebraska History* 62 (Spring 1981): 1-46.
- Burton, Sir Richard F. *The City of Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892. Reprint, Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1990.
- Busteed, Henry E. *Echoes from Old Calcutta, Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the days of Warren Hasting, Francis, and Impey*. London: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1908.
- Carrington, Frances C. *My Army Life and the Fort Phil Kearney Massacre*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1911.
- Carrington, Margaret. *AB-SA-RA-KA, Land of Massacre: Being the Experience of an Officer's Wife on the Plains. With an Outline of Indian Operations and Conferences from 1865-1879*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1879.
- Churchill, Sir Winston. *My Early Life, 1874-1994*. London: Scribner's Sons, 1930. Reprint, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
- Clemmer, Mary. *Ten Years in Washington: or Inside Life and Scenes of Our Nation's Capital, as a Woman Sees Them*. Chicago: Hertford Publishing Company, 1882.
- Clemons, Mrs. Major. *The Manners and Customs of Society in India*. London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1841.
- Cochran, Mrs. M. A. *Posie: or, From Reveille to Retreat, An Army Story*. Cincinnati: Tobert Clarke Co., 1896.
- Coker, Caleb, ed. *The News from Brownsville: Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992.
- Curzon, Mary. *Lady Curzon's India: Letters of a Vicereine*. Edited by John Bradley. New York: Beaufort Books, 1985.
- Custer, Elizabeth B. *Boots and Saddles*. 1885. Reprint, Williamstown: Corner House Publishers, 1969.
- . *Following the Guidon*. 1869. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

- . *Tenting on the Plains*. 3 vols. 1887. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Custer, George Armstrong. *My Life on the Plains; or, Personal Experiences with Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- Cuthell, Edith E. *My Garden in the City of Gardens: A Memory with Illustrations*. London: John Lane Company, 1905.
- Davis, Alexander J. *Rural Residences, Consisting of Designs, Original and Selected, for Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas, and Village Churches*. New York: by the author, 1837. <http://www.vintagedesigns.com/architecture/ms/rr/index.htm>. Accessed 12 May 2010.
- Davis, Britton. *The Truth about Geronimo*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.
- Dawson, J. E. "Woman in India: Her Influence and Position." *Calcutta Review* 83 (July 1886), 346-370.
- de Trobriand, Philippe Régis Denis de Kerendern. *Vie Militaire dans le Dakota: Notes et Souvenirs, 1867-1869*. Edited by Mio Quaife and translated by George F. Will. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1941.
- Dickens, Charles. *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son, Wholesale, Retail and for Exportation*. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1848. Reprint, London: Macmillan, 1900.
- Diver, Maud. *Captain Desmond, V. C.* New York: John Lane Company, 1909.
- . *The Englishwoman in India*. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1909.
- . *Siege Perilous and Other Stories*. New York: Freeport, 1924.
- Downing, Andrew J. *Cottage Residences: A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas*. New York: Wiley and Halstead, 1856.
- . *The Architecture of Country Houses*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1850. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969.
- Duberly, Frances I. L. *Suppression of Mutiny, 1857-1858*. New Delhi: Sirjana Press, 1974.
- Duncan, Sarah J. *The Simple Adventures of a Memsahib*. Edited by Thomas E. Tausky. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1986.
- Dyer, Mrs. D. B. "Fort Reno"; or, Picturesque "Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Army Life," *Before the Opening of Oklahoma*. New York: G.W. Dillingham, 1896.

Eden, Emily. *Letters from India*. Edited by Eleanor Eden. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872.

------. *Up the Country: Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1866.

Ellis, Sarah S. *The Prose Work of Mrs. Ellis*. Vol. 1. New York: Henry G. Langley, 1844.

Falkland, Viscountess. *Chow Chow*. Edited by H. G. Rawlinson. London: Panckridge, 1930.

Fane, Isabella. *Miss Fane in India*. Edited by John Pemble. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1985.

Fay, Mrs. Eliza. *Original Letters from India, 1779-1815*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1908.

Fenton, Bessie. *The Journal of Mrs Fenton, 1826-1830*. London: Edward Arnold, 1901.

Fergusson, James. *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture: Being a Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture*. London: John Murray, 1862.

Fitzgerald, Emily M. *An Army Doctor's Wife on the Frontier: The Letters of Emily McCorkle Fitzgerald from Alaska and the Far West, 1874-1878*. Edited by Abe Laufe. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Forster, Edward M. *A Passage to India*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1924.

Fougera, Katherine Gibson. *With Custer's Cavalry*. Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1940. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Fraser, Lovat. *At Delhi*. Bombay: The Times of India Press, 1903.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/atdelhifras00fras#page/178/mode/2up>. Accessed 11 January 2011.

Fry, James B. *Military Miscellanies*. New York: Brentano's, 1889.

Garesché, Louis. *Biography of Lieutenant-Colonel Julius P. Garesché, Assistant Adjutant-General U.S. Army: By his Son*. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1887.

Glisan, Rodney. *Journal of Army Life*. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1874.

Graham, Mrs. Maria. *Journal of a Residence in India*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1812.

- Grant, Colesworthey. *Anglo-Indian Domestic Life. A Letter from an Artist in India to his Mother in England.* Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company, 1862.
- Greene, Duane M. *Ladies and Officers of the United States Army, or American Aristocracy, A Sketch of the Social Life and Character of the Army.* Chicago: Central Publishing Co., 1880.
- Guggisburg, Captain F. G. "*The Shop,*" *The Story of the Royal Military Academy.* 2nd ed. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1902.
- Guthrie, Katherine B. *My Years in an Indian Fort.* Vol. 1. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1877.
- Hervey, Albert. *A Soldier of the Company: Life of an Indian Ensign, 1833-1843.* Edited by Charles Allen. London: Michael Joseph Ltd. 1988.
- Hood, John Bell. *Advance and Retreat: Personal Experiences of Life in the United States and Confederate States Army.* New Orleans, Hood Orphan Fund, 1880.
- Huggins, William. *Sketches in India.* London: John Letts, 1824.
- Johnson, James. *The Influence of Tropical Climate; More Especially, The Climate of India.* London: J. Callow, 1815.
- Jones-Parry, Sydney H. *An Old Soldier's Memories.* London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1897.
- Kimball, Maria Brace. *My Eighty Years.* Boston: Thomas Todd Company, 1934
- King, C. Richard, ed. *Marion T. Brown: Letters From Fort Sill 1886-1887.* Austin: The Encino Press, 1970.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *Plain Tales from the Hills.* New York: John W. Lovell Company, 1889.
- Lane, Lydia Spencer. *I Married a Soldier: or Old Days in the Old Army.* 1893.
Reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1964.
- Langley, Batty. *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs, or, The Art of Drawing and Working the Ornamental Parts of Architecture.* London: S. Harding, 1756. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.CityCtryLang>. Accessed 12 May 2010.
- Lawrence, Honoria. *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence.* Edited by J. Lawrence and A Woodiwiss. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1980.
- Le Marchant, Denis. *Memoirs of the Late Major-General Le Marchant.* London: Samuel Bentley, 1841.

- Leckie, Shirley Anne, ed. *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Leith-Ross, Sylvia. *Stepping Stones: Memoirs of Colonial Nigeria, 1907-1960*. Edited by Michael Crowther. London: Peter Owen, 1983.
- McConnell, H. H. *Five Years a Cavalryman; or, Sketches of Regular Army Life on the Texas Frontier, Twenty Odd Years Ago*. Jacksboro: J.N. Rogers and Co., 1889. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.
- MacKenzie, Helen. *Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná*. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1854.
- . *Six Years in India. Delhi: the City of the Great Mogul*. London: Richard Bentley, 1857.
- . *Storms and Sunshine in a Soldier's Life: Lt-General Sir Colin MacKenzie, C.B., 1825-1881*. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1884.
- Maitland, Julia. *Letters from Madras, During the Years 1836-1839, by a Lady*. London: John Murray, 1843.
- Malton, James. *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture*. London: Nookham and Carpenter, 1798.
- Marryat, Florence "Gup." *Sketches of Anglo-Indian Life and Character*. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1868.
- Mattes, Merrill J., ed. *Indians, Infants, and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier*. Denver: Old West Publishing Co., 1960.
- Mattison Ray, ed. "An Army Wife on the Upper Missouri: The Diary of Sarah E. Canfield, 1866-1868." *North Dakota History* 20 (October 1953): 191-220.
- Mockler-Ferryman, Major A. F. *Annals of Sandhurst: A Chronicle of the Royal Military College*. London: William Heinemann, 1900.
- Monkland, Mrs. *Life in India; or, the English at Calcutta*. Vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn, 1828.
- Morton, Agnes H. *Etiquette: goodmanners for all people, especially those who dwell within the broad zone of the average*. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company, 1892.
- Müller, F. Max., ed. *The Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. 25, *The Laws of Manu*. Translated by George Bühler. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

- Muter, Mrs. D. D. *Travels and Adventures of an Officer's Wife in India, China, and New Zealand*. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864.
- Myres, Sandra, ed. *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.
- Paget, Mrs. Leopold. *Camp and Cantonment: A Journal of Life in India in 1857- 1859, with Some Account of the Way Thither*. London: Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865. Reprint, London: Adamant Media Corporation, 2003.
- Parkes, Frances. *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. Vol. 1. London: Pelham Richardson, 1850.
- *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. Vol. 2. London: Pelham Richardson, 1850.
- Pohanka, Brian, ed. "A Summer on the Plains, 1870: From the Diary of Annie Gibson Roberts." In *Custer and his Times*. Edited by Paul Hutton. El Paso: Little Big Horn Associates, 1981.
- Postans, Mrs. Marianne. *Cutch; or Random Sketches, Taken During a Residence in One of the Northern Provinces of India; Interspersed with Legends and Traditions*. London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1839.
- Prinsep, Val C. *Imperial India: An Artist's Journal*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1879.
- Reeder, Colonel. *Born at Reveille*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1966.
- Renatus, Fluvius Vegetius. "De Re Militari (The Military Institutions of the Romans), 390 AD." Translated by Lt. John Clarke in 1767.
<http://www.pvv.ntnu.no/~madsb/home/war/vegetius/>. Accessed 9 May 2010.
- Roberts, Emma. *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society*. 2 Vols. London: William H. Allen and Co., 1835.
- Roe, Frances M. A. *Army Letters from an Officer's Wife, 1871-1888*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973.
- Roland, Charles P., and Richard P. Robbins, eds. "The Second Cavalry Comes to Texas: The Diary of Eliza (Mrs. Albert Sidney) Johnson." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 60 (April 1957): 463-500.
- Rowland, Thomas. "Letters of a Virginian Cadet at West Point," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (July 1915): 142-156.

- Russell, Marian Sloan. *Land of Enchantment: Memoirs of Marian Russell Along the Santa Fé Trail*. Dictated to Mrs. Hal Russell. Edited by Garnet M. Bayer. Evanston: The Branding Iron Press, 1954.
- Russell, Sir William H. *My Diary in India in the Year 1858-1859*. Vol. 2. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1860.
- Sale, Lady Florentia. *A Journal Of the Disasters in Affganistan, 1841-1842*. London: John Murray, 1844.
- Sargent, Alice Applegate. *Following the Flag: Diary of a Soldier's Wife*. Kansas City: E.B. Barnett Publisher, n.d.
- Schaff, Morris. *The Spirit of Old West Point*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1907.
- Sherwood, Mrs. John. *Manners and Social Usage*. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1887.
- Sherwood, Mary M. *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851): From the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood*. Edited by F. J. Harvey Darton. London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., Ltd., 1855.
- Sherwood, Mary E. W. *Etiquette, the American Code of Manners*. London: Routledge, 1884.
- Shields, Alice M., ed. "Army Life on the Wyoming Frontier." *Annals of Wyoming* 13, no. 4 (October, 1941): 331-344.
- Smith, T. Roger. "Architectural Art in India." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 21, no. 1,059 (March 1873): 278-287.
- Spring, Agnes W., ed. "An Army Wife Comes West: Letters of Catherine Weaver Collins, 1863-1865." *Colorado Magazine* 31 (October 1954): 241-273.
- Stallard, Patricia, ed. *Fanny Dunbar Corbusier: Recollections of her Army Life, 1869-1908*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.
- Stanley, Henry M. *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia*. Vol. 1. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1895.
- Starr, Leonora. *The Colonel's Lady*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1943.
- Steel, Flora and Grace Gardiner. *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*. London: William Heineman, 1890. Reprint: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Stocqueler, Joachim, ed. *The Oriental Interpreter and Treasury of East India Knowledge*. London: James Madden, 1848.
- Summerhayes, Martha. *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1908.
- Thackeray, William M. *The Four Georges. The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1869.
- Totten, Ruth E. P. *The Button Box: A Daughter's Memoir of Mrs. George S. Patten*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005.
- Trotter, Captain Lionel J. *History of India under Queen Victoria, 1836-1880*. Vol. 2. London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1886.
- Tytler, Harriet. *An Englishwoman in India: The Memoirs of Harriet Tytler*. Edited by A. Sattin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Unknown. *The Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1838*. Calcutta: Samuel Smith and Co., 1838.
- Utley, Robert M., ed. *Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. London: Macmillan, 1899. Reprint; New York: Mentor Books, 1953.
- Vielé, Teresa Griffin. *Following the Drum: A Glimpse of Frontier Life*. New York: R. Craighead, Printer, 1858.
- Wallace-Dunlap, Madeline and Rosalind. *The Timely Retreat Or, A Year in Bengal before the Mutinies*. Vol. 1. London: Richard Bentley, 1858.
- Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. V, ed. Worthington C. Ford. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1890.
- Whitworth, George C. *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. 1885.
- Williams, Captain Thomas. *The East India Vade-Mecum; or complete guide to Gentlemen intended for the Civil, Military or naval Service of the Honourable East India Company*. Vol. 1. London: Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1810.
- Williams, Ellen. *Three Years and a Half in the Army; or, History of the Second Colorados*. New York: Fowler and Wells Company, 1885.

Wilson, Lady Anne C. *After Five Years in India*. London: Blackie and Son, 1895.

Wolseley, Field-Marshal Viscount Garnet. *The Story of a Soldier*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1904.

Secondary Works

Books

Adams, R. J. Q. *Balfour: The Last Grandee*. London: John Murray, 2007.

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Alt, Betty S., and Bonnie D. Stone. *Campfollowing: A History of the Military Wife*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Anderson, Fred, and Andrew Clayton. *Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500-2000*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.

Bamfield, Veronica. *On the Strength: The Story of the British Army Wife*. London: Knight and Co., 1974.

Barr, Pat. *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1976.

Blumin, Stuart M., *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Borden, Iain, and David Dunster, eds. *Architecture and the Sites of History: Interpretations of Buildings and Cities*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1995.

Branca, Patricia. *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.

Brown, Dee. *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West*. New York: Bantam Books, 1974.

Burn, William L. *The Age of Equipose: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation*. London: Gregg Revivals, 1964.

- Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Calder, Jenni. *The Victorian Home*. London: Batsford, 1977.
- Callan, Hilary, and Shirley Ardener, eds. *The Incorporated Wife*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Callaway, Helen. *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Cannadine, David. *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge, University of Cambridge, 1987.
- Carman, W. Y. *A Dictionary of Military Uniforms*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1977.
- Carter, Thomas, ed. *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture in the Western United States*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.
- Chaudhuri, Nirad. *Culture in the Vanity Bag*. Bombay: Jaico Press, 1976.
- Coffman, Edward M. *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*. London: Jonathon Cape, 2002.
- Collingham, Elizabeth M. *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, 1800-1947*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Coontz, Stephanie. "A Heaving Volcano": Beneath the Surface of Victorian Marriage." In *Marriage a History: From Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage*. London: Viking Penguin, 2005.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 2d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Cunliffe, Marcus. *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865*. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Davidoff, Leonore. *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season*. London: Croom Helm, 1973.
- Davidoff, Leonore, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink, and Katherine Holden. *The Family Story: Blood, Contract, and Intimacy, 1830-1960*. London: Longman, 1999.

- Davies, Philip. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947*. London: John Murray, 1985.
- Davis, Terence. *The Prince Regent's Architect*. London: Country Life Limited, 1966.
- De Courcy, Anne. *The Fishing Fleet: Husband Hunting in the Raj*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2012.
- Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Doyle, Michael W. *Empires*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Eales, Anne B. *Army Wives on the Frontier: Living by the Bugles*. Boulder: Johnson Books, 1996.
- Eblen, Jack E. *The First and Second United States Empires: Governors and Territorial Government, 1784-1912*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968.
- Edwardes, Michael. *Bound to Exile: The Victorians in Indian*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Ellis, Joseph, and Robert Moore. *School for Soldiers: West Point and the Profession of Arms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Evans, Sara M. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*. New York: Free Press, 1989.
- Faragher, John Mack. *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Farwell, Byron. *Armies of the Raj: From the Great Indian Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.
- Finch, Janet. *Married to the Job: Wives' Incorporation in Men's Work*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1983.
- Firth, Raymond W. *Symbols, Public and Private: Symbol, Myth, and Ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Foote, Cheryl J. *Women of the New Mexico Frontier 1846-1912*. Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990.
- Frampton, Kenneth. *Labor, Work, and Architecture: Collected Essays on Architecture and Design*. London: Phaiden Press, 2002.

- . *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.
- Galloway, K. Bruce and Robert B. Johnson, Jr. *West Point: America's Power Fraternity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gilbert, Sandra, and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, 2d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Gillis, John. *A World of Their Own Making: A History of Myth and Ritual in Family Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Glassie, Henry. *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.
- Gowans, Alan. *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression*. New York: Lippincott Co., 1964.
- . *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression*. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Graebner, Norman A. *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955.
- Greenberger, Allen J. *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880-1960*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Grier, Katherine C. *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Gunn, Simon. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Hardorff, Richard G. *Indian Views of the Custer Fight: A Source Book*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- Harries-Jenkins, Gwyn. *The Army in Victorian Society*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

- Harrington, Peter, and Michel Tomasek. *Queen Victoria's Army in Color: The British Military Paintings of Orlando Norie*. Atglen: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2003.
- Henriques, Fernando. *Children of Caliban: Miscegenation*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1974.
- Hietala, Thomas R. *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Hoagland, Alison K. *Army Architecture in the West: A History of Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D. A. Russell, 1849-1912*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- Hoagland, Alison K., and Kenneth A. Breish. *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Identity*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2003.
- Huhndorf, Shari M. *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Hyam, Bertram. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Jacobs, Margaret. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Jayewardene-Pillai, Shanti. *Imperial Conversations: Indo-Britons and the Architecture of South India*. New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006.
- Jeffrey, Julie Roy. *Frontier Women: "Civilizing" the West? 1840-1880*. 1979. Reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.
- Johnson, Paul. *The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830*. New York: Harper Collins, 1991.
- Joseph, Betty. *Reading the East Indian Company: Colonial Currencies of Gender*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Kanwar, Pamela. *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Kasson, John F. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Kennedy, Dane. *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

- Kerr, Barbara. *The Dispossessed: An Aspect of Victorian Social History*. London: John Baker, 1974.
- King, Anthony D. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- . *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Knapman, Claudia. *White Women of Fiji, 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire?* London: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
- Knight, Oliver. *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- Knötel, Herbert and Herbert Sieg. *Uniforms of the World: A Compendium of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Uniforms, 1700-1937*. Translated by Ronald G. Ball. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1937.
- Kolodny, Annette. *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1884.
- LaFeber, Walter. *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansionism, 1860-1898*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963.
- Lebsock, Suzanne. *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1984.
- Leckie, Shirley A. *Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the Making of a Myth*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press 1993.
- . ed. *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Longford, Elizabeth. *Queen Victoria*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999.
- Lurie, Alison. *The Language of Clothes*. London: Bloomsbury Press, 1981.
- McLaughlin, Jack. *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988.
- MacMillan, Margaret. *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988. Reprint, Random House, 2007.

- Mangan, J. A., and James Walvin, eds. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Mason, Philip. *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, its Officers and Men*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.
- . *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1982.
- Maunier, René. *The Sociology of Colonies: An Introduction to the Study of Race Contact*. Vol. 1. Edited and Translated by E. O. Lorimer. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949.
- Metcalf, Thomas. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Miller, Charles H. *Khyber: British India's Northwest Frontier, The Story of an Imperial Migraine*. London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Miller, Edward A. *Lincoln's Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter*. Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1997.
- Montgomery, Maureen. *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Moorhouse, Geoffrey. *India Britannica*. New York: Harper and Row, 1983.
- Morris, Jan, and Simon Winchester. *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Morrison, James L. "The Best School in the World:" *West Point, the Pre-Civil War Years, 1833-1866*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 1986.
- Myres, Sandra. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- Nacy, Michele J. *Members of the Regiment: Army Officers' Wives on the Western Frontier, 1865-1890*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Namias, June. *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- Nicols, Frederick D. *Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings*. Lunenburg: The Stinehour Press, 1961.

- Nicholson, Nigel. *Mary Curzon: The Story of an Heiress from Chicago who Married Lord Curzon Viceroy of India*. London: Futura Press, 1978.
- Nilsson, Sten. *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1969.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Genius Loci: Towards a Phrenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli Press, 1980.
- Nye, Colonel W.S. *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*. Norman: Oklahoma Press, 1974.
- Parks, Joseph H. *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954.
- Patterson, Steven. *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India*. London: Macmillan, 2009.
- Perry, Adele. *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Ponsonby, Margaret. *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.
- Procida, Mary. *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *Military Posts of the United States 1789-1895*. Wisconsin: North American Press, 1964.
- . *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846*. London: Macmillan, 1969.
- Rankin, Colonel Robert H. *Uniforms of the Army*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967.
- Rappaport, Erika. *Shopping for Pleasure: Women and the Making of London's West End*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Raza, Rosemary. *British Women Writers and India, 1740-1857*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Riley, Glenda. *Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.
- . *Taking Land, Breaking Land: Women Colonizing the American and Kenyan Frontiers, 1840-1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

- . *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairies and the Plains*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988.
- Robinson, Willard B. *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.
- Roper, Michael and John Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Ross, Robert. *Clothing: a Global History; or, the Imperialists' New Clothes*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.
- Shea, Nancy. *The Army Wife*. 4th ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- . *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978. Reprint, London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Shepperd, Alan. *Sandhurst: The Royal Military Academy and its Predecessors*. London: Country Life Books, 1980.
- Sinha, Mrinalina. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Skelton, William B. *An American Profession of Arms: The Officer Corps, 1784-1861*. Topeka: University of Kansas Press, 1992.
- Sklar, Kathryn K. *Catherine Beecher, A Study in American Domesticity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Smith, Sherry L. *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990.
- Spain, Daphne. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Spacks, Patricia M. *Gossip*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- Spear, Percival. *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Stallard, Patricia Y. *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army*. Fort Collins and San Rafael, Colo.: Old Army Press and Presidio Press, 1978.

- Stanford, John K. *Ladies in the Sun: The Mem Sahibs India 1760-1860*. London: Galley Press, 1962.
- Stanley, Peter. *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Strachen, Hew. *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-1854*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- Stoler, Ann L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Strobel, Margaret. *European Women and the Second British Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- Sweet, Matthew. *Inventing the Victorians*. London: Faber, 2001.
- Tarlo, Emma. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Tate, Michael L. *The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Taylor, Quintard. *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Thomas, Hugh. *The Story of Sandhurst*. London: Hutchinson, 1961.
- Thompson, F. M. L. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. London: London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963.
- Tillotson, G. H. R. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Trustram, Myna. *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt, 1920.
- Turner, Victor W. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Utley, Robert M. *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. New York: Macmillan, 1967. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.

- . *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- . *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- Van Alstyne, Richard W. *The Rising American Empire*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974.
- Venning, Annabel. *Following the Drum: The Lives of Army Wives and Daughters*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 2005.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Weeks, William E. *Building the Continental Empire: American Expansion from Revolution to the Civil War*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996.
- Weigley, Russell F. *History of the United States Army*. London: Macmillan, 1967.
- Whitlock, Tammy C. *Crime, Gender, and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 2d ed. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Woollacott, Angela. *Gender and Empire*. London: Macmillan, 2006.
- Wooster, Robert. *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006.
- . *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987.

Articles, Reports, and Book Chapters

- Baker, Anni P. "Daughters of Mars: Army Officers' Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier." *The Historian* 67 (March 2005): 20-42.
- Bammer, Angelika. "Mother Tongues and Other Strangers: Writing 'Family' across Cultural Divides." In *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, ed. Angelika Bammer, 90-109. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Banton, Michael. "Urbanization and the Colour Line in Africa." In *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*, ed. Victor Turner, 256-285. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

- Barnes, Ruth, and Joanne B. Eicher. "Introduction." In *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, edited by Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher, 1-7. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992.
- Blackburn, Forrest R. "Army Families in Frontier Forts." *Military Review* 49 (October 1969): 17-28.
- Blunt, Alison. "The Flight from Lucknow: British Women Travelling and Writing Home, 1857- 8." In *The Writings of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory, 93-113. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Boyle, Paul. "Population Geography: Transnational Women on the Move." *Progress in Human Geography*. 26, no. 4 (2002): 531-543.
- Brownfoot, Janice N. "Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya: A Study of European Wives in a British Colony and Protectorate, 1900-1940." In *The Incorporated Wife*, eds. Helen Callan and Shirley Ardener, 186-210. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Callaway, Helen. "Dressing for Dinner in the Bush: Rituals of Self-Definition and British Imperial Authority." In *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, eds. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher, 232-247. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992.
- Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel. "Introduction." In *Western Women and Imperialism*, eds. Nupur Chaudhuri, and Margaret Strobel, 1-15. Bloomington, 1992.
- Coffman, Edward M. "Women and Children in the Army, 1784-1812." *Journal of the Council on America's Military Past* 12 (May 1982): 31-39.
- Cohn, Bernard S. "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century." In *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.
- Colley, Linda. "What is Imperial History Now?" In *What is History Now?* ed. David Cannadine, 152-147. London: Macmillan, 2002.
- Cott, Nancy F. "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexuality." *Signs* 4 (Winter 1978): 219-44.
- Crackel, Theodore J. "The Military Academy in the Context of Jeffersonian Reform." In *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point*, ed. Robert McDonald, 99-117. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Dinges, Bruce J. "Leighton Finley: A Forgotten Soldier of the Apache Wars." *Journal of Arizona History* 29 (Summer 1998): 163-284.

- Duncan, James S., and Derek Gregory. "Introduction." In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory, 1-13. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Edwards, Clive, and Margaret Ponsonby. "Desirable Commodity or Practical Necessity? The Sale and Consumption of Second-Hand Furniture, 1750-1900." In *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, eds. David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby, 117-138. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- Falconer, Stuart. "Willoughby Wallace Hooper: A Craze about Photography." *The Photographic Collector* 4 (1984): 258-286.
- Feeley-Harnick, Gillian. "Issues in Divine Kingship." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14 (1984): 273-313.
- Fields, Barbara J. "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America." *New Left Review* (May-June, 1991): 95-118.
- Gartrell, Beverly. "Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?" In *The Incorporated Wife*, eds. Helen Callan and Shirley Ardener, 164-186. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Ghose, Indira. "The Memsahib Myth: Englishwomen in Colonial India." In *Women and Others: Perspectives on Race, Gender, and Empire*, eds. Celia Daileader, Rhoda E. Johnson and Amilcar Shabazz, 107-128. London: Macmillan, 2007.
- Godfrey, Audrey M. "Housewives, Hussies, and Heroines, or the Women of Johnston's Army." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Spring 1986): 157-78.
- Goldring, Luin. "The Gender and Geography of Citizenship in Mexico-U.S. Transnational Spaces." *Identities* 7, no. 4 (January 2001): 501-25.
- Guha, Ranajit. "Not at Home in Empire." *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Spring 1997): 482-493.
- Haggis, Jane. "Gendering Colonialism or Colonising gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism." *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, nos. 1-2 (1990): 105-115.
- Howe, Daniel W. "Victorian Culture in America." In *Victorian America*, ed. Geoffrey Blodgett, 3-28. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976.
- Iser, Wolfgang. "Coda to the Discussion." In *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, eds. S. Budick and Wolfgang Iser, 95-302. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1996.

- Johnson, Paul. "Conspicuous Consumption and Working Class Culture in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain." *London: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th Series* no. 38 (1998): 27-42.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Left Alone with America: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture." In *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, 3-21. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American History* 75 (June, 1988): 9-39.
- Khagram, Sanjeev, and Peggy Levitt. "Constructing Transnational Studies." In *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations*, eds. Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt, 1-22. London: Routledge, 2008.
- López, Ian F. Haney. "The Making of Race, Sex, and Empire." In *An Introduction to Women's Studies: Gender in a Transnational World*, eds. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, 52-6. New York: McGraw Hill, 2002.
- Mahler, Sarah J., and Patricia R. Pessar. "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces." *Identities* 7, no. 4 (2001): 441-459.
- McInnis, Verity. "'Ladies' of the Frontier Forts." *Military History of the West* 35 (2005): 35-56.
- Miller, Darlis A. "Foragers, Army Women, and Prostitutes." In *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Myres, Sandra. "Army Women's Narratives as Documents of Social History: Some Examples from the Western Frontier, 1840-1900." *New Mexico Historical Review* 65 (April, 1990): 175-98.
- . "Frontier Historians, Women, and the 'New' Military History." *Military History of the Southwest* 19, no.1 (Spring 1989): 26-37.
- . "Romance and Reality on the American Frontier: Views of Army Wives." *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (October, 1982): 409-427.
- Nadis, Mark. "Evolution of the Sahibs." *The Historian* 19 (1975): 425-35.
- Ogden, Annegret. "Queen or Camp Follower? The Life of the Military Wife in Early California." *Californian* 2 (March-April 1984): 11-16.
- Pease, Donald. "New Perspectives on U. S. Culture and Imperialism." In *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, 22-40. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

- Ricketts, Mrs. L. C. "English Society in India." *Contemporary Review* 101 (January/June 1912): 681-688.
- Rouse, Roger. "Making Sense of Settlement: Class Transformation, Cultural Struggle, and Transnationalism among Mexican Migrants in the United States." In *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, 25-52. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992.
- Schiller, Nina Glick. "Transmigrants and Nation-States: Something Old and Something New in the U.S. Immigrant Experience." In *The Handbook of International Migration*, eds. C. Hirschman, J. Dewind and P. Kasinitz, 94-119. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
- Schlereth, Thomas. "Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976." In *Material Culture Studies in America*, ed. Thomas Schlereth, 1-78. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 1999.
- Smith, Thomas T. "West Point and the Indian Wars 1802-1891." *Military History of the West* 24 (Spring 1994): 24-56.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.
- Stoddard, Ellwyn R., and Claude E. Cabanillas. "The Army Officer's Wife: Social Stresses in a Complementary Role." In *The Social Psychology of Military Service*, eds. Nancy L. Goldman and David R. Segal, 151-171. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.
- Turner, Mark W. "Hybrid Journalism: Women and the Progressive Fortnightly." In *Journalism, Literature and Modernity: From Hazlitt to Modernism*, ed. Kate Campbell, 72-90. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Vertovec, Steven. "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 447-462.
- Vidal, Gore. "West Point." In *American Identities: Contemporary Multicultural Voices*, eds. Robert Pack and Jay Parini, 322-334. Hanover: Middlebury College Press, 1994.
- Wagoner, Jennings L. Jr., and Christine C. McDonald. "Mr. Jefferson's Academy: An Educational Interpretation." In *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point*, ed. Robert McDonald, 118-153. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Watson, Samuel J. "Developing 'Republican Machines': West Point and the Struggle to Render the Officer Corps Safe for America, 1802-33." In *Thomas Jefferson's Military*

Academy: Founding West Point, ed. Robert McDonald, 154-181. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174

Williams, Mary L. "Servants at Military Posts: A Glimpse at 'Domesticity' through the Letters of Alice Kirk Grierson." *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 11 (1999): 145-58.

Reference Works

Addison, Henry R., Charles H. Oakes, William John Lawson, Douglas Brooke, and Wheelton Sladen. *Who's Who, 1907, an Annual Biographic Dictionary*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907.

Anonymous. *The Shilling Song Book: A Collection of 175 of the most favorite National, Patriotic, Sentimental, and Comic Ballads of the Day*. Niagara Falls: W. E. Tunis, 1860.

Baillie, Lauren. *Indian Biographical Index, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka*. München: K. G. Sour, 2001.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Decameron*. Vol. 4. London: William Sharp and Son, 1822.

Brown, William L. III. *The Army Called It Home: Military Interiors of the Nineteenth Century*. Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1992.

Buckland, C. E. *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1906.

Burke, Bernard. *The Book of Precedence*. London: Harrison, 1881.

Chatelain, Heli, ed. *Folk Tales of Angola*. New York: American Folk Lore Society, 1894.

"Census of India 1881." <http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/dcd/census1881.htm>. Accessed 15 January 2012.

"Census of India 1881-1941." <http://www.samanvaya.com/main/contentframes/knowledge/articles/census1881.html>. Accessed 16 January 2012.

"Military Times Hall of Valor: Colonel Forrest E. Williford." <http://militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=18367>. Accessed 3 February 3, 2012.

- Cullum, George W. *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy*. Vol. 3. 3d ed. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891.
- Dawson, Joseph G. III. *The Late Nineteenth-Century U.S. Army, 1865-1898: A Research Guide*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online: Thomas Bland Strange.
<http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=42107>. Accessed 21 August 2010.
- Felleman, Hazel, ed. *The Best Loved Poems of the American People*. New York: Doubleday, 1936.
- Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbr94>. Accessed December 13, 2010
- Hart, Major H. G. *The New Annual Army List for 1850*. Vol. 11. London: John Murray, 1850.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/newannualarmylis1850lond#page/n7/mode/2up>. Accessed 21 August 2010.
- *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List for 1862*. Vol. 23. London: John Murray, 1862.
- Hart, Colonel H. G. *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List for 1869*. Vol. 30. London: John Murray, 1869.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/newannualarmylis1869hart#page/n9/mode/2up>. Accessed 23 August 2010.
- Hart, Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. *The New Annual Army List, Militia List, and Yeoman Cavalry List for 1903*. Vol. 64. London: John Murray, 1903.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/hartsannualarmyl1903lond#page/n21/mode/2up>. Accessed 22 August 2010.
- Khan, Omar. *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of John Burke and William Baker, 1860-1900*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002.
- Manby, Charles, and James Forrest, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Session 1860-61*, vol. 20. London: Institution of Civil Engineers, 1861.
- Matthews, H. C. G., Brian Harrison, Mike Macmahon, Peter Smith, Gerard Carruthers, et al. eds. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*. Vols. 1-60. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Moore, Thomas and Lord Jeffrey. *Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1848.

- Mosley, Charles, ed. *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, 107d ed. 3 vols. Wilmington: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd, 2003.
- Olson, James S., Robert Shadle, Patricia Ashman, Pradip Bhaumik, and John Biles, et al. eds. *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996.
- Parsons, Elsie C, ed. *Folk Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas*. New York: American Folk Lore Society, 1918.
- Raugh, Harold E. *The Victorians at War, 1815-191; An Encyclopedia of British Military History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Scott, Sir Walter. *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field*. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, n.d.
- Sloane, W. and J. *The Story of Sloane's*. New York, W. J. Sloane Company, 1950.
- Vivian, Evelyn C. *The British Army from Within*. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1914.
- Whitaker, Joseph. *An Almanack: 1899*. London: Paternoster Row, 1899.
- Worswick, Clark, and Ainslie Embree. *The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855- 1911*. New York: Aperture, 1976.

Theses and Dissertations

- Comer, Denise K. "Fictions of Empire: British Women's Travel Narratives in India, 1799-1854." Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1999.
- Fisher, Barbara. "Forrestine Cooper Hooker's Notes and Memoirs on Army Life in the West, 1871-1876." MA Thesis. University of Arizona, 1963.
- McInnis, Verity. "Expanding Horizons: Officers' Wives on the Military Frontiers, 1846-1903." MA Thesis, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 2006.
- Mickelson, Joan M. "British Women in India 1757-1857." Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978.

Websites

- Baker, Erma. "Brown, John Henry." *Handbook of Texas Online*
<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbr94>, accessed December 13, 2010.

“Elizabeth Custer.” *Custerwest.org*. <http://custer.over-blog.com/article-10579099.html>. Accessed 15 December 2010.

“Elizabeth Bacon Custer.” *Kansapedia, Kansas Historical Society*. <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/elizabeth-bacon-custer/12030>. Accessed 15 December 2010.

“Lt.-Col. Christopher Bromhead Birdwood, 2nd Baron Birdwood.” *thePeerage*. <http://thepeerage.com/p14257.htm#i142570>. Accessed 17 February 2011.

“Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management.” Oxford University Press. <http://www.oup.co.uk/worldsclassics/magarchive/mag1/article01/>. Accessed 3 April 2011.

“The British Army.” http://www.army.mod.uk/training_education/training/17061.aspx. Accessed 26 March 2010.

“U.S. Cavalry Full Dress Uniforms.” <http://www.9thcavalry.com/history/fulldres.htm>. Accessed 2 May 2011.

“Warrant of Precedence.” http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/guidline_govt_mp/chap11.pdf. Accessed 27 March 2011.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH INDIAN WORDS, COMPLETE
WITH A SEPARATE LIST OF HOUSEHOLD SERVANT TITLES

The following list represents an amalgamation of three original glossaries published in:

Mrs. Maria Graham (Lady Maria Callcott), *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1812), xi-xii.

Helen MacKenzie, *Six Years in India. Delhi: The City of the Great Mogul* (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), xi-x.

Lady Florentia Sale, *A Journal Of the Disasters in AfFganistan, 1841-1842* (London: John Murray, 1844), xi-xv.

For additional Anglo-Indian terms and pronunciations, see George C. Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (London, 1885). Whitworth was a Civil Servant in Bombay and Fellow of the University of Bombay.

A

<i>Ahukzye.</i>	Name of one of the great AfFghan [sic] tribes.
<i>Akham.</i>	Mandate.
<i>Aloo-baloo.</i>	Wild sour cherry.
<i>Aman.</i>	Cry for mercy - quarter.
<i>Ameer.</i>	or <i>Amir</i> . Commander, chief, a non-Hindu lord.
<i>Arm.</i>	Small coin; sixteen of which make a rupee, about three halfpence.
<i>Ashurpee.</i>	A gold coin. Its value is about thirty shillings English.

B

<i>Bakshish.</i>	Reward.
<i>Bagh.</i>	Garden.
<i>Bahadur.</i>	Bravo - a boaster or braggadocio; also a brave man - a hero.
<i>Bahadur.</i>	(verb). To boast or brag.
<i>Bala Hissar.</i>	Upper citadel, a royal palace.
<i>Bandy.</i>	Gig.
<i>Banggolo.</i>	Bengal hut whose construction inspired the bungalow.
<i>Baniah.</i>	Shopkeeper.
<i>Barats.</i>	Legal documents, assignments, promissory notes.
<i>Bard.</i>	or <i>Bari</i> . Great.
<i>Barukzye.</i>	Name of one of the five great Dooranee tribes.
<i>Bash.</i>	or <i>Bosh</i> . Nothing, humbug.
<i>Bashee.</i>	Head-man.
<i>Bazar.</i>	Market, or market town.

<i>Bechoba.</i>	Tent without a centre pole.
<i>Bedanas.</i>	Sort of mulberry.
<i>Begum.</i>	Princess.
<i>Behmaru.</i>	Village near Cabul. The word signifies "the husbandless."
<i>Bhang.</i>	Intoxicating spirit made from hemp-seed.
<i>Bhanghys.</i>	Boxes hung at each end of a pole and carried on a man's shoulder.
<i>Bhoosa.</i>	or <i>Boussa</i> . Chopped straw, chaff.
<i>Bibi.</i>	A lady.
<i>Bildars.</i>	Excavators, sappers.
<i>Bimneah.</i>	Trader, a corn-merchant or dealer in grain, flour, &c.
<i>Boccas-wallah.</i>	Or <i>boxwallah</i> . Peddler, small goods traveling salesman.
<i>Bougie.</i>	Bracelet.
<i>Bourj.</i>	or <i>Burj</i> . Fortified hill or tower.
<i>Brahman.</i>	or <i>Brahmin</i> . The sacred and highest caste of Hindus.
<i>Budgerow.</i>	Large Calcutta boat.
<i>Buhhraeed.</i>	A Mahomedan feast. The festival of the goat; held to commemorate
the	history of Abraham and Ishmael (Isaac).
<i>Bukshees.</i>	Gifts, presents.
<i>Bund.</i>	Dam.
<i>Bunder.</i>	Port or pier.
<i>Bungalo.</i>	or <i>Bungalow</i> . Garden-house, cottage, thatched house.

C

<i>Cafua.</i>	Caravan, a convoy.
<i>Cass.</i>	Kind of furze.
<i>Caupoochees.</i>	Porters.
<i>Chaoney.</i>	Encampment, cantonment.
<i>Charpoys.</i>	Bed on four poles, with ropes crossed over them.
<i>Chattah.</i>	or <i>Chittah, chatta</i> . Umbrella, parasol.
<i>Chattak.</i>	Measure for grain, the 16th part of a seer, or about 2 ounces English.
<i>Chebootras.</i>	Small thick mats, on which slaves usually sit or squat.
<i>Chicks.</i>	Blinds.
<i>Chillum.</i>	The part of the hookah, or pipe, containing tobacco
<i>Chillumchee.</i>	Wash basin.
<i>Chiragh.</i>	Lamp.
<i>Chogah.</i>	Sort of cloak.
<i>Chokey.</i>	Police station.
<i>Chota-hazree.</i>	Breakfast.
<i>Chota-Mem.</i>	Anglo wife, not the burra mem.
<i>Chouk.</i>	Bazaar, a street. Also the portion of the taxes <i>excused</i> to the native
Chiefs	for keeping the passes open, and for keeping the tribes in check.
<i>Chowdry.</i>	Chief man or head of a bazaar.
<i>Chubootur.</i>	Terrace around the bungalow.
<i>Chuddah.</i>	Sheet or veil.
<i>Chunam.</i>	Lime, or the sort of stucco made in India of shell-lime mixed with
curdled	milk and sugar.
<i>Chupao.</i>	A night attack - a surprise - a foray.

<i>Chupa.</i>	(verb). To attack by night - to surprise by stealth.
<i>Chupatties.</i>	Unleavened cakes, made of ottah.
<i>Chuprassy.</i>	Messenger - a servant bearing a badge or brass plate.
<i>Coier.</i>	The fibrous husk of the coconut when steeped and cleaned.
<i>Compound.</i>	An enclosed space , the ground round a house.
<i>Cossid.</i>	Courier, an express, a foot messenger.
<i>Cröre.</i>	Ten lakhs of rupees, or one million pounds sterling.
<i>Cummerbund.</i>	or <i>Kammerband.</i> Waist-band, girdle.

D

<i>Daffadar.</i>	Native cavalry non-commissioned officer.
<i>Dahgoba.</i>	Beehive-shaped Buddhist shrine.
<i>Dak.</i>	Letter post, also identified a bungalow generally used by travelers.
<i>Dalits.</i>	Untouchable caste group.
<i>Dallies.</i>	Baskets for fruits, panniers.
<i>Dammar.</i>	A resinous substance used as a pitch.
<i>Darbar.</i>	Court.
<i>Dewan.</i>	Steward.
<i>Dhal.</i>	Kind of split pea, pulse.
<i>Dheds.</i>	Low caste people in Surat and elsewhere.
<i>Dhobin.</i>	Washerman's wife.
<i>Dhole.</i>	Musical instrument.
<i>Dhooley.</i>	or <i>Dhoolie.</i> Palanquin for the sick.
<i>Dhye.</i>	Sour curds.
<i>Dinghi.</i>	Large Calcutta boat.
<i>Dohai.</i>	Mercy.
<i>Doms.</i>	Low caste people in Bengal.
<i>Dooranee.</i>	The general name of the five great tribes; the Populzye, Barukzye,
<i>Xurzye,</i>	Barmizye and Abkhuzye.
<i>Duli.</i>	Litter.
<i>Duffodar.</i>	Non-commissioned officer of cavalry.
<i>Durbar.</i>	Levee.

E

<i>Elchee.</i>	Ambassador, an agent.
<i>Eusofzyes.</i>	AfFghan tribe north of Peshawer.

F

<i>Fagoda.</i>	A name which Europeans have given to Hindoo and Chinese temples;
also	the name of the current coin of Madras.
<i>Fakirs.</i>	Devotees, mendicants.
<i>Fatcha.</i>	Prayer for the reigning monarch, a part of the Mahommedan service;
the	reading of which is equivalent to doing homage.
<i>Femez.</i>	Sweet curds.
<i>Feringhees.</i>	Europeans, Franks, foreigners.
<i>Fouj.</i>	An army.

G

<i>Gari.</i>	Carriage.
<i>Ghat.</i>	or <i>Ghaut.</i> A pass through hills, or a landing place.
<i>Ghee.</i>	Clarified butter.
<i>Ghuzee.</i>	or <i>Ghazeea.</i> A champion of religion, a fanatic.
<i>Gobrowed.</i>	Dumbfounded.
<i>Godowns.</i>	Storehouses, granaries.
<i>Golees.</i>	Balls, bullets.
<i>Golandaz.</i>	Artillerymen - literally, throwers of balls.
<i>Gonds.</i>	The aboriginal Hill Tribe of the Dekkhan.
<i>Goor.</i>	Coarse brown sugar or molasses.
<i>Goorgoories.</i>	Hookah.
<i>Goorhha.</i>	Native of Nepaul; literally "Cowherd."
<i>Gulag.</i>	Cherries.
<i>Guzye.</i>	Great Affghan tribe.
H	
<i>Hamaul.</i>	or <i>Hamauljee.</i> Palankeen-bearer.
<i>Hamaum.</i>	or <i>Hummums.</i> Hot bath, baths.
<i>Haut.</i>	Measure equal to half a yard - a cubit.
<i>Haq.</i>	Right.
<i>Havildar.</i>	Serjeant in the native troops.
<i>Hazir-Bashes.</i>	The king's body guard. The words imply "Ever ready."
<i>Hindoo.</i>	Hindu.
<i>Hoohm.</i>	An order, permission, the word of command.
<i>Hoosseinee-Angoor.</i>	A peculiarly fine sort of grape, of immense size, called "the bull's eye."
<i>Huft Kohtid.</i>	The seven passes.
<i>Huqa.</i>	Long pipe, the smoke passes through water.
<i>Hurkaru.</i>	Messenger.
I	
<i>Insaf.</i>	Justice.
J	
<i>Jain.</i>	Hindu sect, half Buddhists.
<i>Jamma.</i>	A sort of muslin robe reaching to the feet, and very full in the skirt; it crosses on the breast, and is tied with an <i>uneven</i> number of points. It is a Mussulman dress, though others wear it.
<i>Janbaz.</i>	Affghan cavalry.
<i>Jātis.</i>	Sub-castes.
<i>Jee.</i>	Life, spirit, "with right goodwill."
<i>Jeerga.</i>	Assembly or council, a diet.
<i>Jemadar.</i>	Native officer holding the rank of lieutenant.
<i>Jhala.</i>	Raft.
<i>Jhamp.</i>	Screen of bamboo and matting.
<i>Jhappan.</i>	Sort of sedan chair with curtains, at Simla.
<i>Jingals.</i>	Wall pieces, carrying a ball of about a quarter of a pound.
<i>Jorabs.</i>	Boots.

<i>Joys.</i>	Jewels.
<i>Jung.</i>	Fight, battle.
<i>Jungle.</i>	Forest, waste land.
<i>Juwans.</i>	Young men.
<i>Juzail.</i>	Long rifle of the Afghans.
<i>Juzailchees.</i>	Riflemen.
K	
<i>Kacha.</i>	Unripe, unbaked, imperfect.
<i>Kaffirs.</i>	Infidels.
<i>Kaloss.</i>	Safe, free, finished.
<i>Kazanchez.</i>	Treasurer, a treasury.
<i>Keshmish.</i>	Raisins, grapes.
<i>Khan.</i>	Nobleman, lord. In Cabul the title is assumed by everyone.
<i>Khelluts.</i>	Dresses of honour.
<i>Khooiba.</i>	Prayer for the king.
<i>Kirhee.</i>	Wicket or window.
<i>Kos.</i>	Measure of distance, equal to about two English miles.
<i>Kote.</i>	Fort.
<i>Kotilla Taj-i.</i>	A pass, literally, the crown of the mountains.
<i>Kshatriyas.</i>	Political caste group.
<i>Kujavas.</i>	Camel-panniers.
<i>Kulassy.</i>	Tent pitcher, a baggage servant.
<i>Kulma.</i>	The Mahomedan creed.
<i>Kuneh.</i>	A private dwelling.
<i>Kurtoot.</i>	Name of a village, literally, the donkey's mulberry.
<i>Kurwar.</i>	or <i>Khurwah</i> . A measure equal to 700 lbs. English.
<i>Kuzziibashes.</i>	Persians or persons of Persian descent, residing in Cabul.
<i>Kyde.</i>	Prison.
<i>Kysee.</i>	White apricot.
L	
<i>Lakh.</i>	One hundred thousand.
<i>Lakh of Rupees.</i>	Ten thousand pounds sterling.
<i>Larye.</i>	Battle, an engagement.
<i>Lascar.</i>	Attendant on guns, magazines, &c.
<i>Loonghee.</i>	Cloth of a turban.
<i>Loot.</i>	Plunder.
<i>Loot</i>	(verb). To sack, to plunder.
M	
<i>Madam Sahib.</i>	Bombay, a lady.
<i>Maharajah.</i>	Hindu king, literally "great prince."
<i>Masjid.</i>	Mosque.
<i>Massak.</i>	Goatskin for carrying water.
<i>Mast.</i>	Curds.
<i>Maund.</i>	Measure of grain; about 80 lbs. English.
<i>Maush.</i>	Sort of grain.

<i>Meer Wyse.</i>	Teacher, high priest.
<i>Meerza.</i>	Secretary, a Mahomedan writer.
<i>Mehtrani.</i>	Woman of the sweeper caste.
<i>Mem Sahib.</i>	Bengal - a lady.
<i>Mir Adal.</i>	Chief justice.
<i>Mlechcha.</i>	Foreigner caste group.
<i>Mofussil,</i>	Rural, frontier regions
<i>Mohur.</i>	Coin, generally gold; its value is about thirty shillings English.
<i>Moollah.</i>	Priest.
<i>Moong.</i>	Pulse.
<i>Mosque.</i>	or <i>Musjid.</i> The Mussulman temple.
<i>Muezzin.</i>	The call of the <i>Faithful</i> to prayers.
<i>Mushh.</i>	Leather bag for holding water, a goat's skin.
<i>Musjid.</i>	Temple, place of worship.
<i>Mussulman.</i>	or <i>Moosulman.</i> Muslim.

N

<i>Nagura.</i>	Set of drums which the natives beat to announce the presence of the king or any great chief.
<i>Naib.</i>	Deputy or lieutenant.
<i>Naich.</i>	Corporal in the native troops.
<i>Naig.</i>	Native corporal.
<i>Nal.</i>	Horse-shoe.
<i>Nalbunds.</i>	Farriers.
<i>Nalkee.</i>	or <i>Nalki.</i> Palanquin, a royal palanquin.
<i>Nans.</i>	Cakes of bread.
<i>Nautch.</i>	a dance or dancing girl.
<i>Nawaub.</i>	or <i>Nawab.</i> Prince. Nabob, a Muhammadan noble.
<i>Nazir.</i>	Master of the household.
<i>Nereuls.</i>	Coconut.
<i>Neemchees.</i>	A kind of spencer made of sheep-skins.
<i>Neencha.</i>	Coat.
<i>Nihal.</i>	Low caste among the Gonds.
<i>Nizam</i>	
<i>u Doulah.</i>	Prime minister.
<i>Nizhm.</i>	Viceroy.
<i>No-roz.</i>	The Vernal Equinox. The Mohammedan New Year's Day.
<i>Nullah.</i>	Bed of a river; also used for a river.
<i>Numdas.</i>	Coarse felt carpets.

O

<i>Ooloos.</i>	Tribes or clans. To summon the Ooloos, answers to our "calling out the militia."
<i>Oorsees.</i>	Open-work lattices.
<i>Ottah.</i>	or <i>Atiah.</i> Ground wheat, flour, pollard.

P

<i>Padre Sahib.</i>	Clergyman, minister.
---------------------	----------------------

<i>Pagri.</i>	Turban.
<i>Pakka.</i>	Ripe, baked, properly done.
<i>Palkee.</i>	or <i>Palki</i> . Palanquin.
<i>Pall.</i>	Kind of tent.
<i>Paltan.</i>	Regiment.
<i>Pariah.</i>	Low caste at Madras.
<i>Parwdri.</i>	Low caste at Bombay.
<i>Patan.</i>	Descendant of Afghans.
<i>Paul.</i>	Small tent.
<i>Paung.</i>	Mixture of shell-lime and betel-nut wrapped in the leaf of an aromatic plant.
<i>Pesh Khedmut.</i>	Attendants.
<i>Phanka.</i>	Fan, usually a large one, suspended from the roof.
<i>Pillau.</i>	Dish of meat and rice.
<i>Posha Khana.</i>	Armoury.
<i>Poshteen.</i>	Sheep-skin; also a fur-pelisse.
<i>Punka.</i>	Fan of any kind, chiefly used by Europeans to denote a very large fan suspended from the ceiling, and kept in motion by a cord pulled by a servant.
<i>Purdah.</i>	Curtain. Also used to describe the segregation of women in their home.
<i>Pushtoo.</i>	Language of the natives of Afghanistan.
<i>Puttee.</i>	A bandage-type wrapping worn on the calf that complimented Army uniform knickerbockers.
<i>Pyjania.</i>	Loose trowsers [sic].
R	
<i>Raj.</i>	Government, province, kingdom.
<i>Rajah.</i>	Prince, a Hindu prince.
<i>Rani; Rajput.</i>	The military caste, next in rank to the Brahmans.
<i>Ressalah.</i>	or <i>Ressallah</i> . Troop of horse. a regiment of cavalry.
<i>Rezai or Resaiz.</i>	Counterpane, quilt.
<i>Rni-band.</i>	Veil.
<i>Rupee.</i>	Silver coin; its value is about two shillings English.
S	
<i>Sahukar.</i>	Banker.
<i>Sahib.</i>	Sir – master, a gentleman.
<i>Sahib log.</i>	Lit. “the lordly people.” The British.
<i>Salaam.</i>	Salutation, to make salaam, to pay one's respects.
<i>Sari.</i>	A traditional Indian female dress.
<i>Sawar.</i>	Trooper.
<i>Seer.</i>	Measure; about equal to two lbs. English.
<i>Sepoy.</i>	Properly <i>Sepahi</i> , a word which really signifies soldier, but which, in someplaces, particularly in Bombay, is given to private servants who guard the house and carry messages, when they are also called peons.
<i>Settringees.</i>	or <i>settrinjie</i> . Small carpet.

<i>Shah.</i>	or <i>Padshah.</i> King, not a Hindu.
<i>Shah Bagh.</i>	The king's garden.
<i>Shah Guzees.</i>	or <i>Shahghasses.</i> The household troops, the "Yeomen of the Guard," or "Officers of the court."
<i>Shah-zada.</i>	or <i>Shahzacla.</i> A king's son, a prince.
<i>Shakari.</i>	Huntsman.
<i>Shalu.</i>	Red cotton cloth from Turkey.
<i>Sherbet.</i>	A drink little different from lemonade; it is often perfumed.
<i>Shikar.</i>	Field sports, game.
<i>Shiwalla.</i>	Small Hindu temple
<i>Shohe.</i>	Hobby, a mania.
<i>Shroffs.</i>	Native bankers, money changers.
<i>Shudras.</i>	Merchant/Laboring caste group.
<i>Shubkoon.</i>	A surprise at night.
<i>Shytan.</i>	Devil.
<i>Siah Sung.</i>	Black rock.
<i>Siahs.</i>	Large sect of the Mahommedans; opposed to the Soonees.
<i>Sipahees.</i>	Native Hindostanee troops, Sepoys.
<i>Sir-i-chusm.</i>	Name of a village - the words signify "the head of the spring."
<i>Sirdar.</i>	A general. The title assumed by Mahomed Akbar Khan.
<i>Sirdar-i-Sirdan.</i>	The chief of the generals. Generalissimo.
<i>Skihargurs.</i>	Hunting grounds, preserves.
<i>Soonees.</i>	Large sect of the Mahommedans.
<i>Subah.</i>	District.
<i>Subadar.</i>	Native officer, holding the rank of captain.
<i>Sugs.</i>	Dogs - a term of contempt.
<i>Sungah.</i>	Breast work, fortifications.
<i>Surda.</i>	Species of melon.
<i>Surwans.</i>	or <i>Surwons.</i> Camel drivers, grooms.
<i>Suwars.</i>	Horsemen, troopers.
<i>Syud.</i>	Chief of the Ooloos.
<i>Syuds.</i>	Sect of the Mahommedans claiming to be the descendants of the
prophet;	and who therefore wear the green turban.
<i>Syvd.</i>	Holy man, a saint.

T

<i>Talukdar.</i>	One who farms a district.
<i>Tank.</i>	Reservoir for water.
<i>Tary Toddy.</i>	Juice procured from most kinds of palm-trees by tapping.
<i>Tat.</i>	Light mat. It principally comes from <i>Tatta</i> on the Indus, but many
other	kinds of mats are now called Tats. The real Tat is chiefly used as a
	<i>Purdeh</i> , Veil, or Blind.
<i>Tatti.</i>	Screen of thatch kept wetted for the hot winds to pass through.
<i>Tattoes.</i>	Ponies.
<i>Tiffin.</i>	Luncheon.
<i>Tomtom.</i>	Kind of drum.
<i>Tonjon.</i>	Chair with a hood, for one person, borne by four men.

<i>Tope.</i>	Grove, gun.
<i>Topes.</i>	Tombs, mounds, barrows.
<i>Topshee Bashee.</i>	Commander of the artillery, "the master-general of the ordnance."
<i>Tumasook.</i>	Red plum.
<i>Tyhhana.</i>	Cellar.
U	
<i>Umfzyes.</i>	Afghan tribe north of Peshawer.
<i>Urbab.</i>	Petty Muhammadan chief.
V	
<i>Vakeel.</i>	Deputy, a commissioner, one who acts or negotiates for another.
<i>Varnas.</i>	Four main caste groups.
<i>Vin.</i>	Musical instrument not unlike a guitar.
W	
<i>Wallah.</i>	Ditch.
<i>Wazir.</i>	Prime minister.
<i>Wuzeer.</i>	Vizier.
<i>Wuzeerat.</i>	The office of Vizier.
X	
<i>Xummvls.</i>	Coarse blankets.
Y	
<i>Yaboos.</i>	Afghan ponies.
<i>Yaghi.</i>	Rebellious, in a state of rebellion, or of independence.
Z	
<i>Zemindar.</i>	Landholder.
<i>Zenana.</i>	Harem, the ladies' apartments.
<i>Zenaar.</i>	Consecrated thread worn over one shoulder by the high castes.
<i>Zerdaloos.</i>	Apricots.
<i>Zilzilla.</i>	Earthquake.
<i>Zubberdust.</i>	Overbearing, "with the strong arm."
<i>Zuna.</i>	Dwelling.

LIST OF HOUSEHOLD SERVANT TITLES

The following list represents an amalgamation of the officers' wives narratives and the servant listing in: Flora Steel, and Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (1890; reprint: Cambridge, 2010), 31-2. Many of the same servant duties have multiple Indian titles. This can be explained by the three Presidencies; Bombay, Bengal, and Madras, plus the women's spelling, which often appears to be a phonetic attempt.

<i>Ayah.</i>	Female attendant, nurse, lady's maid, nurse.
<i>Bawarchi.</i>	Cook
<i>Bheestee.</i>	or <i>Bhisti.</i> Water-carrier.
<i>Chiccau-wallah.</i>	Tailor.
<i>Derdjee.</i>	Tailor.
<i>Dhobi.</i>	or <i>dobee.</i> Washerman.
<i>Durzee.</i>	or <i>Dirzi.</i> Tailor.
<i>Ga'ola.</i>	Cowman.
<i>Ghorawalla.</i>	Horse, Stable boy. Or Groom.
<i>Hamal.</i>	Housemaid (male) and valet.
<i>Khansamah.</i>	or <i>Khaunsamah.</i> Head servant, head-waiter, male housemaid, valet.
<i>Khidmutgar.</i>	or <i>Khitmatghar, Khidmatgars.</i> Man-servant, table waiter.
<i>Kooli.</i>	or <i>Kuli.</i> Porter. This is a very low caste, a common labourer.
<i>Mali.</i>	Gardener.
<i>Masalchi.</i>	Carer of lamps and furniture, or scullery-man.
<i>Mahaut.</i>	Elephant driver, who sits on the creature's neck.
<i>Massal.</i>	or <i>Massalgee, Mashalor Masai.</i> The person who carries and takes care of the light, torch. <i>Masalchi</i> , torchbearer.
<i>Masaul.</i>	Table waiter and lamp carer.
<i>Mehmandar.</i>	Cicerone. a man of all work, a <i>factorum</i> .
<i>Mehter.</i>	or <i>Mahtrance.</i> Class of camp-followers, man of the sweeper caste, under-housemaid.
<i>Mistree.</i>	Cook.
<i>Moonshee.</i>	Secretary or interpreter.
<i>Saces.</i>	Groom.
<i>Sals.</i>	Groom
<i>Syce.</i>	or <i>Sais.</i> Horse, Stable boy. Or Groom.

APPENDIX B

FORTS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

FORT	LOCATION	FORT	LOCATION
Abraham Lincoln	North Dakota	Macon	North Carolina
Apache	Arizona	McKavett	Texas
Bascom	New Mexico	Marcy	New Mexico
Bayard	New Mexico	Phil Kearny	Dakota Territory/ Wyoming
Berthold	North Dakota	Reno	Indian Territory, Oklahoma
Bliss	Texas	Rice	North Dakota
Bridger	Wyoming	Robinson	Nebraska
Brown	Texas	Sedgwick	Colorado
Casper	Wyoming	Shaw	Montana Territory
Concho	Texas	Camp Sheridan	Wyoming
Craig	New Mexico	Sill	Indian Territory/Oklahoma
Camp Creek	Texas	Smith	Arkansas
Clark	Texas	Stevens	Colorado Territory
Davis	Texas	Stockton	Texas
Dodge	Kansas	Union	New Mexico
Ellis	Montana	Vancouver	Alaska
Fillmore	Arizona	Whipple	Arizona
Garland	Colorado	Wingate	New Mexico
Gibson	Indian Territory	Wood	Bedloe's Island, New York
Graham	Texas		
Grant	Texas		
Halleck	Nebraska		
Harker	Kansas		
Inge	Texas		
Keogh	Montana		
Kearny	Nebraska Territory		
Kit Carson	Colorado Territory		
Laramie	Wyoming		
Lyon	Colorado		
Leavenworth	Kansas		

VITA

Name: Verity Gay McInnis

Address: Texas A&M University
Department of History
4236 TAMU
College Station, Texas
77840-4236
United States of America

Email: veritygm@tamu.edu

Education: B.A., History, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 2003
M.A., History, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 2006
Ph.D., History, Texas A&M University, 2012

Publication: "Ladies of the Frontier Forts." *Military History of the West*, vol. 35
(2005): 35-56.